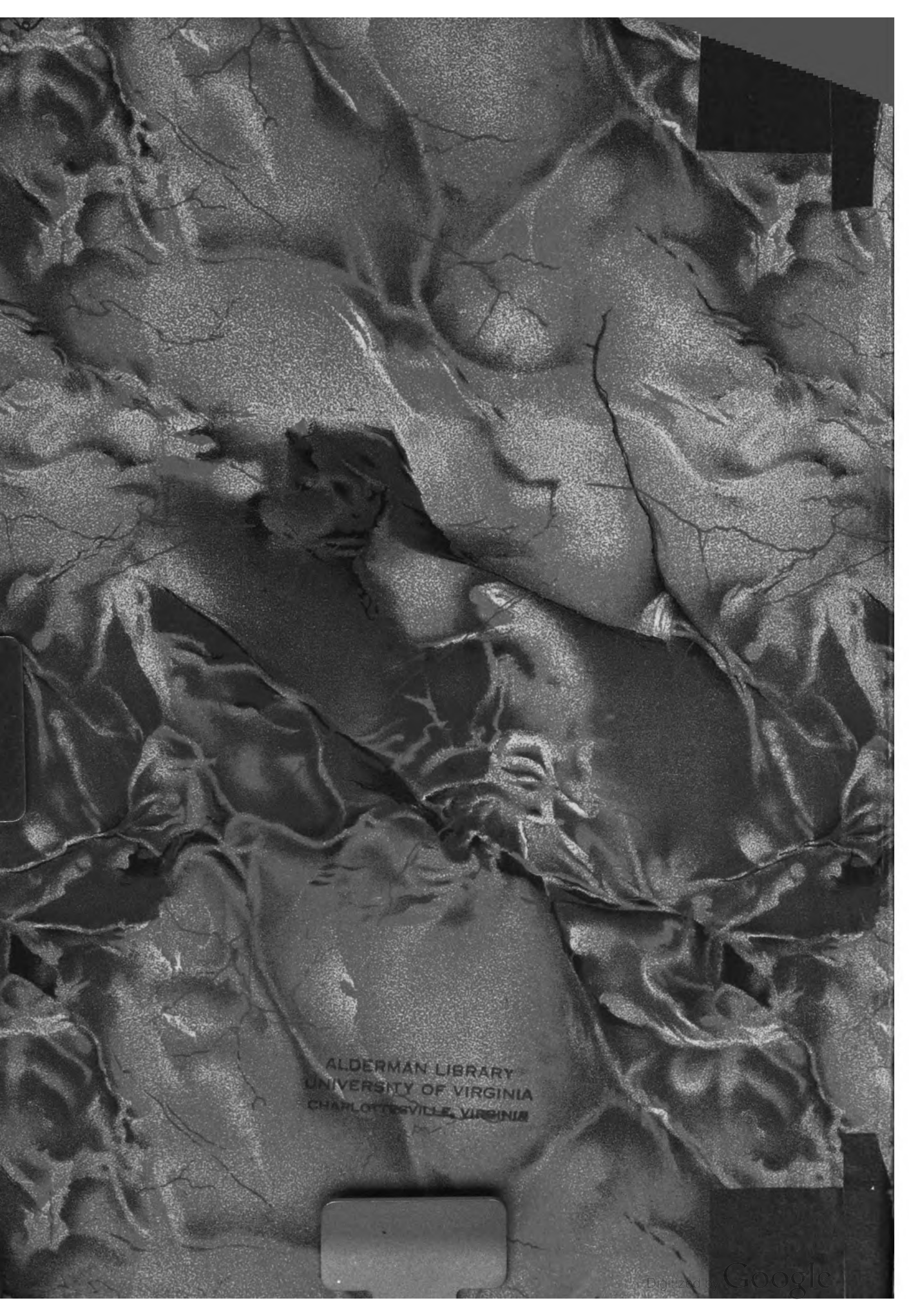
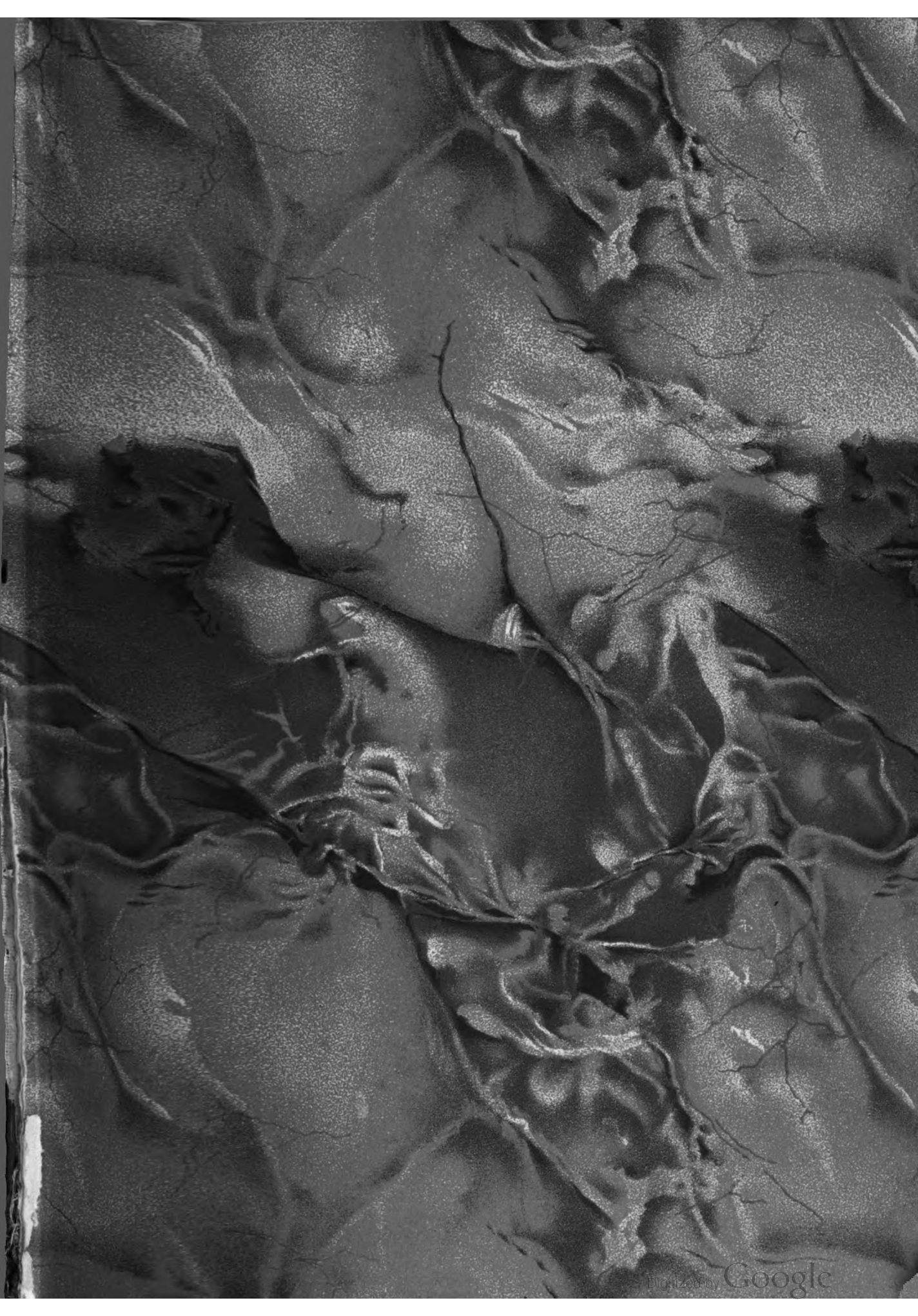
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Charles Henry Carey

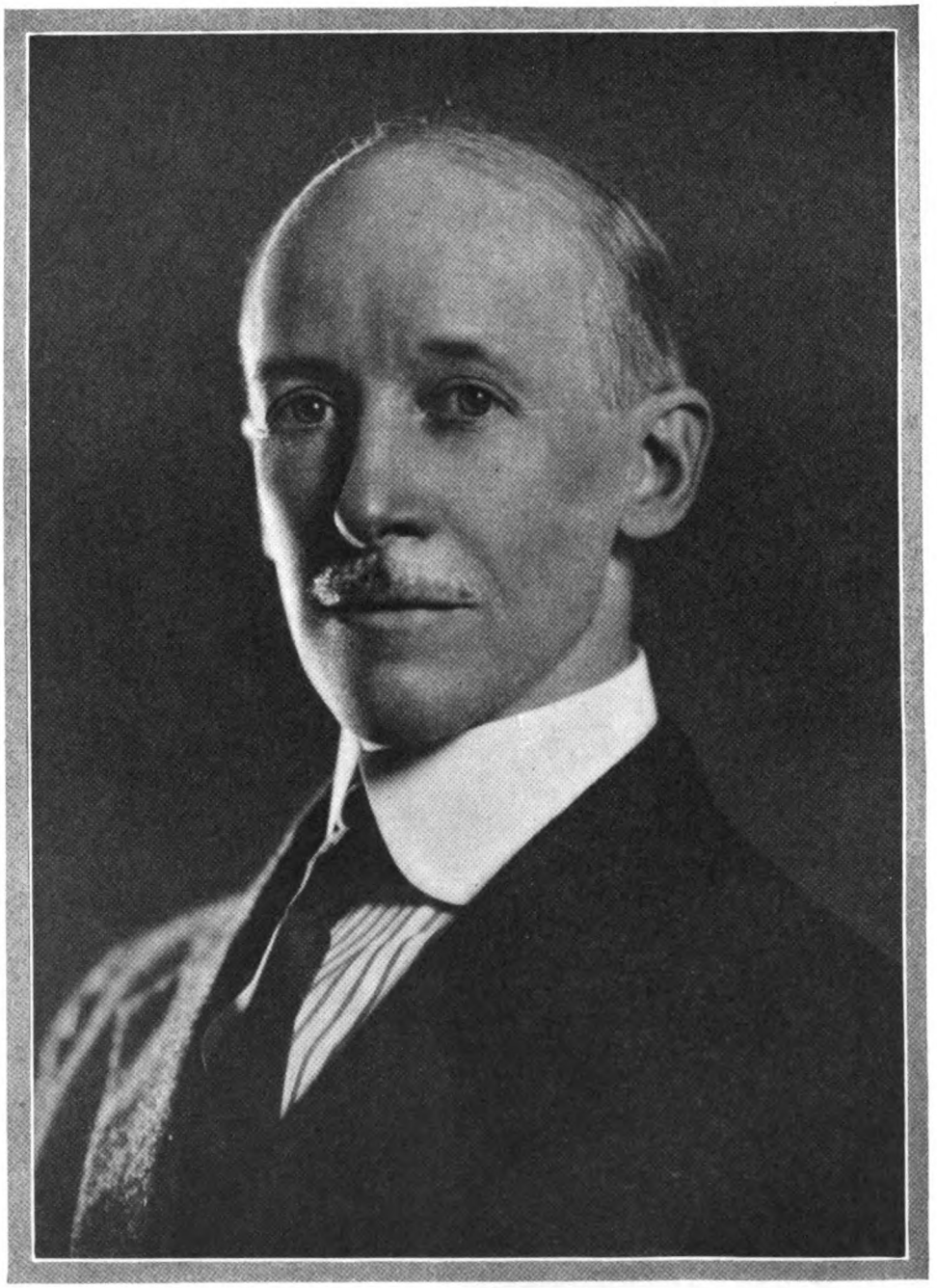
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HISTORY

OF

OREGON

By CHARLES HENRY CAREY

Illustrated



AUTHOR'S EDITION

CHICAGO—PORTLAND
THE PIONEER HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY
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PREFACE

The narrative of the discovery, settlement and development of the Oregon Country, in which there is so much of human interest, leads naturally to reflection upon the circumstances that brought it within the domain of the United States. Chance left the discovery of the great waterway to an American, and whatever part destiny may have had in the series of fortuitous happenings that afterwards strengthened the claims of the Americans to this vast empire, it is clear that the practicability of reaching the territory from neighboring lands, then already under the flag of the republic, and the opportunity thus afforded to begin and to continue the steady stream of ox trains across the plains, made the sovereignty of the United States inevitable.

The generation that dared the great adventure has passed away, excepting as a few survivors linger upon the stage to pronounce the epilogue of the drama of the pioneer. The deeply furrowed trail is superseded by the boulevard, and the ox wagon is transformed into the motor car, while the halting and limping despatches of the earlier time may now be delivered by the audible voice or by wireless pulsations across the vast stretches of the continent. The frugal and primitive makeshifts of the early settler have given way to the surfeit of a luxurious age in a land of plenty. Cities and ports have been builded, the flow of streams has been converted to light and power, the buried treasures of the mountains have been brought forth, the forest-clad fields have yielded to the ax and the plow, and irrigation has aided in making glad the barren places. Thousands have followed to the land by the Western Sea and have found home and comfort there. This transformation from the era of the fur trader and the canoeman within the lifetime of persons still living is "an old tale and often told."

The literature of ancient Greece has preserved for all time the flavor of the romance and the poetry of that country and of its ancient people. The stories of heroes, and the folk tales of myth and of fancy that cluster about early Roman history, have been made imperishable by poets and writers of the olden times. The chivalry of the middle ages, with its charm of romantic sentiment and incident, is imbedded in the world's priceless literature. Just so, the genius of Sir Walter Scott created and preserved for all time living pictures of Scottish life in its verdant setting of hills and plains, lakes and swift-rushing tarns. In truth, therefore, while history has its value, its province is limited, and ultimately it must be supplemented by literature; fact must be touched by the golden wand of genius and embellished with the ornament of imagination.

The search for the unknown Pacific Northwest is a story throbbing with vital interest, as is also the opening of the Oregon Trail, and the founding and building up of a great commonwealth in the Oregon Country. The mellowing of time will but add charm, without diminishing the interest of the events and the scenes of Oregon's traditions. The narratives of the courageous

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navigators; the letters and diaries of the pathfinders and pioneers; moreover, even recent compilations and commentaries, will present a wealth of material, printed and unprinted, ready at hand and always available to furnish inspiration for the poet and to supply the idyls of romance. All this must be left for talent to discover and to utilize. Here the duty is rather to outline the essential facts of the History of Oregon, turning from the temptation to go into details and even passing by the stories of individual experiences, full as they are of interest, unless essential to forthright narrative.

The portrayal of the events of the past may either take the form of a minute and careful balancing of facts and opinions, which when arranged and properly indexed forms a compendium, always useful for reference; or, it may be a more general survey of the field, depicting in broader outlines the principal events and the flow of cause and consequence. Whether the historian selects one or the other of these plans will depend in great measure upon the purpose to be accomplished. It is deemed possible here to present a succinct and straightforward account, in which events take their proper place with due regard to perspective and proportion, without interrupting and delaying the story by too frequent pauses to sift evidence and to weigh the arguments pro and con upon matters of minor importance. Such a history, it is hoped, need not be the less accurate or the less useful, although final conclusions upon matters in dispute are sometimes given instead of differing opinions that may be found elsewhere, especially since footnotes and a list of the sources will enable the curious to travel over the road by which the result is reached.

In the preparation of this book I am under many obligations for assistance, but to no one more than to Mr. Albert Hawkins, who has helped me greatly, especially upon the chapters covering the general history after the exploration period. I would also especially mention my fellow trustees of the Oregon Historical Society, Mr. T. C. Elliott and Mr. Leslie M. Scott, and as well Mr. George H. Himes, curator, and Miss Nellie Pipes, librarian of that society. Mr. Edgar B. Piper, managing editor of the Oregonian, has given me the benefit of his fine critical judgment upon some of the chapters. Mr. Sam A. Kozer, secretary of state, furnished the essential facts used in the chapter on popular legislation, and the chapter upon commercial progress and accomplishment was prepared by Mr. W. B. D. Dodson, the general manager of the Portland Chamber of Commerce. Many others have helped me directly or indirectly, and while it is not possible here to mention them by name, I am none the less appreciative. I am responsible for the volume of history, but not for the biographical volumes that are a part of the publisher's edition.

In submitting the result of my labors I take occasion to say that there are many excellent histories of Oregon, and many special works covering features of the story. I do not assume that this production is superior to any of these, excepting in so far as it may now for the first time assemble some of the facts that time has brought to light and which were unavailable before. If I have been able to obtain some information that has not heretofore been presented in narrative form, I have also availed myself of the labors of many who have covered much of the field before me.

CHARLES HENRY CAREY.

Portland, June 1, 1922.

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History of Oregon

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Sir Thomas More's Utopia was written in 1516, when the imagination of Europe was alive to the possibilities of the new world of Columbus and Vespucius. The latter's account of his voyage had just been published, and so More, desiring to place the scene of his fictitious commonwealth in as remote a place as could be conceived of, located it somewhere beyond the uttermost point reached by that bold explorer. He told how those left behind by the latter in New Castile in this distant world had made other long voyages and journeys on their own account, beyond the hot equatorial countries, until "as they went further all things grew milder, the air less burning, and at last they came to strange nations and towns and cities." His fancy was in harmony with the new spirit of the age of discovery and the dawning hope for better political and social conditions. It was a hundred years later, or to be exact, in 1629, that a book of somewhat similar kind by the learned Francis Bacon was published. In the interim, Spanish navigators had examined some part of the Pacific coast of the American continents, and Drake, the bold English buccaneer and rover, had recently made his famous dash to these shores in his miracle ship, the Golden Hind, bringing home astonishing stories of adventure to stir men's hearts. Bacon's New Atlantis therefore was given a local habitation and a name in an imaginary far away country, the description of which may easily be adjusted to fit the land that Drake had called New Albion, lying along the northern part of California and extending to the very district we now call Oregon.

Early Spanish maps were carefully guarded by the government of Spain, but some information, mostly fantastical and highly imaginative, had been printed in that language. A Spanish history of the West Indies, by Francis Lopez de Gomara, contained a narrative of the expeditions of Francis Vasquez de Coronado from Mexico to visit cities reputed to be in the farther north, one of them called Tiguex, standing on the bank of a great river. The story was that this captain-general while at this place learned of other distant cities called Axa and Quivira even farther to the north. The City of Quivira was described to him and his followers as the wonderful capital city of a kingdom of the same name, in a temperate country, where there was good water and much grass, besides such fruit as plums, melons, mulberries and grapes, and also nuts, but no cotton. The natives were said to dress themselves with ox-hides and deer-skins. It was said that Spanish travellers who had been there saw ships from China on

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this coast, which had pelicans of gold and silver on their prows, and which had sailed thirty days to reach these shores with their cargoes of merchandise. And in the English rendition of the tale we have a description of the King of Quivira in quaint language which may be quoted: "There they sayde was a King whose name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, horie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart (poniard), which prayed upon a prayre of beades, which worshipped a Crosse of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queen of Heaven. This newes did greatly rejoyce and cheere up the armie; although some thought it to be false, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in so rich a countrie as that was reported to bee." They were disappointed, however, and "found Tatarrax, whome they sought, an hoarie headed man, naked, with a jewell of copper hanging at his neck which was all his riches," and they saw no signs of Christianity or wealth, so they came back to Mexico, where they arrived in March, 1542.[1]

Before Bacon's Atlantis came from the press there had been published in London two remarkable books containing accounts of famous voyages, principally of the English, to remote parts of the world. The first of these books is familiarly known as Hakluyt's Voyages, appearing at London in 1589 under a long title the opening portions of which were: "The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the most remote and fartherest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres: Divided into three severall parts, according to the positions of the Regions whereunto they were directed." The third of these divisions is thus described: "The third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America, from 73 degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to Meta Incognita, Newfoundland, the maine of Virginia, the point of Florida, the Baie of Mexico, all the Inland of Nova Hispania, the coast of Terrafirma, Brasill, the riuer of Plate, to the Streight of Magellan: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to Chili, Peru, Xalisco, the Gulfe of California, Noua Albion upon the backside of Canada, further than euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced."

The other of these books of famous voyages was in the nature of a supplement or continuation; and was issued at London in 1625, entitled "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, by Samuel Purchas, B. D." At the very time, then, that Shakespeare, Marlowe and Ben Jonson gave splendor to the drama and the printed page, these volumes of adventure stimulated maritime and naval enterprise, and the glorious burst of Elizabethan sea history showed a nation suddenly awakened and taking a masterly part in world discovery.

Shakespeare, in Twelfth Night (Act III, Scene 2), causes Maria thus to speak: "He does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies." This probably has reference to the map ascribed to Edward Wright, mathematician and hydrographer, that is rarely, but sometimes, found in the second edition of Hakluyt. It was published in 1598, and the inscription thereon refers by name to Sir Francis Drake and his discoveries in 1577, with other authorities for the new coast lines portrayed. The map

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. IX, p. 164 (1905).

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shows Nova Albion lying north of Cape Mendocino and Quivira, just where Oregon may be supposed to be located.[2]

The only reference that Shakespeare makes to America by name is in the Comedy of Errors (Act III, Sc. 2, l. 136), in connection with the Indies. The augmentation of the Indies, referred to in Twelfth Night, may either be ascribed to the fact that the map in Hakluyt was laid out on the Mercator plan, the first English map of its kind, or to the fact that the Indies, both East and West, had now been augmented by the inclusion of Drake's New Albion upon the map of the known world.

At just about the time Twelfth Night was given its first performance in London, a Spanish expedition under Viscaino found Monterey Bay on the California Coast and reached as far north as Cape Blanco (or Orford) at the south boundary of Oregon. But strange as it may seem, 150 years elapsed after that before the rugged coast line of Oregon and Washington was delineated upon any map from actual observation or exploration. At the time of the American Revolution every other continental coast line had been mapped with some degree of correctness, excepting in the frigid zones, but during that long period of a century and a half the Oregon country was unknown.

Hakluyt's book published a beautiful map entitled "Typus Orbis Terrarum" which he referred to in the preface as one of the best "generall mappes of the world." It was in fact a reprint of the Dutch map of Abraham Ortelius published first at Antwerp, in 1570. This map showed the continental masses with some approximation to truth, and marked the district which would now be called Oregon as a part of the imaginary Kingdom of Quivira, in which were the cities of Tuchano and Quivira. The map showed also a great westward flowing river equivalent to the Columbia, but called by the Spanish name, Rio de las Entrechos, river of the narrows or straits. The then prevalent belief in a northwest passage is evidenced on the map by a broad strait or waterway extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A country called the kingdom of Anian is shown as facing the Pacific Ocean and separated from Quivira by the river already mentioned.

In Purchas His Pilgrimes is another map of interest to Oregon history, ascribed to the Dutch map maker Hondius, and purporting to be his "Map of the World." Its date is approximately 1625, and it shows the City of Quivira upon a river far north of Cape Blanco on the Oregon coast, and marks the imaginary cities, Conic and Tiguex, near that point of land. Some of these names were shown on other maps, such as Sir Humphrey Gilbert's map published in London in 1576, but on most of them Quivira is shown in Northern California, while the name Anian is applied to the region which was supposed to lie farther north.

The foundation for the belief in the existence of the Kingdoms of Quivira and Anian and these strange cities is found in thrilling tales of adventure and discovery set out in Hakluyt and Purchas, which the curious may still read with interest.[3]

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[2] Hakluyt, Vol. I, pp. XII and 356. Rev. H. N. Hudson, in his notes to Twelfth Night, expresses the opinion that the map referred to is the English version of the map published in 1598 from Lindshoten's Discourse of Voyages. (Shakespeare's Works, Hudson Ed., Vol. I, pp. 336 and 408.)

[3] Reprints of these works were issued in 1905, at Glasgow, by James MacLehose and Sons.

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Numerous fanciful stories of sailors and travellers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lent a charm of mystery to this section of America which began to be marked on the maps as New Albion or as Terra Incognita. Some of these stories had the semblance of truth. Mariners reported with great detail of the fabled straits of Anian, a waterway that led through the continent, and by means of which ships could reach the shores of China and India and the Malaccas, or might perchance find the mysterious City of Quivira. The straits were reputed to be the veritable Northwest Passage so much sought as the short route to the Orient, and to find which was the object of many a voyage sent to explore the coast line of western America.

Until the middle of the seventeenth century some geographers believed California to be an island, and a Dutch map of 1624-5 shows the Cape Blanco (or Orford) of the Oregon coast at the northern limit of California island.[4] A German named John Lederer who made three expeditions into and across the Appalachian range in Virginia and the Carolinas in 1669, reported having met four "stranger-indians," the only survivors of a band of fifty who had come from some great island in the Northwest. He conjectured that they might have come from the island of New Albion or California "from whence we may imagine some great arm of the Indian Ocean or bay stretches into the continent towards the Apalataean mountains in the nature of a mid-land sea, in which many of these indians might have perished." He adds that other indians speak of a land of great waves, by which he supposes they mean the seashore. He gives assurance from his own experiences that people are in great error who suppose the continent to be but eight or ten days' journey over from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, but he says it is nevertheless probable that the latter ocean "does stretch an arm or bay from California into the continent as far as the Appalataean Mountains answerable to the gulf of Florida and Mexico on this side." His map shows this arm or bay located as so described.[5]

After two or three centuries of fable and myth, the name Oregon, itself doubtful of meaning, came into use with an origin as baffling to modern research as the earlier myths and fictions. It was first used to designate a great river supposed to flow into the Pacific Ocean and sometimes referred to as the River of the West. As early as 1603, a Spanish navigator, Martin d' Aguilar, is reported to have noted the effluence of such a stream near the latitude at which the Columbia is now known to empty into the sea, and as already stated geographers had indicated a river in that general locality upon maps of even earlier date. So far as known, however, the name Oregon did not appear in any book or upon any map until after Maj. Robert Rogers made use of it in a written document bearing his name. He submitted to King George the Third and his ministers, in 1765, an offer, or Proposal as he called it, to take two hundred men under proper officers and to make an overland search for the Northwest

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[4] Reproduced in Lyman's Hist. of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 298. There was engraved upon the map published by Purchas in 1625: "California was formerly supposed to be part of the continent, but is now known to be an island." Among the maps representing it as an island were those of Overton, Tillemon, De Fer, and Guistiniani.

[5] The Discoveries of John Lederer, translated out of the Latin by Sir William Talbot, London, 1672, reprinted Rochester, N. Y., 1902. See also Chapters V and XIII, infra, for similar views of other writers, and for a detailed statement of the early explorations and discoveries upon the coast.

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passage. In this paper he told of his qualifications for such an undertaking, not allowing modesty to stand in the way, and called attention to the fact that he had spent eight years in the least known part of North America, and that he had "been very attentive to, and prosecuted with the utmost assiduity every inquiry in his power in reference to the real Existance of a North-West passage, in Consequence of which he has obtained a Moral certainty that such a passage there really is!" He proposed to take indian guides, and, having water a great part of the way, he intended to carry bark canoes from one river to another, or perhaps to resort to felling trees on the banks and making fresh canoes where it would be found necessary. In this interesting document, which has but recently been revealed by historical research in the Public Records Office of the British Government, in London, occurs this now important passage, containing the first form and use of the name Oregon: "The Rout Major Rogers proposes to take, is from the Great Lakes towards the Head of the Mississippi, and from thence to the River called by the Indians Ouragon, which flows into a Bay that projects North-Eastwardly into the [country] (mutilated) from the Pacific Ocean, and there to Explore the said Bay and its Outletts, and also the Western Margin of the Continent to such a Northern Latitude as shall be thought necessary."[6]

The quoted words indicate that the name Oregon is a corruption of the indian word Ouragon, but although there has been much attention given to the subject no such indian word has ever been found. So far as known no tribe had given the name to any river, real or imaginary. Major Rogers, however, used the word several times afterwards. The result of his importunity brought him an appointment as governor-commandant at Fort Mackinac at the head of Lake Michigan. Here he served from August, 1766, to December, 1767, and the very first thing he did after arriving and taking up his duties was to outfit an expedition to do under the direction of others what he had sought the opportunity to do himself. In the records and files of the court of King's Bench at London there has recently been found, signed by Rogers in his official capacity, instructions or orders to Capt. James Tute, who was to set out from Mackinac and to conduct an overland expedition to the Pacific Ocean, and in these instructions Major Rogers gave careful and minute orders as to the route to be followed, which is much like the route he had described in

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[6] T. C. Elliott in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, reproduces the Rogers and the Carver petitions and orders quoted and referred to in this chapter and discusses the word Oregon, which he is inclined to think originated with a French word meaning great wind or hurricane. But there is no evidence of this. And on the other hand it does not seem likely that indians used the name, for as a rule the indians had no special names for lakes, rivers or mountains (Francis Fuller Victor, in Daily Oregonian, Nov. 3, 1874), and often they called different parts of the same stream by different descriptive words. For example, the lower Chinooks called the Columbia Yakaitl-wimake, great river, a general term. Silas B. Smith, a grandson of Chief Coboway of the Clatsops said in 1899: "I wish to state this proposition which cannot be overthrown, that the Indians of this Northwest country, extending as far back as the Rocky Mountains, never name a river as a river. They name localities. That locality may be of greater or less extent and they may say this water leads to such a place, or it will carry you to such and such a place, but never name a stream." Attempts to find an indian origin of the name have not been successful. (Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. I, pp. 18, 19.) A recent suggestion of a correspondent of the Boise, Idaho, Statesman, that the name is from Wau-re-gon, indian for beautiful water, has no substantial basis. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIX, p. 86.) John E. Rees ascribes the origin to Shoshone words Oqwa and Peon, meaning River of the West. (Id., Vol. XXI, p. 317.)

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his petition. Tute was instructed to proceed with his detachment to the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi where he was to find one Jonathan Carver, who had gone on to this point under previous orders, and who was to act as draftsman for the expedition. The second officer, Goddard, was named, and an interpreter also, and all of these were to constitute a council or governing body. The first winter was to be spent at St. Anthony Falls, or in that vicinity, but an early start was to be made from there in the spring with indian guides from the Sioux nation. The course was to follow the Ouragan to its mouth, making careful record of the journey, and the approximate location of the bay or estuary into which the great river was supposed to empty was given at forty-eight, forty-nine, or fifty degrees north latitude. The object of finding the Northwest passage was to be kept clearly in view.

This expedition got under way and reached St. Anthony, where Carver was found, but it never went farther. The council decided, for what reason is not stated, to return by way of Chippeway River, and this was done in the following spring. But the definiteness with which the Ouragan was described, and the fact that a part of the description fits very well the Columbia River as it really is, leaves it to be supposed that Rogers had some information that he at least deemed reliable, and upon which he was acting.

Rogers soon returned to London, as did Carver also, and both of them became petitioners asking recognition from the government. In the second of the Rogers petitions, February 11, 1772, the object of which like that of his previous application was to get leave to "atempt by Land the Discovery of a navigable Passage by the North-West from the atlantic into the great Pacific Ocean," he gives with great detail the overland route proposed to be followed. The part of the plan after reaching the Falls of Saint Antoine (St. Anthony's Falls), where it was proposed to spend the first winter, was as follows:

"From the Falls of Saint Antoine it is proposed to depart in the month of April of the second Year; to enter the River Saint Pierre, and to stem that to the Source in about the fourty-fourth Degree of Latitude; to cross the twenty Mile Portage into a Branch of the Missouri, and to stem that north-westerly to the source: To cross thence a Portage of about thirty Miles, into the great River Ourigan: to follow this great River, through a vast, and most populos Tract of Indian Country to the Straits of Anian, and the Gulf or Bay projecting thence north-easterly into the Continent and there to pass the second Winter. Here an Intercourse of Traffic will be opened with the Indians, to procure every necessary Article of Subsistence. A Stock of Codfish, and other Victualling will be cured, & a Purchase of Boats or Craft, peculiar to these Parts will be completed. Early in the Spring the Adventurers will proceed to explore every Inlet, Nook, or Bay, from the Straits of Anian to Hudson's Bay, between which it is expected to find the navigable Passage, or Communication in Question." This is substantially the same plan as that covered by his instructions to Tute in 1766. It shows, however, that by 1772 Rogers had learned that the portage to the Oregon was not at the headwaters of the Mississippi, as he had at first asserted, but that it would be necessary to ascend the Missouri to its source before making the crossing to the sources of the Oregon; and in this Rogers appears as the first to outline the true overland route, the route followed a third of a century later by Lewis and Clark in their famous journey to the Pacific coast.

Carver had been a commander of a company of provincial troops of Massa-

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ing pages; and am ſatisfied that the greateſt part of them have never been publiſhed by any perſon that has hitherto treated of the interior Nations of the Indians; particularly, the account I give of the Naudoweſies, and the ſituation of the Heads of the four great rivers that take their riſe within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of this great continent; viz. The River Bourbon, which empties itſelf into Hudſon's Bay; the Waters of Saint Lawrence; the Miſſiſſippi, and the River Oregon, or the River of the Weſt, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the ſtraits of Annian.

The impediments that occaſioned my returning, before I had accompliſhed my purpoſes, were theſe. On my arrival at Michillimackinac, the remoteſt Engliſh poſt, in September 1766, I applied to Mr. Rogers, who was then governor of it, to furniſh me with a proper aſſortment of goods, as preſents for the Indians who in-

FIRST PRINTED USE OF THE WORD OREGON

Facsimile of the page of Carver's Travels, (London 1778), in which for the first time in any known publication the word Oregon was printed. "Thomas C. Elliott has recently ascertained that Carver's use of the word Oregon, and also his maps published in his book, were taken from others without credit."

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chusetts Bay in the French and Indian war, and claimed some knowledge of indian languages and customs, and some acquaintance with interior and unfrequented parts of America. It was doubtless for this reason that he was sent by Rogers to the region already mentioned, near the sources of the Mississippi. There he spent some part of 1766 and 1767 among the indians. On his return he went to London as stated and some years afterward (in 1778) there was published in that city an account of his travels, in which for the first time, so far as known, the word Oregon appeared in print and upon a map. That he obtained the name not from indians as he asserted in the book, but from Rogers, who had already used it in one of his petitions before Carver had made his visit to the West, seems more than probable, especially as the word was repeated in the written instructions prepared by Rogers, and given by him to each of the three principal men of his proposed expedition, including Carver himself. The second Rogers petition shows by an endorsement thereon that Rogers lent both of his petitions, and his plans as he called them, to Carver as early as February 15, 1775. Carver's book first appeared three years after this and proved so popular that it was reissued in other forms and editions in Edinborough, Paris, Dublin, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere. Carver himself had filed a petition in 1769, and another in 1773, praying pecuniary relief and employment from the British Government, based upon his military service and knowledge of the West, and in both of these petitions he mentions his plans or maps and the journals, which he says were "acquired by Hardships and Dangers of every Kind and that only with the utmost Resolution and Perseverance," and which he says were ordered "to be Deposited in the office of the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations." But in these petitions he does not allude to the River Oregon. His papers are still in the government offices, and comparison shows that they differ somewhat from the text of his book, but he says in the book itself that he kept copies from which it was prepared.[7]

Captain Carver was undoubtedly an author having little of integrity or shame, but as his book contained the first printed use of the word Oregon, and moreover as it had a wide circulation and reached many countries, it is to Carver rather than to Rogers that the general use of the name by cartographers and others must be traced. He described his visit to the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi region and told of his experiences with the indians. His book was entitled "Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767 and 1768," and it contained two maps, both dated in 1778, one of which used the name "Origan" and the other of which showed the "River of the West."[8] The word Oregon is found in the following passage:

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[7] In his Travels (p. XII) he gives the reasons for ten years' delay in publishing, in which he complains of the government and intimates that his book is made up from plans, journals and observations of which he luckily kept copies, the originals delivered to the Plantation office being mislaid.

[8] On one of his maps in the first London edition (1778) Carver put the "Heads of Origan" in latitude forty-seven, longitude ninety-eight, in the immediate vicinity of White Bear Lake and the headwaters of the Mississippi. The corresponding map in the Paris edition (1784) shows this as "Source de l'Oregon." On the second or accompanying map in the London edition the name Oregon does not appear, but the map indicates a river having its source near the same lake, flowing thence westerly and emptying into the sea near latitude forty-five, the mouth of the stream being marked "Discovered by Aguilar." This stream is marked "River of the West" on its lower reaches and "Mantons R" [Mandan's River?]

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"From the intelligence I gained from the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I arrived on the 7th of December, and whose language I perfectly acquired during a residence of seven months; and also from the accounts I afterward obtained from the Assinipoils, who speak the same tongue, being a revolted band of Naudowessies; and from the Killistinoes, neighbors of the Assinipoils, who speak the Chipeway language, and inhabit the heads of the River Bourbon; —I say, from these nations, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the Continent of North America, viz., the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, and the Oregon or River of the West (as I hinted in my introduction), have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west." [9]

Carver certainly did not go to the Pacific coast and so never saw the river, but at one place in his book he speaks of it as the "River Oregon, or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Annian," and again he says that Richard Whitworth, in 1774, planned a journey upon nearly the same route as that followed by himself, with the intention of extending it westward, "till having discovered the source of the Oregan, or River of the West, on the other side of the summit of the lands that divide the waters which run into the Gulph of Mexico from those that fall into the Pacific Ocean, he would have sailed down that river to the place where it is said to empty itself near the Straights of Annian." [10] This project he adds was interfered with before the preparations were completed, by reason of the Revolution in America. He makes no allusion whatever to the earlier project of the same kind of Maj. Robert Rogers, which in common honesty he should have mentioned, but on the contrary he boldly asserts that he had "the honor of first planning and attempting an expedition of the same kind." [11] He did not adhere strictly to the truth in his accounts of his adventures, and he is known to have plagiarized the writings of the early French missionaries and to have added embellishments of his own.[12] His geographical knowledge of the region with which he was thus made familiar is fairly accurate, and his maps have much printed information that could not have been obtained otherwise than by visiting the

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on its upper part, the intervening part being indicated by dotted lines and also showing a small lake thereon marked "Pikes Lake." There is no such lake, and the origin of the name upon this map is unknown. In the year that Carver's book first appeared (1778) Captain Cook was making his voyage around the world and to the northwest coast, under instructions from the British admiralty to ascertain the truth about the northwest passage, and at least two other expeditions went direct to Hudson Bay and the northeast coast of America for like purposes.

[9] Carver's Travels (1778), p. 76.

[10] Id., p. 541. Carver says Whitworth was to have been attended by Rogers, Carver and others (p. 542).

[11] Id., p. 7.

[12] For a note upon Carver's unreliability, see Greenhow, Hist. of Oregon, p. 144, note. A critical discussion of the Travels is that by Edward Gaylord Bourne in The American Historical Review, January, 1906. (Vol. XI, pp. 287-302.) The last word on Carver's reliability is by John Thomas Lee who prepared and published a bibliography, and subsequently wrote a pamphlet replying to Bourne, in which Carver's status is considered. (A Bibliography of Carver's Travels, Wisconsin State Hist. Soc., 1910; Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data, id., 1913.) See also Lawrence J. Burpee, The Search for the Western Sea, 285; Reuben Gold Thwaites in Collections of Wis. Hist. Soc., Vol. XVIII. Also T. C. Elliott's articles in Or. Hist. Quar. cited in this chapter.

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region. His description of the indian customs is original but the fund of topographical information which he claims to have acquired from his native friends is not always in accordance with the facts. Speaking of the Rocky Mountains, called by him the Shining Mountains, which he locates with accuracy, he says: "Among these mountains, those that lie to the west of the river St. Pierre [now known as the Minnesota] are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of chrystal stones, of an amazing size, with which they are covered, and which, when the sun shines full upon them, sparkle so as to be seen at a very great distance, * * * . Probably in future ages they may be found to contain more riches in their bowels than those of Indostan and Malabar, or that are produced on the Golden Coast of Guinea; nor will I except even the Peruvian Mines. To the west of these mountains, when explored by future Columbuses or Raleighs, may be found other lakes, rivers and countries, full fraught with all the necessaries or luxuries of life; and where future generations may find an asylum, whether driven from their country by the ravages of lawless tyrants, or by religious persecutions, or reluctantly leaving it to remedy the inconveniences arising from a superabundant increase of inhabitants; whether, I say, impelled by these, or allured by hopes of commercial advantages, there is little doubt but their expectations will be fully gratified in these rich and unexhausted climes."[13]

It was while dwelling with the natives near the headwaters of the Mississippi, as Carver's story runs, he heard from them of this great river flowing into the western ocean, and called by them the Oregon, Oregan or Origan. He is more specific than Rogers in this, for he indicates exactly where the tribes were that used the name. But in view of what is now known of his familiarity with the Rogers papers this statement is more than doubtful, and it may be confidently asserted that if he heard the name used by indians he had already heard the name used by Rogers. And if either or both of them got the name from natives, they are the only persons to have had that information from such source so far as research has been able to discover. Northwestern rivers have usually received their names from the white people even when they are called by indian names. The name Willamette is an indian name, but it was first applied by the whites to the river because a tribe of indians of that name were living on the borders of the stream.[14]

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[13] P. 121. He says: "A little to the northwest of the heads of the Messorie [Missouri] and the St. Pierre [now the Minnesota River] the indians further told me, that there was a nation smaller and whiter than the neighboring tribes, who cultivate the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expressions) in some measure the arts. To this account they added that some of the nations who inhabit those parts that lie to the west of the Shining Mountains have gold so plenty among them that they make their most common utensils of it." (p. 118.)

[14] The Willamette is sometimes called the Multnomah on early maps and is so shown on the earliest United States map of the Oregon Country. Lewis and Clark's map of the stream marked it as the Multnomah throughout the entire distance. (Thwaites' Edition, Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 242.)

With reference to this stream, Rev. Samuel Parker, who visited the region in 1835, said: "The name Multnomah is given to a small section of this river from the name of a tribe of indians who once resided about six miles on both sides from its confluence with the Columbia, to the branch which flows down the southern side of the Wappatoo Island [Sauvie's Island]. Above it is called the Willamette." (Journal of an Exploring Tour (1842), p. 171.)

Judge William Strong, of Portland, claimed that the name Willamette was not of indian origin, saying, "it has no marks of an indian word—no guttural or sibilant sounds—which

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After Carver's map showing "Heads of Origan," the first official map of the United States (as it has been called by P. Lee Phillips, an eminent authority) was prepared and published, in 1784, by William McMurray, who had served during the Revolution as captain of the American forces, and as assistant geographer to the United States. Its western limit was at the Mississippi River. The inscriptions on the map show that the northwestern part was "taken from Carver, compared with later travels," and the drawing of the lakes and rivers in the upper Mississippi region is similar to that of Carver, though not identical in outline. The words "Head br. Origan," no doubt were intended to indicate the head branch of that supposed river.[15] Another American map was published, in 1785, by John Fitch entitled the "Northwest Parts of America." He followed McMurray, and marked the "Head of Origan" in similar position, although altering the drawing. Fitch was a native of Connecticut but had lived in Kentucky, and he claimed to have been the first to invent and apply steam as a motive power to vessels upon the water.[16]

It was probably from Carver's book, though perhaps more directly from the Hudson's Bay Company office, that Captain Meares, an English mariner, obtained the name Oregan, which he marked as a river upon a map in his book published in London in 1790.[17] He was there discussing the probability of a passage or strait from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, and incidentally he mentioned the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company had many curious maps, some by indians, of the interior part of the country towards the northwest and the Pacific. He said: "On the face of these charts, particularly the one described by two indians, appear several rivers or inlets, unknown to Europeans, which communicate with the Arathapescow lake, and from this lake the river

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abound in our indian languages, and there are no similar words in the languages of the tribes west of the Cascades." Judge Mathew P. Deady and William Lair Hill, and others, took the contrary view. Their letters published in the Portland daily press concerning the proper spelling of the word, whether Wallamet, Wallamette, or Willamette, with much material on this famous and never ending controversy, are collected in a volume of Miscellaneous Catalogues (050-6) in the library of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland. It may be of interest to add that Judge Strong's assertion above mentioned is negatived by the fact that the word Willamette is mentioned in Portlock's Voyage Round the World, p. 255, as a word in use by the indians of Prince William's sound, denoting a certain region near there. Portlock spells it Waallamute. The Willamette or some portion of it was once named the San Clementi. (Judge William Strong, citing United States State Papers 1819-20, pp. 568-570; Melish's Map, referred to by Dr. Twiss, in The Oregon Question, p. 242.) And still another name, Makay, was once given to it by D. Makenzie. (Journal of R. Stuart in Bancroft Collection at San Francisco, cited by Judge Deady in the Oregonian of January 23, 1875.) Irving called the river the Wallamut in "Captain Bonneville" and again the Wollamut in "Astoria." It has been spelled also Wylamit, Willhamett, Wallamette and Willamet in early pioneer records. For various spellings, see Or. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. III, p. 101; Vol. XIII, pp. 189, 190, 201, 213.

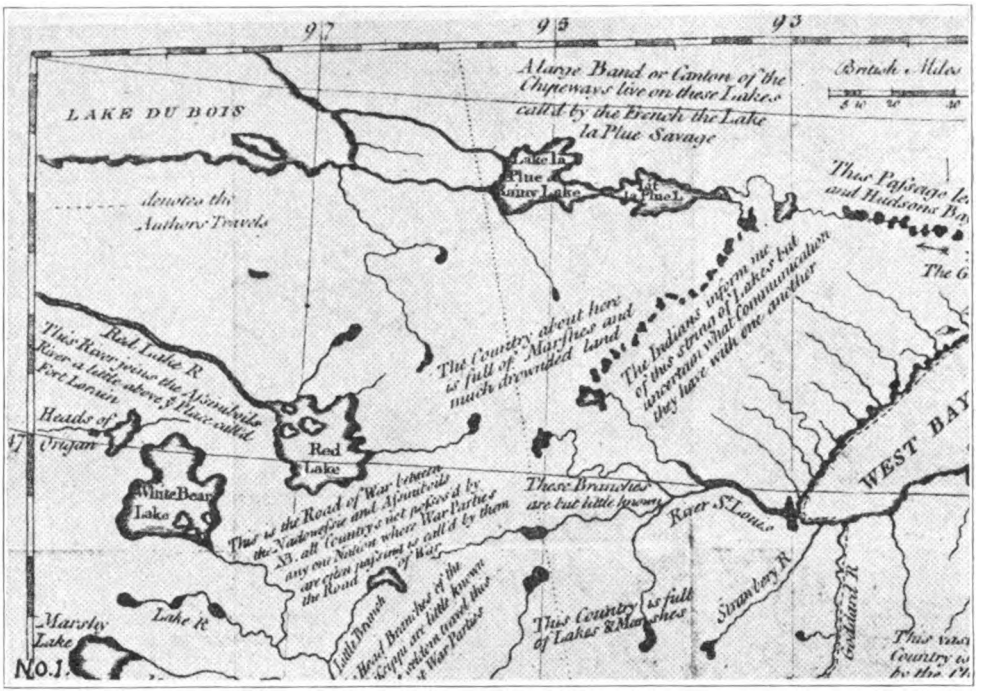
[15] McMurray's map was based upon a map made by Thomas Hutchins of the "Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Maryland," printed at London in 1779. Carver alludes to this Hutchins map in complimentary terms as about to be printed. (Travels, p. 541.) The Fitch map also gives credit to Hutchins. A copy of the Hutchins map is in the Library of Congress, and a reproduction of it was made by F. C. Hicks for his "A Topographical Description of Virginia." Carver's originality was principally in the upper Mississippi region.

[16] Copies of the McMurray and the Fitch maps are in the Library of Congress. P. Lee Phillips, Chief of the Division of Maps and Charts, has published a reprint of the Fitch map, with historical text and references to the McMurray map.

[17] Voyages, p. XL. For comparison of the maps here mentioned, see illustration.

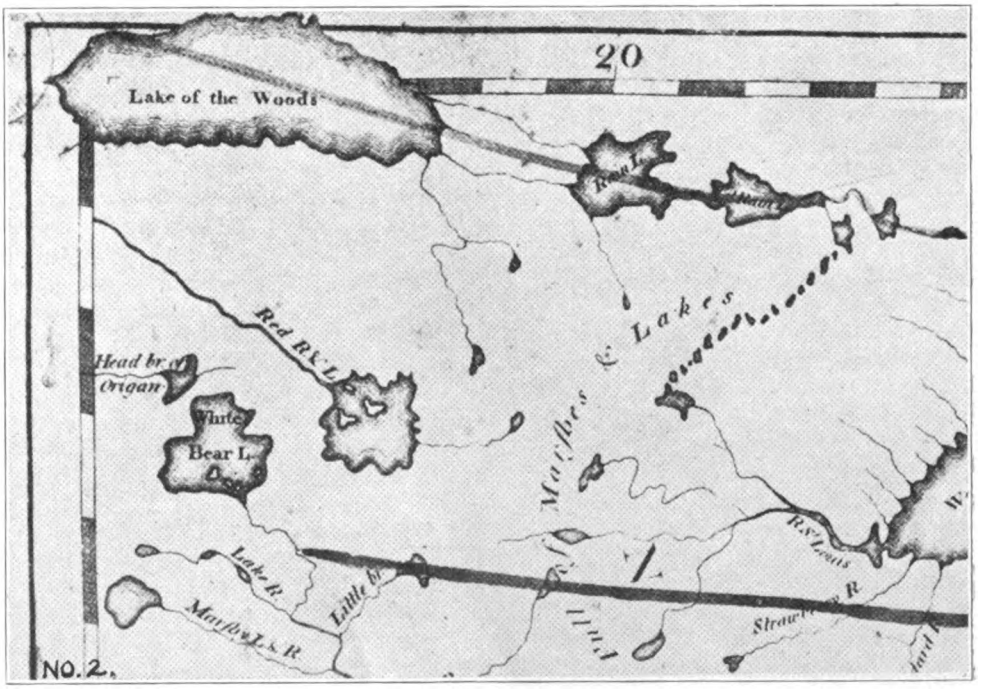
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FROM CARVER'S TRAVELS (1778). THE DISTRICT SHOWN IS WEST OF LAKE SUPERIOR

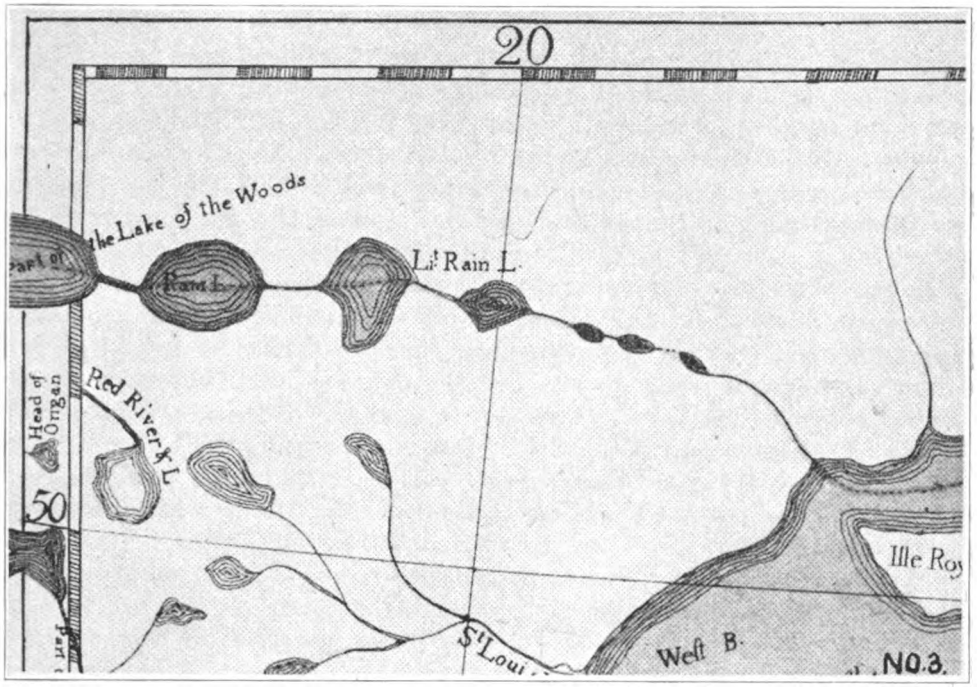
"Heads of Origan" represents the source of the supposed river flowing westward. This is the first use of the name Oregon on a map. "This map was not original with Carver, but was based on earlier maps."



FROM WILLIAM McMURRAY'S (FIRST OFFICIAL) MAP OF THE UNITED STATES (1784)

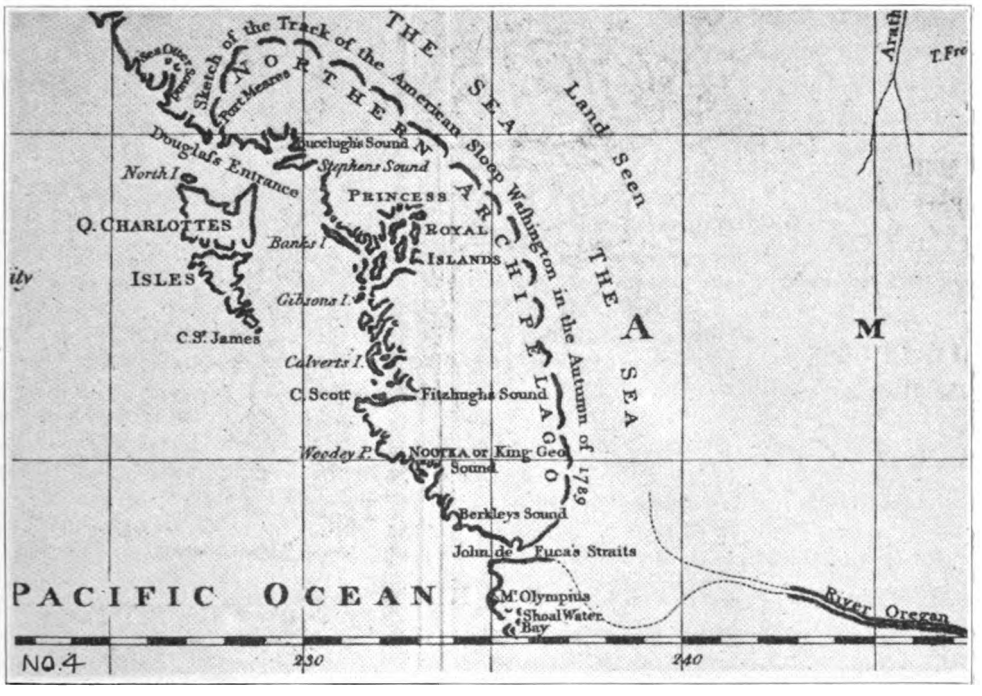
"Head branch of the Origan" is evidently copied from Carver's map. This is the second map to use the name.

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FROM JOHN FITCH, MAP OF NORTHWEST PARTS OF AMERICA (1785)

Derived from Carver and McMurray. "Head of Origan" is shown on the margin. This is the third use of the name on a map.



FROM JOHN MEARES' VOYAGES (1790)

The River Oregan is shown flowing toward the Pacific Ocean and John de Fuca's Straits. The inland sea is undefined. This is the fourth map to use the name Oregon.

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Kiscachewan runs northwest into the Pacific Ocean, communicating perhaps with Cook's River, the Northern Archipelago, or what we shall call the Straits of John de Fuca. These charts have great resemblance to those made by the Canadian traders, which renders them exceedingly interesting." His own map indicates that his River Oregan probably empties into the straits just mentioned and not into the ocean. This map was made two years before Gray discovered and named the Columbia River.

Thus there was added to modern civilized language a new name, of liquid sound and romantic significance. Its acceptance was due to the wide circulation of the printed references to the Oregon River in the many editions of the Carver book, and the distribution of these various maps on which the name was used. The belief in the existence of the Oregon River, which as yet no white man had seen, was now general. Thomas Jefferson knew of it and referred to it by name in 1793.[18] The young poet William Cullen Bryant used the word in the year 1811, although his poem did not get into print until 1817. He was apparently impressed with Carver's book of travels and adventure, and found the sonorous word well adapted to the meter of his Thanatopsis. It could not fail to attract attention when immortalized in that masterpiece and embedded in the much quoted verse:

"Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound
Save his own dashings — yet the dead are there!"

When the poem was published the river had already been christened as the Columbia, upon its discovery in 1792, and it was usually so designated upon maps after that date.[19] On December 19, 1820, there was brought up in Congress by Representative John Floyd, of Virginia, a motion for appointment of a committee for inquiry into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean, and "the expediency of occupying the Columbia river," and a month later as chairman of a committee he brought in an elaborate report upon the subject. It is probable that he had had some information from the Astor partners, but at any rate his report and his proposal for use of the name in

[18] Jefferson's Works, Vol. VII, p. 208 (Federal Edition).

[19] Upon a map in Cook's Universal Geography, published in London evidently after the discovery by Gray, the Columbia is represented as running nearly due west to the Pacific ocean. It is called River of the West near its mouth, but where it rises it is designated the Oregon. In a similar map of John Payne of New York, in 1799, the River of the West empties into the Strait of Juan de Fuca while the name Oregon is applied to the head of the stream which is located far east of the Missouri.

Maps showing the "River of the West" prior to 1778, in the Library of Congress, are the following:

Chart containing the coasts of California, New Albion. London, R. Sayer & J. Bennett, 1775. 17 by 43½. Shows "River of the West."

A map of the discoveries made by the Russians on the northwest coast of America. London, C. Bowles, 1771. 18 by 24½. Shows "River of the West."

A map of North America by J. Palairet with considerable alterations by L. Delarochette. London, J. Bowles, 1765. 18½ by 22½. Shows "River of the West."

The following maps may also be of interest:

L'Amérique Septentrionale, 1757. [In Delisle, G. Collection of maps, fol. Amsterdam, 1722-74. No. 35.] Shows "Route de la riv. de l'ouest et chemin des guerriers," which joins the "R. Rouge ou Miscouesipi" with the "R. de l'ouest." Only a very small portion of the river is given running to the 95° west longitude.

Carte d'Amérique par G. Delisle, 1739. [In his Atlas nouveau, fol. Amsterdam, Covens & Mortier, 1741, v. 2.] Shows a "Grande rivière coulant à l'ouest," which exactly corresponds to that indicated in the preceding map.

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a bill that was brought in by him January 18, 1822, for the creation of an Origon Territory, for all time fixed the name as a designation of the section rather than as the name of the river itself.[20] It was here that the Oregon question began its appearance as a matter of debate and public interest, later becoming an international question long unsettled, as will be shown in these pages. It may be added that the name Oregon as applied to the country soon gained further publicity through the many pamphlets and publications of Hall J. Kelley, a New England citizen, who became zealous in promoting public interest in the region of the Pacific northwest and in urging congressional legislation and early settlement.

Thus, the Oregon Country became a familiar name. Various attempts have been made to trace the word to Spanish or to French sources, but with little success. Numerous writers have expressed opinions, until there is a wealth of literature on the subject, but speculation and surmise lead to nothing authoritative, and there is still a pleasant aroma of mystery about the name that was originally ascribed to an impossible river, arising in the Mississippi basin and finding an unknown and devious way across mountains and valleys as yet unseen by any white man, until in its wanderings it was supposed to reach the imaginary straits of Anian, somewhere in the remote regions of the Pacific. The great river Columbia, named by its discoverer Robert Gray, had been almost though not quite discovered by many before him, and had been marked upon old maps with such names as the River of the West, River of Aguilar, River de los Estrechos, River Thegayo, Esenada de Heceta, River of St. Roc, and other names given by those who had never been upon its mighty waters, or penetrated its fertile valley or found its mountain stronghold.

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[20] Report is set out in full in Or. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, Vol. VIII, p. 51. For discussion see Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, "Aspects of Oregon History Before 1840," an address at the Historical Congress of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition at Portland, Oregon, August 21, 1905, printed in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 255. This is an examination of Floyd's part in naming Oregon and in launching in Congress the agitation for organization and acquisition of the territory.

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CHAPTER II

THE OREGON COUNTRY

In reality there have been three Oregons. The first of these in point of time, and as well the greatest in area, has a history beginning long prior to the year 1846, and it comprises an extent of country reaching from the northern boundary of California to the more or less indefinite line of the Russian possessions in the far north, west of the continental divide. The second of these Oregons extends from the same boundary on the south to the forty-ninth degree of latitude on the north, and this is the Oregon Country as limited by the treaty between the United States and Great Britain in 1846. The third, with the same southern boundary, is the present State of Oregon, limited on the north by the southern line of what was at one time the territory, now the state, of Washington. It is the second of these Oregons that will at first engage our attention, the territory embracing on our present maps the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, together with parts of Montana and Wyoming.

This far flung empire contains within its boundaries a diversity of terrain and of climatic conditions. Near the Pacific Ocean there stands a range of mountains of no great height, leaving here and there a very narrow coastal plain between it and the sea and elsewhere rising abruptly from the waves, or jutting out boldly into the ocean in great basaltic dikes. Numerous swift flowing streams penetrating this Coast Range debouch into the Pacific in the form of bays navigable by vessels of moderate draft. The mighty Columbia River, however, does not come under this category, since it is capable of bearing safely upon its bosom the deep-draft ships that sail the western sea. These Coast mountains are of moderate elevation, with the exception of the Siskiyous, near the California line, which have peaks that are snow-capped until well into the summer, and the Olympics, at the extreme north, which rear their snowy crests aloft above the strait of Juan de Fuca. Between these two extremities the mountains of the Coast range are perpetually green, being heavily wooded, especially on the northern exposure of their laterally projecting spurs.

Such was the aspect the Oregon coast presented to the first mariners approaching from the ocean on the west, and so forbidding is it, with its apparently unbroken front of mountainous walls, that many an early explorer veered about, little dreaming of the lovely valleys and of the wealth of prairie land lying beyond, and quite ignorant of the numerous snug harbors in which his small craft might have taken refuge. The southwest winds prevalent throughout the winter season, bringing with them the accumulated moisture of warm southern seas, deposit their burden first upon the coastal region of Oregon, the resulting precipitation there being the greatest of any within the continental area of the United States.

The next distinct geographic unit of Oregon is the valley system which extends northward from the Siskiyous to Puget Sound. This region is crossed in many places with low hills, although the valley watered by the Willamette

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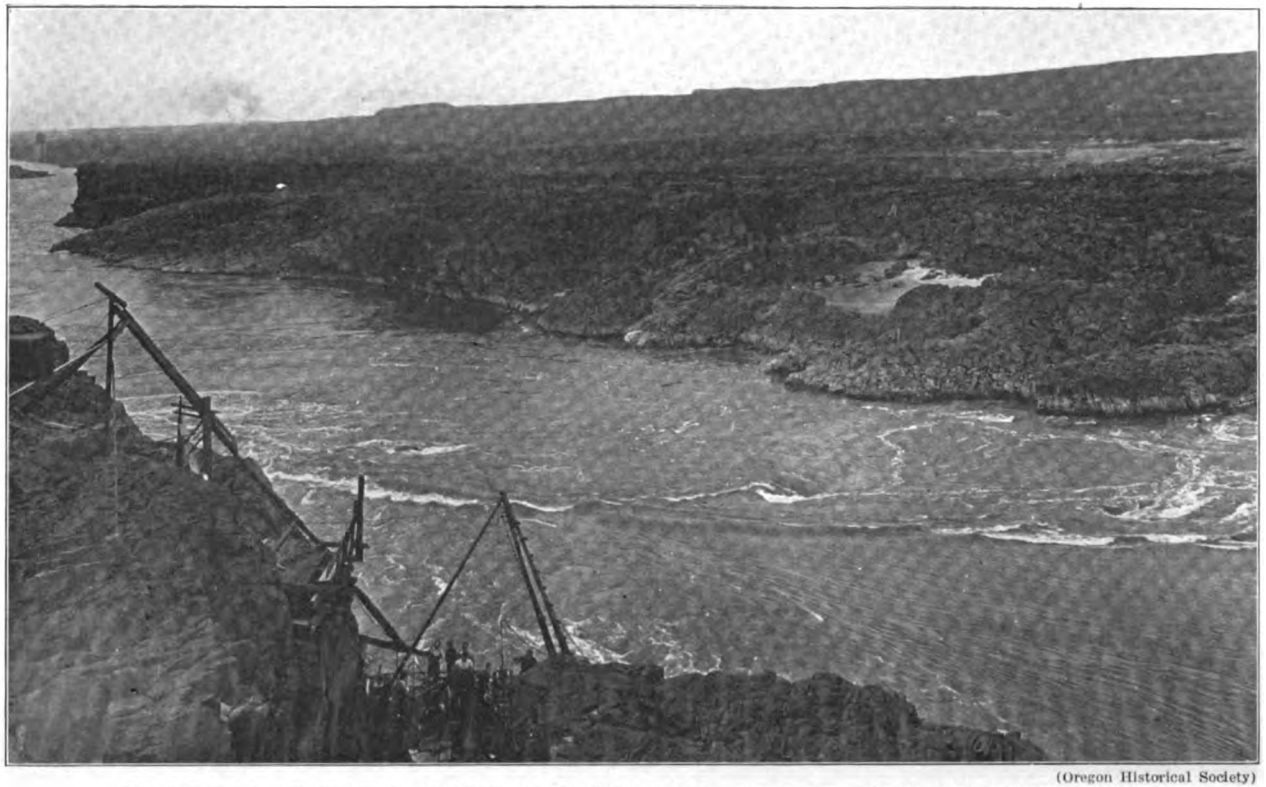
constitutes an extensive plain. The northern part of this inter-mountain valley division is characterized by its heavy growth of coniferous forest, whereas the southern has been from time immemorial more open, as no doubt in the olden days it was regularly denuded of forest and brush by the aborigines with fire in order to facilitate their quest for game and food. The valley system terminates sharply at the mountain wall of the Cascade Range, the second range running north and south, and rising majestically to altitudes varying from five to fifteen thousand feet. This barrier is quite unbroken save for the pass of the Columbia River. With its great snow clad peaks, Baker, Rainier, Adams, Saint Helens, Hood, Jefferson, the Three Sisters, all perpetually snow clad, and its infinite variety of mountain lakes and brilliantly beflowered glades, this truly Alpine wonderland is justly entitled to be considered another distinctive feature of the great Oregon country.

East of the Cascade Mountains and extending to the Rockies is the third great distinctive region of Oregon. This Inland Empire was once the floor of a vast land-locked sea above whose surface rose as islands the Blue Mountains of Eastern Oregon, the Salmon River Mountains, and the Seven Devils Range of Idaho. The great upheaval of the western country in recent geologic time has converted this sea bottom into an elevated plateau ranging in altitude from three hundred on the Columbia to four thousand feet in districts upon its tributaries. This plateau is cut by deep fissures where the watercourses have ploughed their way through canyons in order to effect their junction with the Columbia. This is a region of hot summers, cold winters and almost perpetual sunshine, which distinguishes it sharply from the region west of the Cascades where the summers and winters are mild, and where sunshine, taking the year throughout, is at a premium. The Cascade Mountains arrest the copious rainfall coming from the west and make the climatic conditions of the entire Inland Empire somewhat less humid. It is not, however (as was supposed by the early arrivals in this country), a desert, for under irrigation it has been made to bring forth bounteously of nature's store, and even dry farming has proved successful, and it is found to be one of the great grain producing districts of the West.

A description of the topography of the Oregon Country would be inadequate without especial reference to what may be called the entrance and corridor of this region, which brings order out of seeming geographical chaos, and unity out of the conditions just described. The mighty Columbia River, the second in length and one of the greatest in volume of the rivers of the United States, furnishes a passageway between the diverse sections, provides entrance both from the east and from the west, and thus makes Oregon a unit. It follows a mighty cleft in the mountain chains, the only such opening to the sea for a distance of many miles to the north or to the south.

Geologists tell us that the Oregon Country being between a high mountain wall and the warm Pacific, did not during the glacial period become covered with an ice cap as was the case farther east. The ocean shore line was much farther west, but when the age of ice was passing away the land slowly sank until the present shore was established and a great inland sea or sound was formed in the Willamette Valley region, and this did not disappear again until a long period of time had elapsed. The lower Columbia from Astoria to near Saint Helens was a wide estuary, and again in the vicinity of the mouth of the Deschutes River there was a great lake, while also the Yakima and the

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(Oregon Historical Society)

MAIN FALLS AT CELILO ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, FACING THE WASHINGTON SHORE

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Walla Walla districts were under water. The Cascade Range was a huge dike which arose gradually as the lands to the east and the west emerged and became dry lands. The water was three hundred feet or more above the height of the land in the vicinity of the mouth of the Willamette, and this inland salt water sound or bay extended as far south as Eugene. The Chehalem Mountains at the south, and the Dundee Hills, the Polk County Hills, and several other groups, were peninsulas or islands; while the Cascades, with their snow peaks, the Elk Creek Mountains, the Elk Horn Mountains and the Steen Mountains all dominated the scene, and all had many glaciers. These glaciers and others farther north brought boulders and soil from long distances which were scattered or deposited in great masses by the melting of the ice. Before the age of ice there were in Oregon primitive forms of the horse and camel, which are now long since extinct; besides these there was the great ground sloth, mylodon, larger than a rhinocerous, and also the broad-faced ox or buffalo, and the elephant. The latter included the two varieties, the mastodon and the mammoth with great curved tusks. Remains of these prehistoric animals have been found, and also many marine and fresh water fossils of the period when the land was under water as described. There was a time when the climate was hot and humid, when tropical forests and jungles covered the land. The presence of man in these great stretches of time has not been established, but as the elephants are supposed to have originated in Africa, and to have found their way thence into this region, and as many forms of animal life of the Oregon country disappeared from there as the climate grew colder, and migrated southward and into South America, it is assumed that the continental land masses of the globe may, during ages of past, have been connected, which suggests the thought that a journey overland to this section by the cave men of Europe might have been possible. All of this is in the realm of speculation rather than of fact, but the geological conditions must be taken into consideration in studying the possible origin of those native inhabitants that were found by the white man.[1]

The prehistoric races of man left some evidence of their existence for in caves and on cliffs on the Columbia are pictographs showing some skill in drawing, and there are curious carved images of the sun and of animals, birds, and strange gods or men. These are often found near the fishing and camping places of the indians of more recent times, but although the latter have left utensils, tools, weapons and other articles the earlier tribes seem to have left but slight traces of a distinct civilization long since passed away and forgotten.

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[1] Ellen Condon McCornack, A Glimpse Into Prehistoric Oregon, Or. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. XIII, page 3, citing The Two Islands, Thomas Condon, and other authorities.

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CHAPTER III

THE FIRST OREGONIANS

The history of Oregon should properly begin with that of its aboriginal inhabitants, but as they have left no authentic records, and as even their myths are of no great historical significance, we must content ourselves with some reference to the tribes found there by the first white men and a description of their cultural attainments.

The indians, so designated because of the illusion of Columbus as to the land which he had discovered, but recently and more accurately called Amerinds by ethnologists, are not original and primitive inhabitants upon American soil, but, according to the best authorities, arrived from Asia by way of Bering Strait and the Aleutian Islands in comparatively recent geologic time. The best evidence that they could not have originated upon American soil is that none of the higher anthropoids ever existed upon either of the continents of the western hemisphere.

The following is Captain Cook's interesting description of his first contact with the natives at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island in 1778: "We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited; and at the place where we were first becalmed, three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the last two stood up and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed, by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers toward us, and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it by turns to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers; and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they show the least surprize or distrust. Some of them now and then got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sung a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected; the word haela being often repeated as the burden of the song."[1] A few days later twelve or fourteen canoes approached near the ship. "At first we thought they were afraid to come nearer; but we were mistaken in this, and they were only preparing an introductory ceremony. On advancing toward the ships, they all stood up in their canoes, and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were

[1] Cook's, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Vol. VII, p. 265.

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A PORTION OF MRS. ADA BRADY MILLICAN'S INDIAN CURIO AND BASKET COLLECTION

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in a slow and others in quicker time; and they accompanied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands, or beating in concert with their paddles on the sides of the canoes, and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, sometimes pronouncing the word *hoo-ee!* forcibly, as a chorus. After entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration, for above half an hour, they came along side the ships and bartered what they had to dispose of."[2]

Captain Vancouver gives similar pictures of the ceremony of extending hospitality on Puget Sound. The canoes, with the chiefs and their attendants, advanced to about two hundred yards from the ship, "and there resting on their paddles a conference was held, followed by a song principally sung by one man, who at stated times was joined in chorus by several others, whilst some in each canoe kept time with the handles of their paddles, striking them against the gunwale or side of the canoe forming a sort of accompaniment which though expressed in simple notes only was by no means destitute of an agreeable effect."[3]

When Lewis and Clark made their journey across the western country a few years later they made minute and accurate notes of the appearance, habits and conduct of the indian tribes with whom they came in contact, and the description of those occupying the lower Columbia region and the coast near by is still the main authority as to the early condition of the natives. Lewis and Clark were the first whites to visit and live among them, although both Captain Gray of the ship Columbia and Lieutenant Broughton of the Vancouver expedition had seen them and described their impressions of them. These tribes which are generally grouped as the Chinook family for linguistic classification occupied the Columbia from the dalles to its mouth (excepting a space held by the Clatskanie indians), and also the lower Willamette from the falls to the mouth, and the ocean front from Willapa Harbor to Tillamook Head. Among these closely related tribes included in the Chinookan family the Multnomahs were a small division living on the Willamette near its mouth. Another branch or division of this same family was the Wakanasisi or Waukanississe, who occupied the district near the mouth of the Willamette, including Sauvie's Island, and the near-by shores of the Columbia.

These indians, possessing no horses, used canoes made from cedar logs, as the ordinary means of locomotion. They were expert fishermen, catching salmon and sturgeon in traps and set-nets of ingenious design. The men went off to hunt in the mountains, in the summer season, the women picking berries and digging roots. The latter cured fish and meat, tanned skins, made garments, and baskets, hats, and other articles useful at home, or that could be used in trade with other tribes. They also made thread, twine, cords, nets, cloth, matting, and sacking, out of the native plants, curing the wild milk weed and saving the fiber to spin and weave. The finer nets were made of wild flax that grows east of the mountains, which they secured by barter.

It is a matter of some difficulty now to identify and classify properly all of the tribes with whom the white people came in contact in exploring and settling

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[2] Id., p. 282.

[3] Vancouver's, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, Vol. I, p. 263.

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the Oregon Country. Besides the variety in mere matter of spelling names, the tribes were by no means stationary, and many are now known to have been branches of various stocks occupying districts far east of the Rocky Mountains and south toward the Mexican line, and north into Alaska.

For example, the Rogue River indians of Southern Oregon, and their neighbors the Pit River indians of Northern California, were probably racially connected with the Apaches of Arizona. In spite of the vast amount of information to be obtained from early journals, reports, letters, and from later historical contributions of infinite variety, no systematic study of these races was possible until in recent times, and much of this information, particularly as to local tribal names, is now difficult to reconcile and adjust to systematic examination. The great outstanding fact, however, that scholars are unable to explain about these primitive people is the variety of their languages, apparently often without historic unity. The linguistic diversity attracted the attention of the earliest Spanish visitors to this coast and has ever since been a subject of comment and of study. Tribes living for generations in close proximity not only had radically different dialects but actually could not understand each other. Thus when Captain Vancouver left Nootka Harbor on Vancouver Island in 1792 and visited Puget Sound, he found that the indians there did not recognize Nootka words, and it was ascertained when his expedition stopped at Gray's Harbor, and on the Columbia River that in these localities few Nootka words were understood.[4]

Sometimes the names of villages were by the white men ascribed to a tribe, or there may have been a local name for a band of indians who more definitely would be a mere sub-tribe and racially connected with one of the larger groups. Out of the myriad of tribal indian names, however, it is possible to classify the more important, although the identity of some tribes named in early Oregon history is still a matter of uncertainty.[5]

Research and linguistic grouping now lead experts in that field to classify American indians into some fifty-eight distinct families, and a feature of the mapping out of these families is the discovery that in what is now Oregon and California, more than one-third of these groups are represented.

The estimate of Lewis and Clark was that there were some sixteen thousand of the Chinooks, and early accounts indicate that other tribes in the Oregon Country were numerous, so that the indian population at the beginning of the nineteenth century was probably near fifty thousand. But in 1824 and 1829 smallpox and what was designated as ague fever, an ailment the exact nature of

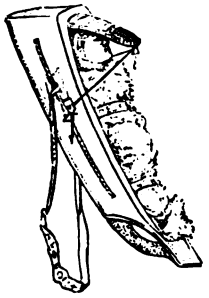
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[4] Vancouver, Voyages, Vol. I, pp. 227, 234, 261.

[5] Classified with reference to linguistic stocks, some of the principal groups referred to in Oregon history are the following:

Algonkian (Western Montana), including Blackfeet, Cree; *Athapasson* (small districts on Canadian border and on southern coast), including Umpqua, Coquille; *Calapooian* (Willamette Valley), Calapooya, Yoncalla, Santiam, Chemeketa; *Chinookan* (lower Columbia and vicinity), Chinooks, Clatsop, Atsmith, Wasco, Dalles indians, Willopah; *Chimakuan* (between Hood Canal and Port Townsend), Quilaute; *Lutuamian* (Southern Oregon), Klamath, Modoc; *Shahaptian* (Central and Eastern Oregon and Washington), Umatilla, Klickitat, Nez Percé, Walla Walla, Yakima; *Salishan* (extensive area in Northern and Eastern Washington) Quinaielt, Puyallup, Chehalis, Clallam, Flathead, Kalispel (or Pend d'Oreille) Okanogan, Sanspoil, Spokane; *Shastan* (Southwestern Oregon and Northern California), Shasta, Rogue River indians, Acnomawi (Pit River indians); *Shoshonian* (Southeastern Idaho), Bannock, Shoshone; *Wailatpuan* (Cascade Range near Mount Hood and in Eastern Oregon and Washington), Cayuse, Molalla; *Wakashan* (Vancouver Island), Nootka.

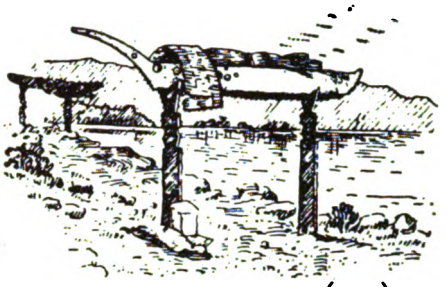
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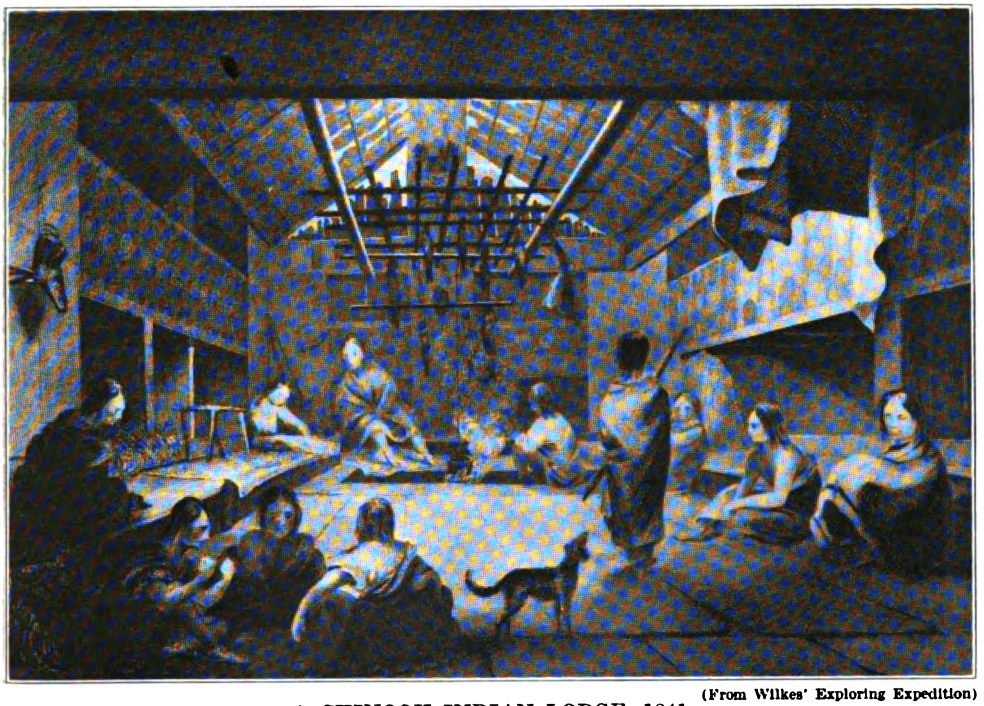
CHINOOK CRADLE WITH WICKER HEAD-BOARD (CATLIN)



CHINOOK WOMAN WITH CHILD IN HEAD-DEFORMING CRADLE (CATLIN)



CANOE BURIAL, CHINOOK. (SWAN)



(From Wilkes' Exploring Expedition)

A CHINOOK INDIAN LODGE, 1841

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which is not now recognized, swept off thousands of these people. Competent authority estimates destruction of four-fifths of the native population in a single summer. Whole villages were eliminated and tribes were so reduced in numbers that they lost their identity and were absorbed by others. Even tribal languages have become extinct in some instances.[6] In 1847 the measles proved fatal to many, and indeed after the coming of the white men there seems to have been a succession of epidemic diseases. Tribal names have been perpetuated in the geographical nomenclature of the Oregon Country as well as in other ways. The name Cayuse, for instance, no longer used to denote a people, who were practically exterminated by smallpox in 1847 and whose very language is all but extinct, is now used to denote a certain type of horse more or less associated with indians in general and that tribe in particular. So the Chinooks, who have almost disappeared, and who have left but few remnants of their tribe upon the scenes of their former activities, have a name preserved by being imbedded as a word in common parlance, such as Chinook jargon, Chinook salmon, Chinook wind or weather.

While the indians of the Oregon Country may be properly classified as savages, it is to be understood that this term is to be taken in its ethnological sense, for they had many admirable traits and showed themselves capable of feeling and conduct which might well put their more fortunate white brethren to shame.

In a most thorough and painstaking study of original journals over one hundred in number a recent investigator has made clear that almost without exception the red men who first came in contact with the whites (and continuing thereafter until debased by the association with them) were much better than historians have generally painted them. He says that his studies of these original narratives show that the indians received the strangers hospitably, that they practiced a simple, unostentatious religion, that they were men of honor, of simple industry, and of physical skill, that their government was simple but efficient, that the home embodied strong attachments, though it exhibited at times improperly apportioned burdens. Indian vices, not necessarily crimes, were such as improvidence, gambling and cruel treatment of enemies; but we cannot justly charge the race with the alleged crimes of treachery and drunkenness, nor with atheism nor idolatry.[7] This estimate is in the main justified by the record, although the presentation may be criticised as rather the brief of an advocate than the unbiased conclusion of a judge or historian.

The indians on the Pacific Coast no doubt differed greatly in their honesty, and some tribes were more treacherous and more bloodthirsty and cruel than others. When Sir Francis Drake, in the sixteenth century, approached the coast to seek harbor, he was met with a friendly reception by the natives. An

[6] Bulletin 30, Part I, Bureau of American Ethnology, Handbook of American Indians, p. 274. The indians are said to have believed that Captain Dominis, the American, brought the fever. (Slacum's Report, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, pp. 189, 200; John Ball, Across the Continent Seventy Years Ago, id., Vol. III, p. 104; Wilkes, U. S. Exploring Expedition, Vol. V, p. 140.) Wilkes estimated the indian population surviving in 1841 at less, rather than more than twenty thousand. Rev. Samuel Parker, who visited Oregon in 1835, says: "Since the year 1829 probably seven-eighths, if not, as Dr. McLoughlin believes, nine-tenths, have been swept away by disease, principally by fever and ague." (Journal of an Exploring Tour, Edition of 1842, p. 191.)

[7] O. B. Sperlin, The Indian of the Northwest as Revealed by the Earliest Journals, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 1.

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indian came out to sea in a canoe, gesticulating and delivering a speech of welcome, blowing a feather upon the air as a sign of peace, and he tossed a basket of tobacco on board the ship as a token of good will. Although there were some signs of hostility on the first attempt at a landing, there was afterwards a great ceremony on shore, given by the indians in welcome of the strange white men. This experience of the first English visitor was the experience two centuries later of the Spaniard Perez and of the Englishmen Meares, Vancouver and others at various places upon the coast and with different tribes. Nevertheless it is true that a number of navigators had trouble with the natives and charged them with perfidy and treachery, resulting in bloodshed. Heceta had such an experience in 1775 on the Washington coast, when his lieutenant who had command of one of his ships sent ashore his only boat, and it was attacked by the natives and seven of his men were murdered. In 1787 Captain Barkley, of the Imperial Eagle, had a similar experience at the same place when he sent a boat ashore there for water, and all of the boat's crew were killed. Captain Gray accidentally discovered a plot to seize his vessel and to murder the crew, when he was wintering at Cloyoquot, on Vancouver Island. The local indian chiefs with whom he was apparently upon friendly terms, in concert with a Sandwich islander, who was a member of his crew, had a treacherous plot which was frustrated just in time. Captain Gray had another experience in the bay now known as Gray's Harbor in which he killed several indians who were discovered in an attempt to surprise and capture his ship in the night, and still another which happened on the Oregon Coast, where a bloody affray with the natives was precipitated when some of his men were ashore. This time the fault was in part that of a young member of Captain Gray's crew who did not use good judgment in trying to recover his cutlas that had been picked up and appropriated by one of the indians. To give another illustration, the experience of Capt. John Salter, and the crew of the American ship, Boston, was still more unfortunate, for the ship was destroyed, and but two of the crew survived a general massacre. The natives made the attack under the leadership of Chief Maquina, who for many years had had dealings with the white men. One of the survivors of the crew was John R. Jewitt, who after three years' captivity escaped and published a narrative of the disastrous voyage. These instances by no means exhaust the list, but serve to show that even in the first contacts between the races there was occasional grave trouble. Most of the expeditions maintained a constant watchfulness and were extremely careful not to allow the natives to surround the ships in great numbers, and their precautions no doubt saved disaster at times.

Early navigators differed in opinion as to the trustworthiness of the aborigines of the coast. Captain Cook thought the natives of British Columbia and Alaska that he came in contact with were courteous, docile and good natured, but quick to resent an injury. On the other hand, Ledyard, who sailed with him, reported the same people "bold, ferocious, sly and reserved; not easily moved to anger but revengeful in the extreme." Cook found the natives of Prince William's Sound, thievish like the Nootka indians, though not so ferocious and revengeful.

Experiences of those who first came in contact with the natives in the interior of the Oregon Country might be related to show that the occurrences on the coast had their counterparts elsewhere, and in the proper place some account of these will be given. The truth is that the indians were much like other human

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beings, and while some of them were untrustworthy or treacherous, there were tribes as well as individuals of quite the contrary disposition. In their intercourse with the whites, as a rule, they acted honorably in accordance with their code, even with kindness and hospitality, and when trouble did arise between members of the two races, not infrequently it was due to failure of the whites to understand the mores of the red man; and, be it said to his discredit, the white man seldom made an effort to discover the red man's code of ethics.[8]

The indians of the Inland Empire and the Rocky Mountain region as first known to the whites were characterized by bravery, hospitality, generosity, and a scrupulous fidelity to their obligations, and as to this the Nez Percé and Flatheads may particularly be mentioned. The Snake River indians, who belonged to the Shoshoni family, and also the Blackfeet, were more warlike. The Snakes were found troublesome by the Wilson Hunt party in 1811. The Blackfeet belonged east of the range and were found dangerous to white men after Lewis and Clark's time, although when first visited by the intrepid Anthony Hendry in 1754 they seemed hospitable and friendly.[9]

Rev. Samuel Parker, who visited the Oregon Country in 1836 wondered at the names given to the Flathead and Nez Percé tribes. "Who gave them the name or for what reason is not known," he says. "Some suppose it was given them in derision for not flattening their heads, as the Chinooks and some other nations do near the shores of the Pacific. It may be so, but how will those who indulge this imagination account for the Nez Percé being so called, since they do not pierce their noses?"[10]

The indians upon the Columbia, below the Cascades, as well as the Puget Sound indians, generally resorted to the practice of flattening the head. They lived in houses made of "shakes," that is, large shingles split from cedar, and placed as a covering over the openings between parallel planks. They were, moreover, expert in the art of boat building. Their canoes were of various sizes, from the small one-man dugout to the large canoe intended for the use of the chief, and capable of seating twenty or more men. They were all made in the same way. A single tree, preferably of cedar or spruce, was selected, and then hollowed out by means of adzes of stone, later of iron, fire being used also in the process. These canoes were models of symmetry and of seaworthiness, and the coast tribes made voyages of considerable length up and down the coast, and ventured out so far from land as to excite the surprise of the first Europeans to visit these shores.

The salmon nets of the Chinooks and Clatsops were ingeniously contrived and showed skill and ability. As already stated, they were woven of flax procured from the upper country and prepared in much the same way as it is commercially treated today.

The tools used by the indians before the introduction of iron by the whites were of flint or bone attached to wooden handles by thongs of deer or elk sinew. With these implements trees of great size could be felled, and large planks

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[8] Cobaway, called by Lewis and Clark Comowool, was principal chief of the Clatsop tribe. He rendered every assistance in his power to Lewis and Clark, and was always the white man's friend. Chenamas, of the Chinooks, on the Columbia below the Willamette, was a man of influence not only with his own tribe but among others, and he was always ready to assist the whites.

[9] Burpee, Search for the Western Sea, 128.

[10] Parker's Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains (1842), p. 80.

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riven. For cooking utensils, baskets were extensively used. These were so woven as to be water-tight. The food to be cooked was placed in such a basket, and was covered by a small amount of water. Stones were then heated and placed in the basket and more water added. The basket was then covered and the food was thus thoroughly cooked.

Besides a practically unlimited supply of game, and in the case of the coast indians of fish, the larder of the native was also varied by numerous roots, plants and berries. There were the camas, the wappato, the tuber of the fox-tail, the root of the blue lupine, the bitter root and others which were either gathered nearby or acquired by exchange.[11] There were hazel nuts, pine nuts, chincapins and acorns; and for fruit, the salal, strawberry, raspberry, salmon-berry and blackberry, and currants and huckleberries of several varieties. These fruits and berries were plentiful and furnished abundant labor for the women in gathering and preparing them for the winter season. It may also be stated here, that, in their primeval state, the squaws did not do a disproportionate share of the work. There was plenty for both sexes to do, and it has been only since the coming of the whites, which has played havoc with the customs of the indians, that the male of the species has earned his reputation for laziness. Slavery was not uncommon among the tribes when first the white men came into the country, and it continued for some time thereafter.[12]

The religion of the indians of the Oregon Country, like that of kindred tribes throughout the United States was an advanced form of totemism. There were with the Oregon indians no gods, not even a supreme god, the much abused term "Great Spirit" being a mistranslation and misnomer. Totemism was the basis of the clan system prevailing in greater or less integrity among all the natives of the Pacific Northwest. The indian believed that nature was pervaded with an all-embracing force called locally in the Oregon Country Tomaniwus, elsewhere Wakan, Manitou, etc. He who could possess this Tomaniwus to a marked degree would be successful in all his undertakings. This force became also immanent in animals and sometimes in inanimate objects as well. It was always present in the totem, whether the personal or clan totem. The personal totem had to a large extent superseded that of the clan among the North American indians, showing that totemism among them had reached a relatively decadent state.

The shaman or "medicine man" was he who, through fasting and other ascetic practices, had acquired for himself a superlatively large amount of the Tomaniwus, by aid of which he could heal diseases and look into the future. Undoubtedly many genuine cases of "divine healing" were performed by the shamans. Indeed, if they were unsuccessful in their exhortations and could not offer a satisfactory explanation of failure, they might be put to death by their fellow-clansmen.

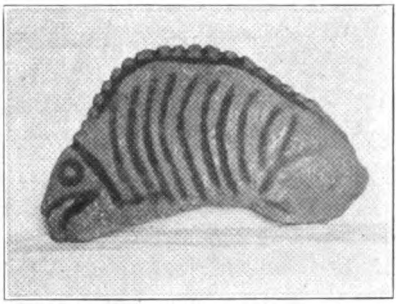
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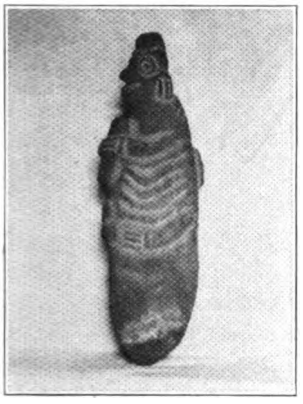
[11] Wappato is the Sagittaria variabilis. Camas is the Camassia esculenta. Bitter root is Lewisia rediviva.

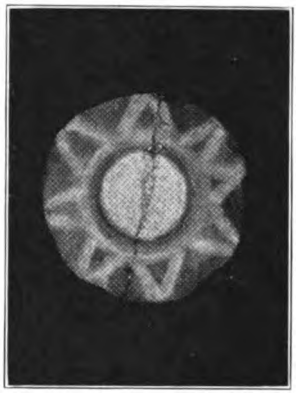
[12] "Slavery is common with all the tribes and he who possesses most slaves and the largest number of horses is considered the greatest chief." Military Report of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. X, p. 57). This report to the British Government was dated October 26, 1845. The first missionaries make frequent comment on the subject of slavery. (Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 109; and Record Book, Methodist Mission at Willamette, Oct. 18, 1835.) With the co-operation of Dr. McLoughlin they used their influence to discourage the holding of slaves.

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(Oregon Historical Society)

CARVED IMAGES, COLUMBIA RIVER INDIANS

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The indians of the Pacific Northwest were possessed of a very rich and copious mythology, many of their tales being in the nature of creation myths and those telling of totemic animals, especially the coyote and raven, which instructed the aborigines in their cultural arts and industries.

The languages spoken by the natives of the Oregon Country, as the kindred tongues through the Americas, were of the primitive agglutinative type. Like all other holophrastic languages they possessed a large but unstable vocabulary incapable of the exact expression of ideas. One writer says of the Oregon indians, "A dictionary of the Nez Percé or Nimipu contains over nine thousand different words, and the compiler thinks there are several thousand more. A Chehalis Indian said to the writer that in his language every part of an object had a name; so that by one word each portion could be told, as of a tree from root to branch. Horatio Hale also states that the impression that indians talked mostly by signs or gesture and intonations was entirely erroneous when they were speaking in their original tongue; then they used no signs or gestures, and very few inflections of the voice. This would show that they could express every idea exactly by distinct words."[13] But it is not the number of words in a language that necessarily furnishes the criterion of its verbal efficiency. A noted authority says apropos of this: "A scholar who tried to put together a dictionary of their language found that he had got to reckon with more than thirty thousand words, even after suppressing a large number of forms of lesser importance. And no wonder that the tally mounted up. For the Fuegians had more than twenty words, some containing four syllables, to express what for us would be either 'he' or 'she'; then they had two words for the sun, two for the moon, and two more for the full moon, each of the last named containing four syllables and having no element in common. Sounds, in fact, are with them as copious as ideas are rare." Again he says. "American languages of the ruder sort, by running a great number of sounds or syllables together, manage to utter a portmanteau word—'holophrase' is the technical term for it —into which is packed away enough suggestions to reproduce the situation in all its detail, the cutting, the fact that I did it, the object, the instrument, the time of the cutting, and who knows what besides. * * * You can express twenty different kinds of cutting; but you simply cannot say 'cut' at all."[14]

Hale, who visited Oregon as an attache of the Wilkes expedition in 1841[15] stated that there were at that time as many as twelve entirely separate and distinct languages among the indians of that territory. This is undoubtedly an underestimate. As already mentioned, tribes living in close proximity, and having constant intercourse, would have entirely distinct languages, and it has been asserted that this diversity of language was one of the most prolific causes of war between the tribes.[16] The language of the Wascos and the Warm Springs tribes was more perfectly developed than most others, while probably the most extensively used of the languages of the Oregon indians was that of the Chinooks which has given its name to the so-called Chinook jargon.

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[13] Horace Lyman: History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 72.

[14] Marett: Anthropology, pp. 139-141.

[15] International Idiom, a Manual of Oregon Trade Language, or Chinook Jargon.

[16] The indians in the Oregon Country do not seem to have had a system of signals for conveying information to a distance. (Bagley, Communication in Early Oregon; Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 347.) The sign language in common use east of the Rocky Mountains is not understood here.

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This distinctively Oregon product is a linguistic phenomenon of great interest. It has generally been supposed and is stated by historians that it was invented by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in order to facilitate their intercourse with the natives, but this theory is hardly tenable in view of the fact that it is known to have been in use many years before the establishment of the first Hudson's Bay Company factory in the Pacific Northwest. John R. Jewitt, whose name has already been mentioned as one who was captured by the indians at Nootka Sound in 1803, has left us a vocabulary of words used by natives of that locality in their intercourse with other tribes and many of the words thus preserved are found to be identical with those of the Chinook jargon.[17]

It is plain that the jargon is merely the natural outcome of the necessity arising among the tribes of the Oregon Country, with their utterly heterogeneous languages, for some common vehicle of speech to facilitate their trade, and to make possible the greater degree of intercommunication growing out of the presence of the whites and relations with them. The Chinook, being the most widespread of all the tongues spoken by the coast indians naturally became a base to fill this need. When the white men came, both French and English, they readily adopted, in their intercourse with the natives, the Chinook words denoting the local products, whereas the indians, in turn, adopted the French and English nomenclature for those objects imported by the whites with which they were unfamiliar. Thus the Chinook jargon came to be made up of approximately two-fifths of words from the original Chinook language, two-fifths from other indian languages and from the French, and one-fifth from English.

Referring to the diversity of languages among the Oregon tribes and the need for a common vehicle of speech, one of the most eminent authorities on this subject writes, "It is a remarkable fact that the indian tribes, occupying so small a territory, and compelled to traffic, travel, make war, and carry on such intercourse as their nomadic life required, spoke languages as different as modern Swedish is from English. These languages were almost as numerous as the tribes themselves. In the strip of territory from the mouth of the Willamette to the ocean, several different languages were spoken, the Calapooya, Cowlitz, Clatsop, Multnomah, and other tribes using among themselves only their own tribal language; but in voyages along the rivers or in hunting parties in the mountains, the Wasco indian who happened to meet the Clatsop, one from the mouth of the Columbia and the other from Central Oregon, made himself perfectly understood in this accommodating jargon, which was in use from the Cascade Mountains to the Pacific as a trading language, and widely known along the coast. With the coming of the white man, making known to the indian the weapons, the luxuries, and the vices of civilization, came the need of extending the Chinook to cover new conditions. He could not say 'carbine,' or 'fire,' so the words became 'calipeen' and 'piah.' The Canadians called the hand 'le main,' and the indians came at last to use nearly the same sound. Thus English and French words were grafted upon the Chinook jargon."[18]

The jargon vocabulary is very meagre, containing at the most not more than five hundred words; it is wholly without inflection, and its modes of expression

[17] Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Only Survivor of the Ship Boston, During a Captivity of Nearly Three Years Among the Savages of Nootka Sound, p. 5.

[18] John Gill: Chinook Dictionary.

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"COMING OF THE WHITE MAN" CITY PARK, PORTLAND.
(HERMAN A. MACNEIL, SCULPTOR)

(Gift of D. P. Thompson estate)

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are very crude and primitive, but it has served its purpose admirably, and is now used almost exclusively by the indians of the Pacific Northwest. The following Chinook version of the Lord's Prayer will illustrate what has been said above. It will be noticed that in this version there are but three words not of indian origin: "marsh," from the French "marcher," and "papa" and "nem," both being undeniably English.

> Nesika Papa Klaxta mitlite kopa Sahalee, kloshe kopa nesika tumtum mika nem. Nesika hiyu tikeh chahco mika illahee; Mamook mika kloshe tumtum kopa okoke illahee kahkwa kopa Sahalee. Potlatch konaway sun nesika muckamuck; pee Mahlee konaway nesika mesahchee, kahkwa nesika mamook kopa klaska spose mamook mesahchee kopa nesika. Wake lolo.[19]

[19] Compare the slightly variant form given in Gibbs, Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon (Wash., 1863), p. 44.

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CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF WORLD DISCOVERY

The fifteenth century that witnessed the great geographical discoveries by Portugal and Spain forms as it were a bridge between the mediæval and the modern in history. It was in 1486 that the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope. They reached the famous Malabar coast of India in 1498. The Spanish ships under Columbus had found the western hemisphere in 1492. Prior to these epoch making events Europe knew little at first hand of the other continents, even the nearer parts of Asia and Africa. But now the long dormant period was over and European nations entered upon that marvelous era of awakening that has given meaning to those expressions, the Revival of Learning, the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Europe that had itself been subject for centuries past to successive inundations of the restless populations of the East, now began to be the source of world migration, and her people poured out to explore, conquer and settle far countries. The Europe that had been dependent upon the overland eastern caravan trade for her rarities and luxuries had been barred by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, who closed the gateway. The discovery, therefore, of the ocean route around Africa, and the return of rich cargoes brought home by the bold Portuguese navigators, stimulated the imagination and excited a new interest in exploration not less than did the Spanish discoveries in the west. In the years to follow, the vast quantities of gold brought to Europe increased the volume of money in circulation and made commerce in a more modern sense possible between nations; and greater comforts, conveniences and luxuries soon had their effect upon conditions. It was an age of growing curiosity as to nature and her manifestations. Science, the arts, learning, philosophy and religion felt the impetus; and the isolation of towns and provinces that was so characteristic of the dark ages when travel was difficult and dangerous began to give way, while local governments grouped themselves together with a new sense of national interest, and the map of Europe took a form much like that of more recent times.

In order to understand the history of Oregon, particularly the beginnings of that history, there is some advantage to be gained by bringing to mind the conditions under which the first visits of white men to this region were made. The earliest voyages to the western coasts of the continent were those of the Spaniards, which, while not less hazardous than those of Columbus and da Gama, are scarcely less important in final results. On the tomb of the discoverer of America was inscribed the words, "To Castile and to Leon, Columbus gave a New World." But a new world was also given to civilization by those who penetrated the mysteries of the unknown ocean beyond the western continents and discovered the Pacific Coast. The ocean itself was vaguely designated as the South Sea, a name which persisted long after the name Pacific was established by Spanish discovery.

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Meantime there were practical inventions and improvements in aid of navigation that made these long voyages possible. The compass no longer floated in its bowl of water, but was made more useful by being mounted upon a pivot. The astrolabe was perfected, and cartographers abandoned the Ptolemy map of the second century that had been used as the foundation for the various maps of the middle ages, and began to draw maps that aimed to conform to the latest theories of the shape of the world and its land masses and its oceans. Great improvement was made in the architecture of the ship, for until this time naval construction still showed the influence of the ancient use of oars as a propelling force. The emporium of commerce shifted from Genoa, Venice and Alexandria to Lisbon and Barcelona, and the Mediterranean no longer limited the scope of mercantile commercial ventures by ship.

By force of circumstances Spain was led to the golden shores of America before she found the western route to Asia. A growing belief that an ocean lay between the country discovered by Columbus, and Asia, was confirmed by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who from the heights of Darien in 1513 looked out upon the limitless water and asserted the rights of his sovereign not only to the land on which he stood but the peaceful sea he beheld, and all the territory washed by it.

From native chiefs Balboa learned of lands rich in gold lying to the southward. Before they were attained, however, adventurers had begun exploitation of the coast to the northward. Cordova plundered Yucatan, the home of the Maya civilization, and Cortez despoiled Mexico, the seat of Aztec culture. It is surprising how soon thereafter Spanish explorers and Jesuit missionaries found their way overland to Lower California and beyond.

While the land of Montezuma was being conquered by Cortez there occurred an event which opened a new era in the Pacific. It was the voyage of Fernando Magelhaes, or, as it is anglicised, Ferdinand Magellan. The world had been divided by papal decree between Spain and Portugal. The division seems to have contemplated a free field for Spain to the westward and for Portugal to the eastward. If their paths should cross, ownership was to be determined by priority of discovery. The Portuguese had reached India in 1498, but did not actually attain the Spice Islands until 1512, when they won the race for the control of the trade in cloves, pepper and nutmegs. In the absence of knowledge of the true dimensions of the earth the information that the Islands of Spice lay far to the east of India revived in Magellan the original project of Columbus to seek them by the western route. He submitted his plan to the king of Portugal but being in disfavor was not listened to. He renounced his Portuguese citizenship and took service with the king of Spain whom he approached with the argument that as the Moluccas lay so far east of India they were probably in the Spanish half of the world, and if approached from the west might be won by Spain. The argument appealed to the Spanish monarch. In accordance with the custom that had grown up the king and Magellan entered into a sharing contract, and by its terms Magellan was to receive a sum of money with which to equip his fleet and was to be allowed one-twentieth of the profits of the expedition for himself and friends, as well as the government of any land discovered. On September 20, 1519, Magellan's fleet, consisting of the flagship Trinidad and four other vessels with a well armed crew of two hundred and eighty men (of whom only thirty-five finally returned to Spain) dropped down the Guadalquivir River to San Lucar, from whence it sailed

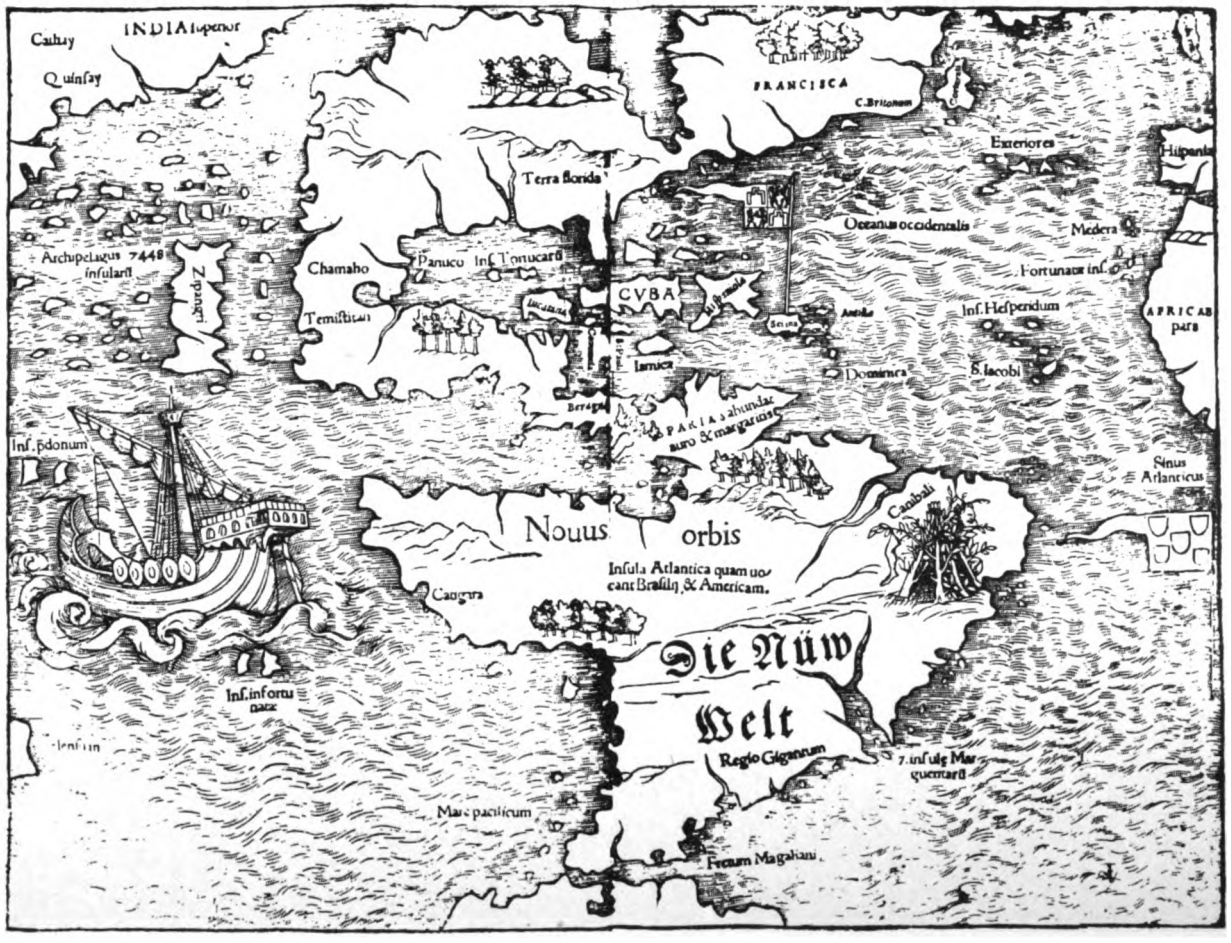
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under conditions strongly contrasting with those under which Columbus had set out on his first voyage. Steering southwest Magellan sighted the coast of South America at Cape Saint Augustine near Pernambuco November 29, 1519, thence he followed the coast to La Plata estuary where he hoped to find the southern passage. On March 13 of the following year he arrived at Port Saint Julien, where he spent the winter overhauling his ships. He crushed a mutiny instigated by one of his captains and made acquaintance with the natives, whom he named Patagonians on account of their big feet. Leaving Port Saint Julien on August 24, 1520, Magellan discovered, October 21, the cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the eastern entrance of the long sought passage. Through the narrow strait, three hundred and sixty miles long, its tortuous course fringed by snow clad mountains he guided for thirty-eight days his armada, then weakened by the desertion of one vessel, the Antonio. On November 21, a council of pilots was held to determine whether to continue the voyage. It was decided to go on. On November 28, Cape Deseado, the Desired, the western terminus of the strait, was rounded. It has been variously called "Victoria Strait," "Strait of the Patagonians," "All Saints," "The Eleven Thousand Virgins." It is known to the modern world as Strait of Magellan.

To the south Magellan observed a forbidding land "stark with eternal cold" which from the many fires he called Tierra del Fuego. The expedition now entered the great ocean which had been first sighted by Balboa but which was now christened "Pacific" by Magellan. Its steady and gentle winds drove Magellan on for ninety-eight days of hope and doubt, during which fresh provisions became exhausted, and there was but little fresh water and that not good. Ox hides, sawdust and rats became coveted food. At last on March 6, 1521, the Ladrones came in sight. The first port of call was Guam. Here the fleet rested, repaired and revitualed. The journey westward was resumed and on March 16, 1521, Magellan sighted the south point of Samar Island in the archipelago of the Philippines. On April 7 he arrived at Cebu. He established an alliance with the sovereign of the place, who the better to utilize his new found friends professed Christianity. Magellan was persuaded by his native ally to undertake an expedition to conquer a neighboring island. In a fight with these natives on September 27, 1521, the great navigator received a mortal wound. Like Captain Cook in later times, his death in the islands of the Pacific cut him off from a triumphal return home. Like Moses he had only caught a glimpse of the promised land. The king of Cebu murdered several of Magellan's companions, and the survivors after burning one of the three remaining vessels made their way to Molucca in the other two. One of these, the Trinidad, was seized by the Portuguese. The other, the Vittoria, under Juan Sebastian del Cano proceeded to Europe by way of the Cape of Good Hope, suffering from scurvy and short rations, but September 6, 1522, del Cano dropped at the port of San Lucar in Spain the anchor of the first vessel that ever made the tour around the earth. No greater feat of persistence under discouraging circumstances has ever been recorded. It is one of the tragedies of history that Magellan should lose his life when in sight of his goal, but before he died he had carried the flag of Spain into the Portuguese monopoly from the rear, and he had given Spain a foothold on Asiatic soil.

The great era of maritime discovery had reached a climax in the circumnavigation of the globe. The theory of Columbus that the world was not flat but round had been worked out successfully. Portugal and Spain, the one

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MAP OF THE NEW WORLD

From Münster's Cosmographei, Basel, 1550, in Portland Public Library. This map shows Japan (Zipangri), China (Cathay) and India to be near North America. The Oregon coast was then unknown, but a river is indicated in the location of the supposed River of the West or Columbia River.

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departing toward the orient, the other toward the occident, had met and encompassed a newly discovered world. Under authority of the pope of Rome one had a monopoly on trade with Asia by the south, the other by the west.[1]

The voyage of Magellan disclosed a continent divided by a vast stretch of ocean from Asia and mostly lying within the sphere of Spanish influence. But it was inevitable in the great political and religious upheaval of the Reformation, and with the consequent weakening of papal authority, that the bulls of the popes would be violated and defied, especially by Protestant nations.

The maps of the Catholic navigators contained valuable and much coveted secrets of the sea lanes that competitors could not secure, but England already was asserting the right to trade with all Spanish possessions in or out of Europe, claiming indeed a free sea. The lack of accurate maps did not stay her enterprise, and English sea rovers, Huguenot corsairs and Dutch buccaneers, between their fights among themselves, raided the Spanish main and captured the Spanish galleons, laden with the looted wealth of America. It was this prize and the love of adventure that first led the great English freebooter, Sir Francis Drake, into the Pacific, as will be related in the following pages.

Of Magellan's voyage Dr. John Fiske has said: "The voyage thus ended was doubtless the greatest feat of navigation that has ever been performed, and nothing can be imagined that would surpass it except a journey to some other planet. It has not the unique historic position of the first voyage of Columbus, which brought together two streams of human life that had been disjoined since the glacial period. But as an achievement in ocean navigation that voyage of Columbus sinks into insignificance by the side of it, and when the earth was a second time encompassed by the greatest English sailor of his age, the advance in knowledge, as well as the different route chosen, had much reduced the difficulty of the performance. When we consider the failures of the ships, the immeasurable extent of the unknown, the mutinies that were prevented or quelled, and the hardships that were endured, we can have no hesitation in speaking of Magellan as the prince of navigators."[2]

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[1] The king of Portugal, jealous of his monopoly of Africa and of the right of eastern exploration, and the sovereigns of Castile, desiring to build their colonial empire on solid and unquestioned foundations, both appealed to the fountain of their religious faith for a definition of their rights. Long before, in 1454, Pope Nicholas V had given the Portuguese the exclusive right to exploration and conquest on the road to India. His decree contemplated only the use of the route by Africa to South and East. After the return of Columbus and his supposed demonstration that the Indies could be reached from the West, ground was opened for a bitter dispute. The Catholic sovereigns again applied to Rome. Alexander VI was the pope. He drew a line from North to South through the Atlantic Ocean, which line ran 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. To Spain he gave "all the firme lands and ilands found or to be found, discouered or to be discouered toward the West and South" of this line of demarcation. This was on May 4, 1493. (Fiske's Discovery of America, Vol. 1, p. 455, and see Appendix B, where the text of the Bull is set out with an English version of the same.) The king of Portugal was not satisfied with this arbitration and entered a protest. A conference was in consequence held between the two powers in 1494, and an agreement, the Treaty of Tordescillas, was reached, by which the line of demarcation was shifted to thirty-seven degrees west of the Cape Verde Islands. This line corresponded to what is now the 50th degree of longitude west of Greenwich. It touched the mainland of South America about the mouth of the Amazon, thus enabling Portugal to claim rights in Brazil. Upon this settlement and her early voyages, Spain's claim of exclusive right to the Pacific Coast was founded and maintained.

[2] Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. II, p. 210.

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CHAPTER V

THE APPROACH OF THE SPANIARD

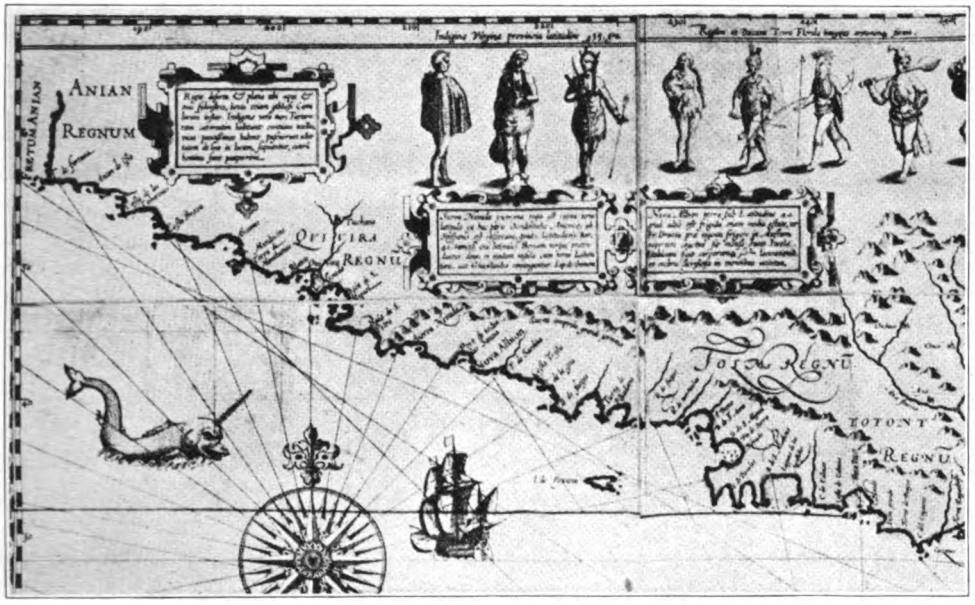
The outstanding circumstance connected with the discovery of Oregon is that it was so tardily discovered. It seems almost incredible that three hundred years could pass after the discovery of America, and that almost as long a period after discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa, could elapse, without a discovery of the Columbia River. But a brief review of the history of early Pacific Coast exploration will throw light upon this apparent neglect of the Oregon Country.

The Spanish explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were seeking for gold. Gold and silver were their sole quest; nothing else would satisfy them and no land that did not yield a supply of the precious metals was worthy of their attention. The fabled El Dorado was their goal. In fact, the very discovery of America was the result of the great economic need of Europe at that time, the need for gold. Before that event, Europe's gold supply had run perilously low. There was not enough for even the most elementary necessities of trade. The discovery of the Americas opened the floodgates of the yellow and white metals and threw the Spaniards into a passionate and insatiable greed for more. Moreover, they had not the patience to await the slow and orderly development of the regions coming under their sway. Their policy was that of plunder. To reap where others had sown, to rob the Aztecs and the Incas of their accumulated hoards, was much more profitable than industriously to exploit the latent resources of the earth.

Balboa's discovery was in 1513, and by 1517 that enterprising captain of industry had built and launched ships at Panama and had actually begun navigation upon the Pacific Ocean, which however did not acquire that name until afterward. While he accomplished little in the way of exploration, others began short voyages. By 1525, the coast of Nicaragua was known and a route through the lake of that name was even at this early period suggested as practicable for a passage way for ships between the oceans. The desideratum of a strait or channel through the continent was thus early recognized, and the search led to many voyages along the coast both north and south.

Toward the distant Oregon the quest was gradually approaching, for in 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo skirted the California coast to a point just north of San Francisco Bay. It is possible that his pilot, Bartolome Ferrelo, who succeeded to the command upon his death on the voyage, reached the present south boundary of Oregon at forty-two degrees, or even sailed as far north as forty-four degrees, but no accurate examination of the coast was made. It was at this juncture, however, that the energies of the Spaniards turned more particularly to the conquest of the trade of the Indies, by a direct route across the Pacific, so that these new interests, together with the growing wealth of

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MAP OF OREGON COAST, DATED 1601

This is a part of a beautiful map in the Library of Congress, copied from one in the British Museum. Sir Francis Drake's New Albion is already shown as well as the fabled city and kingdom of Quivira, the latter near Capes Blanco and Mendocino. The mythical Fretum Anian, or Strait of Anian, is at the left of the map.

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Mexico itself, so absorbed their attention that they had no urgent motive for further exploration of the Pacific Coast to the northward, save perhaps that of safeguarding the possessions already acquired.

Near the close of the sixteenth century Monterey, the viceroy of Mexico, after whom the Bay of Monterey on the California coast was later named, received orders from the gloomy and frugal Philip II to equip an expedition at his own charge and to explore the coast of California. Accordingly Monterey sent Sebastian Vizcaino, a distinguished officer, who made a futile attempt to plant a colony in Lower California. After the death of Philip II, his successor, Philip III, ordered the survey renewed, and as a consequence in 1602 a well equipped expedition consisting of two large ships and one of smaller dimensions sailed northward, entered the Bay of Monterey, and gave it its name. After they left this beautiful harbor, a storm arose that separated the ships of the small flotilla. Vizcaino, in command of one of the larger vessels took refuge in San Francisco Bay, after which he explored the coast as far north as the forty-second degree of latitude and discovered the white bluffs of a point which may have been the present Cape Blanco or Orford, on the Oregon Coast.

Aguilar, in command of the small frigate, thinking that Vizcaino had preceded him, sailed still farther northward and was favored with a close-up view of the Oregon Coast in latitude forty-three, or above. His log, being the first written account of the Oregon Coast, is worthy of being set down here. He says: "The Fragata parted from the Capitana, and, supposing that she had gone onward, sailed in pursuit of her. Being in the latitude of forty-one the wind began to blow from the southwest, and the Fragata, being unable to withstand the waves on her beam, ran before the wind until she found shelter under the land, and anchored near Cape Mendocino behind a great rock, where she remained until the gale had passed over. When the wind became less violent they continued their voyage close along shore, and, on the 19th of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in latitude of forty-three degrees, where they found a cape, or point, which they named Cape Blanco. From that point the coast begins to turn northwest; and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, and brambles, and other trees of Castile on its banks, which they endeavored to enter, but could not from the force of the current."[1]

The narrator then goes on to say that as they had already sailed farther north than their instructions commanded and as there was much sickness on board, they decided to return to Mexico. He also gives it as his opinion that the river which they had not been able to enter was in reality the famous Strait of Anian which connects the Pacific with the Atlantic, in other words the much sought "Northwest Passage."

Thus it was that on maps for many years after 1603 the name of Aguilar was put opposite a supposed river somewhere near the latitude of forty-three degrees. But the Spanish viceroys went no further toward finding the supposed river, or in ascertaining the nature of the country, or in making settlements. They had, using Mexico as a base, examined the Lower California peninsula, and had explored the gulf, and had even established missions in Southern California. They also had explored the country that is now covered by Arizona and New Mexico, then comprising the parts of New Spain and New Galicia.

[1] Greenhow's History of Oregon and California, 1847, p. 91.

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But they had little or no interest in following up the inquiry as to whether the Strait of Anian had at last been found by Aguilar.[2]

A century and a half passed away. The home bound ships sailing from the Philippines to Spain with heavy cargoes found that they could take advantage of the trade winds and come direct in quick time to California, and thence turn southward and away to Spain. This discovery made it desirable to have safe ports on the California coast, and, in furtherance of this, the Spanish Council of the Indies gave orders in 1768 to fortify San Diego and Monterey, and expeditions for the purpose were organized. Galvez had charge of the expedition by sea and two overland parties were placed in charge of Gaspar Portola and Rivera. A religious character was given the enterprise by inclusion of a number of Franciscans headed by their president, Junipero Serra, and attended by a number of indian neophytes. Occupation of the new land was to be spiritual as well as military, and from the missions was gathered up all the livestock that could be spared for the new colonization.

After a long march of four months the caravan arrived at San Diego in July, 1769, where it was met by the party which came by water. Remaining four days at San Diego, Portola started out again for Monterey with sixty-four men including Fathers Crespi and Gomez. The party followed along the coast but passed Monterey, not recognizing it from the description the sailors had given of it. They went as far north as San Francisco Bay before retracing their steps. Finally they wandered back to San Diego reaching there in January, 1770. April 17, Portola again started for Monterey with more definite description and succeeded in finding it. Here a mission was founded as had already been done at San Diego. In a few years the Franciscan fathers had their missions at San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio de Padua, Santa Clara and San Francisco. Occupation of California was complete. It was now a Spanish colony with its northern boundary still undefined.

About this time it became evident to the Spaniards that unless they bestirred themselves their claim to the mastery of the Pacific would be contested. The English were becoming more and more active in western waters, and the Russians, who had long before established themselves on the North Pacific Coast, seemed about to push their activities farther southward. The Spanish were no longer the powerful maritime nation of former days, and realized that the most discreet method of securing their hold over the unoccupied northern coast and to prevent rivals from finding and controlling the Northwest Passage was to discover and seize the entrance of the elusive Strait of Anian. With

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[2] The following from the United States Coast Survey, Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington Territory (1869) relative to Cape Orford or Blanco, which is at 42° 50′ north, will show the uncertainty of the location of the Cape Blanco named by Aguilar and his pilot, Flores: "Upon old Spanish maps a cape near this latitude has been called Blanco, from the assertion that Antonio Flores discovered and so named it in 1603. He says that from this cape the coast trends northwest, and near it he found a large river which he tried to enter, but could not on account of the strong current running out. At that time the magnetic declination must have been about zero, and perhaps several degrees west. Assuming it as zero, the coast thence northward for nearly 100 miles trended north by east half east. The name Orford was given by Vancouver in 1792 and by him placed in latitude 42° 52′. On the western coast this name is now almost invariably used." (P. 117.) As there is no great river as described by Flores at this location and his direction of coast line is entirely at fault it has been suggested that his river may have been the Columbia, the error being an error in his latitude. But this surmise is not supported by the other features of description given by him.

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MAP OF OREGON COAST ABOUT 1776

This map from Remondini, Atlas, 1776-1778, in the Library of Congress, shows the great inland sea in the locality of the afterward discovered Puget Sound, with the Entrance discovered by Juan de Fuca. The location of the Columbia River is indicated by the Entrance discovered by Martin d'Aguilar. Note the source of the Missouri River is near the inland sea.

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this object in view three expeditions were sent out between the years 1774 and 1779.

The first of these expeditions was in the corvette Santiago under the command of Juan Perez, who sailed from Mexico in January, 1774, touching at San Diego and Monterey and sailing according to orders as far north as the fifty-fourth degree of latitude, which he reached on the 18th of July. At this point, because of the ever prevalent scurvy on board he turned about and began a leisurely exploration of the coast to the southward. He saw Queen Charlotte's Island but believed it to be part of the mainland; indeed he failed utterly to discover the vast system of inland waterways which, had he done so, might very well have led him into many a strait of Anian. He landed somewhere on Vancouver Island but again in this case failed to learn that it was not a part of the mainland. He did not even learn of the existence of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, but after this cursory examination of the coast hastened to return to Mexico.

Perez was instructed to sail as far as sixty degrees north and to explore the whole coast and take possession of it. With him went Estevan Martinez, as navigator, who was later to acquire prominence, and also two Franciscan friars, Crespi and Pena, who embarked at Monterey under instructions of Father Superior Junipero Serra. The land sighted on July 15 was the western seaboard of the Queen Charlotte Island, but Perez made no landing. On the next day the coast was plainly seen seven or eight leagues distant. During the afternoon the vessel advanced within three leagues of land, but owing to the lateness of the hour no landing was made. On the following day a canoe load of Haida indians approached singing a native song and scattering feathers on the water as in propitiation of the strangers. The indians stood off at first but were induced to approach nearer by the sight of beads, biscuits and handkerchiefs which the Spaniards displayed. They took what was thrown them but did not go aboard the Santiago. Perez named the cliff he first sighted Santa Margarita, as this happened to be the day of that saint. He also bestowed the same name on a group of three islands. Some forty or fifty miles north of this point was a promontory covered with trees which Perez called Santa Maria Magdalena. An island nearby was christened Santa Cristina, and the snow capped mountains in the interior were called San Cristobal. In seeking land so far below the latitude of his instructions Perez was influenced by the fact that his fresh water barrels needed refilling, but on leaving Santa Margarita, he went no farther north and instead turned south, sighting land again August 18, about latitude forty-nine degrees. Here he anchored one league from shore, but a storm came up suddenly and it was necessary to cut the cable and double a reef to the southwest. The vessel lay to while the long boat which had started to land with sailors could be picked up.

This place was called by Perez, San Lorenzo. Its exact location is a mooted question. By some it is said that Perez was the first discoverer of Nootka Sound on the west shore of Vancouver Island, which afterward became a place of importance in the history of this coast. Others affirm that Nootka Sound was discovered later by the Englishman James Cook, who called it King George's Sound.[3] Father Crespi however in his journal of the voyage of Perez men-

[3] Corroborative evidence that it was Cook who four years later discovered Nootka is contained in the diary of Robert Haswell who was with Gray and Kendrick, the American navigators. However, the Nootka Sound Controversy Papers (Mss. in Library of Congress)

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tions San Lorenzo as lying between two points of which the southwest was called San Estevan and the one to the northwest Santa Clara. It would seem that if the Santiago had anchored at Nootka she would have found a safe harbor, but nevertheless it is probable that the place of anchorage was near the Point Estevan of the charts of today.

The results of the Perez expedition were considered by the Spanish government as so meager and unsatisfactory that a second was sent out soon afterwards, consisting of the ship Santiago, this time commanded by Bruno Heceta, and the schooner Sonora under the command of Lieut. Juan Francisco de Bodega y Quadra. Their first landing was made in March, 1775, just north of Cape Mendocino, California, where some repairs were made and some trading was done with the indians who were found to be using small articles of copper and iron, evidence of former contact with white men. The ships were then driven far out to sea and did not make land again until in latitude forty-seven or forty-eight degrees, not far south of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, where a boat was sent ashore. The boat crew was immediately murdered by the natives. Shortly after this tragedy the two vessels were separated by a storm, whereupon Heceta, because of scurvy and the loss of men, decided to turn about. Anchor was cast near the Strait of Juan de Fuca, at Point Grenville, in forty-seven degrees twenty minutes, north. On this point, so far as is known, the first European foot was set on the northwest coast when Heceta and some of his officers went ashore. They erected a cross and with due ceremony took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain. It was while the officers of the Santiago were thus engaged that Bodega y Quadra in the Sonora was in sore straits, and the tragedy already mentioned in earlier pages was enacted. It may be here repeated with more detail. A few men had been sent ashore in the only small boat for water. They had scarcely landed when a large number of indians rushed out of the woods and overwhelmed them. The tragedy was observed from the Sonora, but no aid could be sent, and the schooner was out of range from the shore. All were murdered, reducing the crew to five men and one boy in health, and four men ill. The indians next attacked the schooner in canoes but were repulsed with a loss of six men. Maurelle, the pilot, is quoted as saying that there were only three men on board the Sonora able to handle a musket, and these were the captain, his servant and himself. By this time the Santiago arrived on the scene and rescued her consort, and in commemoration of the tragedy the point was called Punta de Martires, or Martyr's Point. The island a little to the northward was named Isla de Dolores, Isle of Sorrows. Twelve years later the location came to be the scene of another tragedy and to be christened Destruction Bay by Barkley, the English explorer, because some of his crew were killed in a similar manner on the mainland opposite.

Between the officers of the Heceta expedition a difference of opinion arose.

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show that the Spanish officials believed San Lorenzo to be identical with Nootka, and Martinez, who was with Perez and who afterward represented the Spanish interests at Nootka, produced proofs that he had been at this very place before Cook's visit, not the least of which proofs was Cook's statement that he found Spanish spoons in the possession of the natives. Haswell asserts that Nootka Sound was first entered by Cook March 30, 1778, and from natives Haswell learned that a ship had anchored at the entrance of the sound forty months before Cook arrived, but its "boats were not out during their tarry." The voyage of Perez is notable as being the first serious attempt of the Spanish to learn something of the northern coast.

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The question of returning was discussed, for Heceta had grown weary of fighting head winds and was anxious to return, while Bodega y Quadra and Maurelle favored going ahead. The result was that all again resumed the voyage northward for a time, but it was not long afterward that a storm came up and separated the vessels, whereupon Heceta seized his opportunity and slipped away. He first made land on the west coast of Vancouver Island near the fiftieth parallel and then sailed south. Meanwhile the schooner under Quadra continued northward and explored the Alaska Coast as far as Mount Edgecumbe. It is the southward voyage of Heceta, however, which is of the greatest interest to us, because of a near discovery of the Columbia River. Let Heceta tell his story in his own words:[4]

"In the evening of this day (August 17, 1775) I discovered a large bay, to which I gave the name of Assumption Bay, and of which a plan will be found in this journal. Its latitude and longitude are determined according to the most exact means afforded by theory and practice. The latitude of the two most prominent capes of this bay are calculated from the observations of this day.

"Having arrived opposite this bay at six in the evening, and placed the ship nearly midway between the two capes, I sounded and found bottom in four brazas (about four fathoms). The current and eddies were so strong that, notwithstanding a press of sail, it was difficult to get clear of the northern cape towards which the current ran, though its direction was eastward in consequence of the tide being at flood. These currents and eddies caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea. Had I not been certain of the latitude of this bay, from my observations of the same day, I might easily have believed it to have been the passage discovered by Juan de Fuca, in 1592, which is placed on the charts between the forty-seventh and the forty-eighth degrees, where I am certain no such strait exists; because I anchored on July 14 midway between these latitudes, and carefully examined everything around. Notwithstanding the great difference between this bay and the passage mentioned by de Fuca I have little difficulty in conceiving that they may be the same, having observed equal or greater difference in the latitude of other capes and ports on this coast, as I will show at the proper time; and in all cases latitudes thus assigned are higher than the real ones.

"I did not enter and anchor in this port, which in my plan I supposed to be formed by an island, notwithstanding my strong desire to do so; because, having consulted with the second captain, Don Juan Perez, and the pilot, Don Christoval Revilla, they insisted I ought not attempt it, as if we let go the anchor, we should not have men enough to get it up and to attend to the other operations which would be thereby necessary. Considering this, and also that in order to reach the anchorage, I should be obliged to lower my long boat (the only boat that I had) and to man it with at least fourteen of the crew, as I could not manage it with fewer, and also as it was then late in the day, I resolved to put out; and at the distance of three leagues I lay to. In the course of that night I experienced heavy currents to the southwest, which made it impossible to enter the bay on the following morning, as I had planned, as

[4] Greenhow's Oregon and California, 430.

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I was far to the leeward. These currents, however, convinced me that a great quantity of water rushed from this bay on the ebb of the tide.

"The two capes which I name in my plan, Cape San Roque (Cape Disappointment) and Cape Frondoso (Point Adams), lie in the angle of ten degrees of the third quadrant. They are both faced with red earth and are of little elevation.

"On the 18th I observed cape Frondoso, with another cape, to which I gave the name of Cape Falcon (Cape Lookout), situated in the latitude of forty-five degrees forty-three minutes, and they lay at an angle of twenty-two degrees of the third quadrant, and from the last named cape I traced the coast running in the angle of five degrees of the second quadrant. This land is mountainous, but not very high, nor so well wooded as that lying between the latitudes of forty-eight degrees thirty minutes, and forty-six degrees. * * * In some places the coast presents a beach, in others it is rocky.

"A flat topped mountain, which I named the Table, will enable any navigator to know the position of Cape Falcon without observing it; as it is in the latitude of forty-five degrees twenty-eight minutes, and may be seen at a great distance, being somewhat elevated."

This description is of interest as being the first to be written of the mouth of the Columbia River and of the coast to the south. Anyone familiar with this coast will easily recognize the salient features of beach and cliff and the rugged mass of Mount Neakahnie so accurately described by Heceta. And once again the Columbia River failed to belong to Spain through right of discovery.[5]

This ends the tale of well recorded Spanish attempts at exploration along the Oregon Coast, meager enough, it is true, and purely negative in result, but before continuing with the account of English exploration it will be well to

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[5] In the meantime Bodega y Quadra and Maurelle in their small vessel only twenty-seven feet in length were making an effort to reach sixty-five degrees north. They sailed northwest without sighting land until a snow capped mountain appeared above the horizon. It was called San Jacinto, Saint Hyacinth. A little farther on, ports Remedios and Guadelupe were visited. San Jacinto is believed to be Mount Edgecumbe. Port Remedios probably was what Cook called the bay of Islands, while Guadelupe is now known as Norfolk Sound. At Norfolk Sound Bodega sent a boat ashore for wood and water without payment, and here again the natives resisted and here also a cross was erected, but it was torn down by the natives after the Spanish returned to their vessel. While in the neighborhood of the fiftieth parallel Bodega y Quadra decided to return to Mexico, consoling himself with the thought that if he did not follow out instructions he had at least gone farther north than any other navigator. On the way homeward he discovered Bucareli Sound on the west side of the largest of the Prince Edward Islands. It still retains the name he gave it. Here he landed and took possession of the country with due formality. From Bucareli, Bodega y Quadra sailed south across Dixon entrance to which he gave the name Entrada de Perez and sighted Cape North. He arrived at San Blas November 20, 1775, after eight months' absence.

The next to leave San Blas was Ignacio Arteaga who was accompanied by Bodega y Quadra and Maurelle as second officer. They sailed February 17, 1779, in the Princessa and Favorita along a course very similar to that of Cook in the year following. After voyaging four months they reached Bucareli Sound where they remained several weeks surveying and trading with the indians. Leaving this port they made the highest point reached by Spanish explorers on the north coast and sighted Mount Saint Elias, as it had been named by Vitus Bering in 1741. While searching for a passage which might lead into the Arctic they entered a large bay containing many islands which they called Isla de Magdalena. Port Santiago was also discovered and named.

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review some of the apocryphal stories current at various times regarding this far distant part of the world.

Mention has been made above of the fabled Strait of Anian. The very origin of this name is veiled in mystery. It was supposed to have been bestowed upon the strait by the Portuguese navigator, Cortereal, whom the legend credited with the feat of first sailing through the Northwest Passage about the year 1500. But other traditions are conflicting, some saying that the name originated with Cabot, others that it was taken from a province in Asia named Ania or Island of Anian, while others hold that it was derived from the name of a brother of Cortereal, Anius, who was with him on the reputed voyage. There was another legend that a Dutch vessel had been drawn through this strait to Asia. The first English enterprise to have a national character in the search for this mythical strait was that of Martin Frobisher, who went out in 1576. He did not find it but he began that long series of arctic voyages which brought glory and gain for the British Empire in the frozen North.

Sir Francis Drake and Sir Henry Sidney heard in a roundabout way that Urdenada, or Urdaneta, a Spanish friar, had also passed successfully through from sea to sea, and this led Drake later to go in search of the strait. One Laderillo, an old Mexican pilot, also told a sailor's yarn of having in his youth negotiated the same passage. This tale gained some currency in its day, but it was the circumstantial account of Maldonado, the Portuguese, published in 1609, that so firmly fixed the idea of the existence of the Strait of Anian, that the belief persisted until the end of the eighteenth century. He gave detailed sailing courses and distances, in what purports to be a report to the Spanish king and told of following through those mythical straits into the South Sea, "where Japan, China, the Moluccas, India, New Guinea and the land discovered by Captain Quiros are situated with all the coast of New Spain and Peru."[6]

Another Iberian romancer was Admiral Pedro Bartoleme de Fonte, who published with a wealth of circumstantial detail an account of his discovery in latitude fifty-three degrees on the Pacific coast of North America the mouth of a great river which he ascended until he found himself sailing upon the bosom of a great lake. Thence another river took him into still another lake whose waters were connected with those of the Atlantic. As further embellishments to his tale he described great cities occupied by friendly natives and told of meeting with a ship from Boston, "Maltechusetts," commanded by one Nicholas Shapley. The ready credence put in these wild romances by their contemporaries furnished Dean Swift with the elaborate descriptions for his circumstantial satires and caused him to place the land of the Brobdingnags in the exact longitude and latitude of Oregon. Perhaps it was prophetic vision on his part that led him to place his giants in this land of mighty mountains and towering firs, and as already suggested the Utopia and New Atlantis of More and Bacon might as well be found in Oregon as elsewhere.[7]

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[6] In Purchas, his Pilgrimage, edition published in London in 1613, the author disposes of the subject in this language: "As for the more Northerly parts, both within Land and the supposed Strait of Anian, with other things mentioned in Maps, because I know of no certaintie of them, I leaue them." (p. 782.) But Maldonado's story still had believers as late as 1790, when it was revived and its truthfulness vouched for by a French geographer; and as late as 1812, a Milanese geographer repeated it.

[7] In 1768, Thomas Jeffreys, geographer to the king, published at London his book "The Probability of a Northwest Passage, deduced from Observations on the Letter of

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Another history fakir, and the best known of them all because his name has been given to the great strait connecting Puget Sound with the Pacific Ocean, is Juan de Fuca. This romancer was not, as his name would indicate, a Spaniard, but a Greek named Apostolos Valerianos, a ship pilot by profession. Whether he or an English adventurer named Lock, or Lok, should be blamed for the sad distortion of history is a matter of some uncertainty; but we must blame the latter for giving the story publicity. His publication took the form of a pamphlet entitled: "A note made by one Michael Lock, the elder, touching the strait commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest Passage of Meta Incognita."[8] In this account Lock tells of meeting in Venice Juan de Fuca, alias Apostolos Valerianos, who told him of his discovery in 1592 of the Strait of Anian, and of having entered and explored it for many leagues, proving to his own satisfaction that it was the much sought Northwest Passage. The account given bears on its face plain evidence of its falsity, yet because of the nearness of De Fuca's guess as to the location of the entrance to the strait, it has been commonly supposed even to this day that he was in reality the discoverer of the strait bearing his name. We shall see later that the real discoverer was an Englishman, and that the strait ought rather be named after him. So far, Spanish voyages into the Northwest had done but little more than barely to discover the coast which is now that of British Columbia. Nearly three hundred years had elapsed since Balboa had found his way across the isthmus and sighted the Pacific, yet Spain had not surveyed and charted the Northwest coast. In 1779 war broke out between Spain and England, and when Spain again turned her attention to the Northwest coast Capt. James Cook, the great English navigator, and the fur traders who followed him, had done much to make the coast line known and to dispel much of the uncertainty.

Admiral De Fonte who sailed from the Callao of Lima on the Discovery of a Communication between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, etc., with maps." In this argument the learned geographer shows the reasons for his belief in De Fonte's story. The principal map connects the "Straits passed by Juan de Fuca" with the Lake De Fonte, the Straits of Ronquilla and the sea opening into Baffin's Bay. On the map the River of the West is shown by dotted lines in the two locations "according to the Russian Maps" and "according to ye French" respectively, both reaching the South Sea at the "Entrance of Martin d'Aguillar" at 45° north. Joseph Nicolas Delisle, a member of the French Academy, who had accompanied the Russian expedition of 1741 that had discovered the Alaskan coast, presented to the French Academy a Memoir, with maps, in 1750, showing a great sea inland on the Pacific coast, the City of Quivira thereon, besides straits and lakes reaching from Hudson Bay to the Pacific and also the straits of Anian. He gave his authorities in detail and urged the certainty of a northwest passage. ("Nouvelles cartes des decouvertes de l'Amiral De Fonte," etc., par M. De Lisle, Paris, 1753.)

[8] Michael Lock says he was told by Juan de Fuca, a Greek whose real name was Apostolos Valerianos, that in 1592 he was sent out by the viceroy of Mexico to discover the straits of Anian and the passage into the North Sea. He sailed along the California coast until he came to latitude 47 degrees north, where he found the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea between forty-seven and forty-eight degrees. He entered the strait, sailing more than twenty days, finding land, sometimes veering northwest, then northeast, and then north, as well as eastward and southeastward, and that he passed by divers islands. He saw some people on land in beasts' skins and the land was very fruitful and rich of gold and silver, pearls and other things like New Spain. The straits he said were thirty or forty miles wide at the mouth. Some credence has been given this story of De Fuca on account of its fitting in a general way with the latitude of Puget Sound. On the strength of it the entrance to the sound now bears his name. Greenhow contends for a certain basis of truth. Bancroft asserts it is pure fiction.

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Before describing these events, however, it will be necessary to step back to the sixteenth century again, this time for the purpose of taking up the thread of English color that at that early period had begun to appear in the fabric of Pacific coast history.

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CHAPTER VI

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

The Spaniards, for more than a century following the discovery of America, pressed their advantage to the utmost. The West Indies, the South American Coast, Central America, Mexico and Peru were seized and occupied by them. Portugal meanwhile pushed her explorations eastward. South Africa, India, the East Indies and even the Chinese coast fell more or less under her sway. But while these nations were revelling in the plunder of the East and the West, it seemed that the English were to have no part. Too weak at this period to dispute with the Spaniards their claim to the supremacy of the seas, the English at first devoted their energies toward the discovery of a Northwest Passage which would enable them to reach the coveted South Sea without running the gauntlet of the armed ships of their rivals. These efforts led to discovery of Labrador by Cabot, and to exploration of the bleak coast of Baffin Bay, the object being to reach India and the Orient. But it was not fated that this race sprung from vikings were to be confined for long within their island home or relegated to a subordinate role in the drama of world exploitation. The great Elizabeth and her entourage of knights errant of the sea could ill brook the insolent claim of the Spaniards to overlordship as to the western ocean. They refused to recognize the validity of the papal line of demarcation. It was the virgin queen who first asserted the doctrine of the freedom of the seas and the policy of the "open door." To the plaint of the Spanish ambassador that the English were infringing upon the commercial prerogatives of his sovereign, she replied "that she did not understand why either her subjects or those of any other European prince should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to other places than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers and capes, were such insignificant things as could in no way entitle them to a proprietary right further than in the parts where they actually settled and continued to inhabit."

This bold challenge was taken up by the Spanish, and there began a warfare that was none the less brilliant in its exploits from being at times carried on during periods when the nations were apparently and theoretically at peace with each other. Let it be remembered that in the days of Elizabeth privateering and letters of marque were not contrary to international law and usage, and that this was true even until 1856 when it was for the first time agreed among nations: "Privateering is and remains abolished."

The famous English naval heroes Hawkins, Oxenham, Drake and others were buccaneers and sea rovers, pirates if you will, but they had secretly or openly the countenance of their government, with the public blessing of

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STATE CAPITOL, SALEM

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their church, and so long as they robbed and looted on the Spanish main there was no one at home to call them to account.

One of the picturesque characters of history is Sir Francis Drake whose name is linked with the early history of Oregon as the first of his nation to sail the Pacific and to land upon the western coast. It was he who gave the name New Albion to the lands he so discovered, a name which was carried upon maps, especially English maps, until long after the American revolution, two centuries later.

To tell the story of his spectacular and interesting career will not be possible here, excepting in so far as it bears upon the story of Oregon. But at the close of his eventful life he had passed through all of the stages from poor clergyman's son to ship captain and naval hero. He was one of the richest men of England, was knighted by his queen and worshipped by his countrymen. He was a great national figure, one who had accomplished marvelous feats of courage and seamanship, and he had finally had a great part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada itself. In his time the English nation advanced to front rank as a ruler of the sea, and the powerful Spanish maritime forces had lost forever the prestige and glory of former greatness.

It was in 1573 when he was still in his twenties that he first saw the Pacific. With Oxenham, a daring free-booter like himself, he had pounced upon a Spanish settlement on the isthmus, and then had invaded the country for the purpose of waylaying and seizing a treasure train upon the forest-hidden trail over which the gold of Peru and Equador would be carried to the Atlantic seaboard. It was an audacious scheme, an adventure of a mere handful of venturesome men, a project full of danger and of incredible escapes, but a bold raid that was successful in accomplishing its primary objects. On this errand it is related that he came to a place where there was a great tree that had been provided by the natives with stepping places to some sort of bower or platform at the top. It was from this vantage point that he looked out over the vast expanse of the Pacific or South Sea, its blue rim melting into the western sky. Then and there he determined that he would set sail upon that sea, and as the old chronicler puts it, he "resolved to be the pioneer of England in the Pacific; and on this resolution he solemnly besought the blessing of God."

A few years after this Drake left England in command of his own fleet of five vessels, three of them so small that it now seems incredible that they would be provided for his contemplated voyage to the Pacific. At that time England was nominally at peace with Spain, but there can be no doubt that his purpose was known to his government and that he was secretly aided in the enterprise. He sailed from Plymouth on December 13, 1577, with a crew of 164 men "Gentlemen and Saylors," ostensibly bound for Egypt, but he directed his course on a very different route. He touched at the coast of Patagonia where Magellan had punished mutineers when on the famous voyage around South America and across the Pacific, and here Drake proceeded to make use of the gibbet that had been used by Magellan and left by him standing in this forsaken spot. He put to death his lieutenant, Doughty, who was charged with insubordination and who defied him to the last. The crew was there told of the real object of the voyage which was to invade the Spanish preserves and to prey upon the treasure ships on the Pacific shores. Of the five ships that left England, the flagship alone, the Golden Hind, with a crew

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of but sixty men, and of a burden of only one hundred tons, succeeded in threading the dangerous straits and reaching the Pacific Ocean. But the intrepid commander lost no time in proceeding to accomplish his piratical design. One after the other the surprised and unprepared Spanish ports were entered and stripped of gold and silver, and ship after ship fell into his hands almost without resistance. The Golden Hind became so heavy with loot that a part of the cargo, consisting of precious oriental silks and spices, had to be thrown overboard. The last Spanish ship to be taken was the great treasure ship bearing the romantic name the "Glory of the South Seas." She was followed for days by Drake's swift vessel before she was found and overtaken, and such was the spirit of Drake's crew that to hasten forward they even got out into the small boats and towed the Golden Hind when held for a time by a calm. The fight was as usual quick and bloody, and the vast treasure was secured by the sea rovers.

Now Drake knew that to return by the same route would be dangerous in the extreme, for it would be certain that the aroused Spanish authorities would be lying in wait with all the ships they could muster to overhaul him.[1] His little vessel is said to have had on board not less than twenty-six tons of silver, eighty pounds of pure gold, thirteen chests of gold plate, besides emeralds and pearls and other precious stones. The raid so far had been successful beyond all hopes. It was then that he made up his mind to try another course, and instead of turning south he continued northward along the Mexican coast determined to try for the Strait of Anian and to find the Northwest Passage.

At this time Englishmen knew nothing of the existence of Oregon. The popular belief was that California was an island, and many supposed that an archipelago of islands lay west of the Labrador coast. Drake is said to have captured some Spanish maps, but if so they could have shed little light upon the perilous journey through unknown northern seas that he now dared to undertake with his little sailing ship.

The reports of his experiences in the north Pacific leave much doubt of just how far north he ventured before he finally gave up this plan. One narative fixed it at forty-three degrees, another at forty-eight degrees. The south boundary of Oregon is at forty-two degrees, and so in any case he was the first Englishman to sail along the Oregon coast, as he was the first to sail the Pacific Ocean.

In a book published in London in 1630 entitled "Relations of the most Famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths throwout the World," is a quaint and curious description of "America, commonly called West India," which serves to show the state of knowledge at that time concerning the new world. This was over fifty years after Drake's famous voyage was made, and reading it makes plain the stupendous undertaking that confronted that navigator when he made his decision to try for a way across North America. The colonies in Virginia and in Massachusetts were but recently planted. America was "bounded on the east with the Atlanticke or North Sea; upon the south with

[1] "Hee thought it not good to returne by the Straits for two speciall causes: The one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape. The other cause the dangerous situation at the mouth of the Straits of the South Sea." Purchas, His Pilgrimes, Vol. II, p. 135.

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the Magellan Streights; upon the west with mare pacificum, or Mar del Zur; and on the north with Terra incognita." Concerning the north, the book tells us that "authors affirme that under the very Pole lyeth a black and high Rocke and three and thirty leagues in compasse, and there these ilands. Among which the Ocean disgorging itself by 19 Channels maketh foure whirle-pooles or currents, by which the waters are finally carried towards the North, and there swallowed into the bowels of the earth. That Euripus or whirle-poole, which the Scythicke [Pacific] Ocean maketh, hath five inlets; and by reason of his streit passage and violent course is never frozen. The other Euripus on the backside of Groneland [Greenland] hath three inlets, and remaines frozen three moneths yearely; its length is thirty seven leagues. Betweene these two raging Euripi lyeth an Iland (about Lappia and Biarmia) the habitation (they say) of the Pigmies. A certaine Scholler of Oxford reporteth that these foure Euripi are ingulphed with such furious violence into some inward receptacle that no ship is able, with never so strong or opposite a gale, to stem the current. And that at no time there bloweth so much wind as will move a windmill." The author concludes that this is merely a "folly and a fable which some mens boldnesse made other mens ignorance to beleeve."[2] From this it will be understood that Drake's courage was never greater than when he decided to take the chances and to sail his ship homeward by the uncharted northern route.

The ship entered a belt of cold and fog by the time it reached the latitude of the present Oregon south boundary line, and the early chronicler does not fail to make us understand how disagreeable was this voyage. It was on June 3, 1578, and the crew just from the tropics "did grievously complain thereof, some of them feeling their health much impaired thereby, neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the markes, but the stings and force of the night." We are told that "the very ropes of our ship were stiffe, and the rain which fell was an unnatural congealed and frozen substance so that we seemed to be rather in the frozen Zone than any where so neere unto the sun or these hotter climates." At two degrees further north these conditions were still worse, "yet would not our general be discouraged but as well by comfortable speeches, of the divine providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the scriptures." They noted that the land in that part of America "beares farther out into the West than we had before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; yet the neerer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did sease upon us."[3]

Then they made shore, but the description is so indefinite that it is a matter of uncertainty just where this was. The narrative says: "The fifth of June we were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first described, and to cast anchor in a bad bay,[4] the best roade we could for the present meete with, where we were not without some danger by

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[2] Pp. 626 and 644.

[3] From "The World Encompassed," by Francis Fletcher, the chaplain, 1628, as quoted in Laut, Vikings of the Pacific, p. 168.

[4] It is uncertain where the bad bay was. A careful study has led Brereton to say that he is unable to find any reliable evidence to show that Drake ever landed anywhere on the Oregon coast. (B. M. Brereton, "Did Sir Francis Drake Land on Any Part of the Oregon Coast.")

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reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate upon us, which if they ceased, and were still at any time . . . . there followed most vile, thicke and stinking fogges against which the sea prevailed nothing." The cold and wind forced them as soon as they were clear of land to turn southward and they ran from forty-eight to thirty-eight degrees by June 17 and found a "convenient and fit harborough and sunshine." This harbor has been identified and is now called Drake's Bay, opposite the Farralones on the California coast.[5] It is the same bay known to the Spaniards in 1595 as Port Francisco.

According to this account the fourteen days of this northward venture were so overcast that no observation of sun or stars could be secured, and for this reason as well as because of the discrepancy in the accounts the assertion that the Golden Hind reached forty-eight degrees north is open to some question, but if the weather was as bad as stated another question arises as to the accuracy of the narrator's description of the Oregon coast, for he says in telling of the "generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie" that they saw "trees without leaves and the ground without greenes in these months of June and July." This is ascribed to the fact that the "high and snow covered mountains make the north and northwest winds send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting of the whole air with incredible sharpnesse." Snow hardly departs in the midst of summer. The shrewd opinion was ventured that Asia and America come near together "if not fully joyned," and also that there is either no passage at all through these northern coasts, which is most likely, or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable.[6]

It is hard to reconcile the description given with the verdant shores of the Oregon Country as it is now known, or even with the Alaskan coasts, and nimphes of the kind experienced by Drake and his bold fellows are not often found in these latitudes in the summer months.

It would be most interesting to quote in full the old descriptions of the visit of these mariners during the period from June 17 to July 23 in Drake's Bay where the ship was overhauled and the country was formally taken possession of for his sovereign, but this was in California and not in Oregon. One account says "Our Generall called this Countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect to the White Bankes and Cliffes, which lie toward the Sea: and the other, because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometimes was so called. There is no part of Earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable shew of Gold or Silver."[7]

Drake and his crew spent the weeks pleasantly in the California harbor, living on amicable terms with the natives whose manners and customs interested them. With great ceremony Drake was adopted into the tribe, or as he thought was made king. The old account says: "On our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there, and also of her Majesties Right and Title to the same, namely a Plate, nayled upon a faire great Poste, whereupon was engraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and the People into her Majesties

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[5] United States Survey: Coast Pilot of California, Oregon, Washington Territory. George Davidson (1869), p. 77.

[6] Quoted by Laut, Vikings of the Pacific, p. 169.

[7] Purchas, His Pilgrimes, Vol. II, p. 140.

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hands, together with her Highnesse Picture and Armes, in a piece of six pence of currant English Money, under the Plate, whereunder was also written the name of our Generall."[8]

Drake found the Spanish maps to come into practical use now and used them to cross the Pacific and the Indian oceans, stopping at various points. At Sierra Leona, in Guinea, on the African coast, they found, or so they report, "necessarie provisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters upon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no bud to grow."[9] They arrived in England in the autumn of 1580, three years after their departure. The Golden Hind was the first English ship to circumnavigate the globe. The queen dined on board, and conferred knighthood upon the bold commander, while the ship was preserved in the Thames as a public relic. Drake was thirty-two years old when he sailed away on this voyage. His subsequent career was full of interest, and he died at fifty-one years of age when on an expedition against the Spanish under his old commander Admiral Hawkins. He did not succeed in finding a Northwest Passage, but it was his great visit to Oregon and to California that was the basis for the claim England made in after years to the north Pacific coast.

After Drake's example Cavendish in 1586 undertook a voyage to the South Sea, and followed Drake's course up the coast of America as far as Cape San Lucas, when he struck across the Pacific and returned to England in 1588. Sir Richard Hawkins in 1593 reached the Pacific but was fought by the Spanish and forced to surrender before he had passed far beyond the equator. Two other voyages in 1670 and 1685 reached the Pacific but did not attempt to follow the coast line of North America.

During the two hundred years that followed Drake's discovery the English did nothing to secure dominion over the Pacific. The autocratic and oppressive regime of the first two Stuart kings, the great Civil war, the Revolution of 1688, and, on the continent, the series of great European wars, including the Thirty Years' war, the War of the Spanish Succession, the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' war, no doubt made it difficult for England or for any other European power to embark upon any great over-seas undertaking.

Nevertheless it will afford a subject for speculation and for theory that during this period of intense maritime activity in other directions covering the span of two centuries England gave no attention to the country on the west coast of America reported upon by Drake. It sent no other expeditions there for discovery or barter, although it promptly followed up his report of what he had seen of the coast of India, going thither by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and it was as early as 1600 that the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies" was founded under Queen Elizabeth. India was the famed storehouse of all that wealth and luxury most coveted at the time. But even the fact that Spain had for years past been able to bring vast sums of gold from Peru and elsewhere in the western Americas seems not to have tempted the great maritime nations of the English or the Dutch to follow Drake's path around Cape Horn in search of further information concerning the coast claimed by the Spanish monopoly. And as

[8] Id.

[9] Id., p. 148.

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already shown, Spain itself did little that the world knows of during this period further to explore and occupy the northerly coasts.

There was one event, however, which had a profound influence, albeit indirectly, upon the history of the Pacific Northwest. King Charles II, of England, on May 2, 1670, issued a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, officially known at that time as "The Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson Bay." Although it was provided in the charter that the company should pursue active exploration of all the region draining into Hudson Bay, little was done in furtherance of this object until the English victory in the Seven Years' war removed the obstacle of French opposition from their path. The Hudson's Bay Company and its rival the North West Company, organized in 1783-1784 as we shall see later, played a by no means negligible part in the history of this region.[10] The English victory of 1763 over France opened up for them an era fraught with wonderful possibilities. Not only was all of Canada opened, but the valleys of the Saint Lawrence and of the Mississippi as well, and the freedom of all the four seas was theirs for exploration and exploitation. By acquisition of the French colonies in Canada the English should have gained a new interest in searching for the Northwest Passage and perchance even for a route by land to the Pacific coast, especially in view of their final conquest and dominion over India that had been secured in 1751.

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[10] The South Sea Company was formed in 1711 in London and was given a monopoly of British trade with the Pacific islands and South America, which monopoly existed until 1807. Its actual operations upon the Pacific were unimportant, but out of it grew the South Sea Bubble and the era of wild speculation in England culminating in 1720. The British merchant ships, that engaged in the fur trade on the Pacific coast in the late years of the eighteenth century, were hampered by this monopoly.

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CHAPTER VII

CAPTAIN COOK

Soon after their victorious emergence from the Seven Years' war in 1763 we find the English taking advantage of the opportunity thus presented to them to explore the western seas. Captain James Cook has the honor of being the first Englishman, after the long period of inactivity, to carry the flag of his country into the antipodes. He spent his boyhood upon a small English farm, but at an early age entered the service of the East India Company and thus secured his nautical training. Rising rapidly in rank he was entrusted with numerous important missions the successful execution of which brought to him, in 1768, the command of a scientific expedition sent into the south seas for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. Upon his return to England, he was entrusted with the task, in 1773, of searching in the Antarctic Ocean for a habitable continent whose existence was suspected in that quarter of the globe. The first of these expeditions added greatly to the geographical knowledge of the world by the discovery of New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, while the second showed conclusively that the supposed Antarctic continent was a myth.

Cook's third and last voyage into the Pacific was primarily in search of a long-sought Northwest Passage, the control of which, if it really did exist, was a matter of great importance because of its strategic value. An additional incentive at that time to mariners was the fact that the English government had offered a prize of 20,000 pounds for its discovery.[1] Consequently, on July 12, 1776, just eight days after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the American Congress at Philadelphia, Captain Cook set sail in command of two ships, the Resolution and the Discovery. The Resolution was the warship in which he had made his second voyage. The Discovery was a small vessel of 300 tons placed under the command of Captain Clerke. Cook's orders were to proceed by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thence, after arriving in the Pacific, by Tahiti and New Zealand, from which he was to steer directly for New Albion. Retention of this name for the coast of the North American continent above California shows that the English had never given up their claim of proprietary rights in that region first established by Drake.[2]

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[1] In 1745 parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 sterling to ships privately owned that should discover a passage opening into Hudson Bay. A new act extended the operation of the law to ships of the royal navy and provided that the passage might be sought in any direction above fifty-two degrees north. An additional reward of £5,000 was offered any ship reaching within one degree to the north pole. (Cook's Voyages, Vol. VI, p. xxxvi.)

[2] It is a peculiar coincidence that when on July 6, 1776, Cook's vessels were at anchor in Plymouth Sound ready for sea three British war vessels and a fleet of transports bound to America with the last division of Hessian troops and some cavalry were driven into Plymouth Sound by adverse winds. Commenting on this Cook said:

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The American coast was first reached at latitude forty-three degrees, and Cook was the first Englishman to view the Oregon littoral, unless that distinction belongs to Drake. No sooner had Cook reached that coast than a storm arose which drove his ships southward, probably as far as the California line; but favorable weather then succeeding, the northward voyage was resumed.[3] He utterly missed the mouth of the Columbia River as well as the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and landed upon the shore of Vancouver Island in Nootka Bay. Again as though by some strange freakishness of fate the great river of the Pacific Northwest escaped discovery. Spaniards and Englishmen had missed it. Could it be that it was hiding itself, waiting for its American discoverer? Regarding his failure to find the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Cook wrote: "It is in this very latitude where we now were that geographers have placed the pretended Strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed." It seems strange that Cook could have spent a full month at Nootka without learning from the natives of the existence of the great strait so near; but neither did Drake, who spent five weeks at Drake's Bay, learn of the San Francisco Bay.

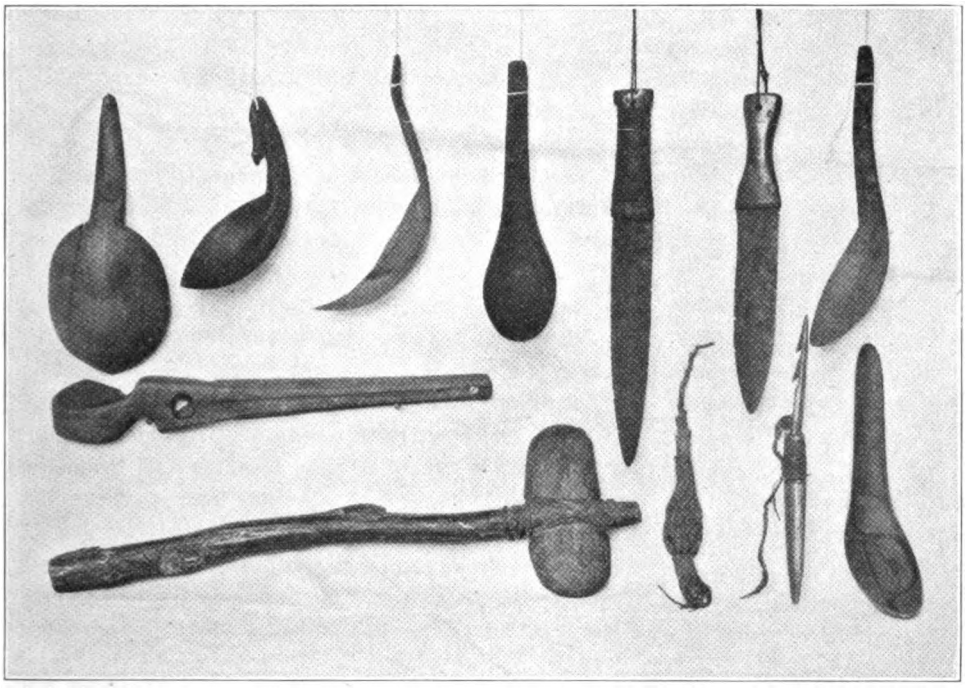
During his month's sojourn on Vancouver Island, Cook cultivated and won the friendship of the natives and carried on with them a lively trade in skins, chiefly those of the wolf, fox, bear, deer, marten and sea otter for which were given pieces and implements of brass and iron. Cook was surprised, as the Spaniards had been before, at their possession of fishhooks and other implements of brass and iron. He found two silver spoons of Spanish make there, and his mention of this fact in his report figured later in the controversy between the English and the Spanish over the sovereignty of Nootka.[4]

"It could not but occur to us as a singular and affecting circumstance that at the very instant of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making fresh discoveries in North America, there should be the unhappy necessity of employing others of his Majesty's ships and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces to secure the obedience of those parts of that continent which had been discovered and settled by our countrymen in the last century." (Id., p. 9.)

[3] On March 7, 1778, the Oregon coast was sighted. Cook was now near Yaquina Bay. The land appeared to be moderately high and diversified with hill and valley. Almost everywhere it was covered with trees, but there were no distinguishing promontories or capes to mark its shore line except a flat topped hill to which Cook gave the name of Cape Foulweather, a name it still bears. Slowly up the coast Cook sailed through blustery March weather keeping the land in sight almost continuously. The coast appeared almost straight without an inlet or opening. At forty-four degrees six minutes arose a point which was called Cape Perpetua. At forty-three degrees thirty minutes came another to which he gave the name Cape Gregory. It is noted that in his narrative Cook remarks that almost in this place geographers had placed the cape called Blanco supposed to have been discovered by Aguilar in 1603, and the large entrance or strait, the discovery of which was also attributed to Aguilar. A careful search by Cook in no wise tended to verify the statements so accredited. On March 22 a small round hill to the northward had the appearance of an island and "between this island or rock and the northern extreme of the land there appeared to be a small opening which flattered us with hopes of finding an harbor." But the hopes were not realized, for as the vessels drew nearer it appeared that the wished for opening was closed by low land. "On this account," says Cook, "I called the point of land to the north of it Cape Flattery." Thus did one of the great landmarks of the northwest coast get its name. Cook describes the land as of moderate height covered with forests and pleasant and fertile in appearance. (Cook's Voyages, Vol. VII, pp. 258-263.)

[4] Id., p. 282; and see Bancroft, Alaska, 240.

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INDIAN IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS

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It is possible that a ship or ships had at a very early time been wrecked on the northwest coast and that thus the natives first came into possession of these articles.[5] This was the beginning of fur trading on the northwest coast. The value and importance of this trade was not, at the time, appreciated by Cook and his men, and it was not until the party on its homeward voyage touched on the coast of China that its wonderful possibilities were recognized. From this time on it was the lure of the immense profits to be made from this trade that furnished the incentive for voyages to this comparatively inaccessible region and therefore played a great part in the subsequent history of Oregon. With Cook on this expedition were two Americans, Gore and Ledyard, the first Americans to visit the Pacific Northwest.

Cook found the indians very eager to obtain possession of pieces of metal of any kind and several times caught them stealing. He seems, however, to have been the first voyager to understand the indian code of ethics in this particular. All the indian tribes according to their idea had a communal proprietary right in everything pertaining to their tribal locality. Earth, air, water, everything, in fact, about them, whether subject to ownership according to the white man's idea or not, was the exclusive property of the tribe. They thought that when the white strangers needed water or wood for their ships, they should ask their permission before taking it, and that they should make some payment to the tribe. The white man did not do this and therefore they considered that they had an equal right to help themselves to some of the white man's property.

Leaving Nootka, Cook sailed northward along the Alaska coast where he sighted Mount Edgecumbe and Mount Saint Elias. He passed through Cook's Inlet, named after himself, penetrated the Aleutian Islands, touched the Asiatic continent and came at last to Bering's Strait through which he sailed into the Arctic Ocean until he found his way blocked with ice. Thus was the myth of the Northwest Passage forever discredited. For although, as is stated in the Introduction to Cook's Voyages, written afterwards for the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, it was already "pretty certain that no such passage existed through Hudson's bay," it was Cook's expedition that made this certain. Attainment of this geographical knowledge was epochal, inasmuch

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[5] There are several legendary accounts of visits of white men to the Oregon coast at very early periods, such as the "treasure ship" which landed near Neakahnie Mountain, the "beeswax" ship wrecked near Nehalem, and the story of Konapee, cast ashore among the Clatsops. It has been suggested that the name Oregon may have been derived from shipwrecked Spaniards. There was a story of a Yazoo indian called Moncacht Ape or Moncachtabe, seen in his old age in the lower Mississippi region by a French scholar and writer. This indian claimed to have visited the Pacific coast in 1745, or about that time, and to have learned there of the regular visits of a ship to that coast, and to have seen bearded visitors ambushed and slain by the natives on landing. (Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, Vol. I, p. 605.) Lyman gives full credence to these stories, excepting the last which he accepts with qualifications (History of Oregon, Vol. I, and Appendix, passim.) They may be classed with other tales and traditions that do not rise to the dignity of history. In Alexander Henry's Journal under date, December 8, 1813, written at Astoria, is the following about the beeswax ship: "The old Clatsop chief arrived with some excellent salmon and the meat of a large biche. There came with him a man about thirty years of age, who has extraordinary dark red hair and is much freckled—supposed offspring of a ship that was wrecked within a few miles of the entrance of this river many years ago. Great quantities of beeswax continue to be dug out of the sand near this spot, and the indians bring it to trade with us." (Coues' Edition, Vol. II, p. 768.)

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as it established the fact of the closed polar sea, the long voyage around Cape Horn required to reach these coasts, and the comparative isolation of the Oregon Country, making it certain that whoever in the future should secure authority over this region must perforce establish communication therewith by land rather than by sea.[6]

Turning his back then upon the inhospitable Arctic Sea, Cook afterward explored Norton Sound north of the Yukon, and touched at the Aleutian Islands where he met some Russian fur traders. He then directed his course toward the Sandwich Islands, where he intended to spend the winter before extending his explorations further. There Captain Cook was killed in an unfortunate broil with the natives. Command of the expedition now devolved upon Clerke, who sailed the next season once more into the Arctic, where he found the ice worse than before. Upon the return voyage, he became ill, and died upon the Siberian coast, whereupon the command was assumed by Gore. Proceeding to Canton it was found that furs which had been acquired for mere scraps of iron, old knives, and the like, were in great demand among the Chinese, and in spite of their poor condition brought what to Cook's men seemed fabulous prices. The members of the crews were for returning immediately to the American coast in order to procure more furs, and it was only by the exercise of the severest authority that Gore prevailed upon them to continue on their homeward way. Arriving in England in 1780, the report was at first suppressed by the government, but after the end of the Spanish war the accounts of the voyages were given out and news was soon spread abroad of the profits to be made in the fur trade, and thus was laid the foundation for a new era in the history of the Pacific Northwest, the Era of the Fur Trader.

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[6] The various newspaper summaries printed in advance of full official publication of the narrative of Captain Cook's voyage prepared the British public, and the first complete account in book form was eagerly purchased, although it was anonymous. It was probably written by John Rickman, second lieutenant. The complete official edition appeared in 1782, and Ledyard's Journal (published in America) in 1783. (F. W. Howay, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 51.)

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CHAPTER VIII

ERA OF THE FUR TRADER

Up to this point in our history the Oregon in which we are particularly interested has remained undiscovered and it will be well, before continuing with our story, to review briefly the circumstances which, for almost three hundred years, had left unknown the virgin forests and the potential wheat fields of the Oregon Country, and above all had kept inviolate the mighty Columbia River. The Spaniards, as we have seen, sought gold and silver. They had not the desire or the patience to exploit wild lands occupied only by savages. It is true that the Spanish voyager, Heceta, had gained sight of the Oregon coast, but this cannot be called a discovery. Drake, the English buccaneer, may have viewed from the sea Oregon's fir clad mountains, but nothing more. Drake's voyage was not for purposes of discovery but was merely to cripple the maritime power of Spain, and to plunder its wealth.

Any further attempt on the part of the English at exploitation of the Pacific coast of North America was prevented during the seventeenth century for reasons already outlined, and later also by wars, including the American Revolution, so that there was little opportunity to seize dominion over the Pacific Northwest. There was, however, one European nation that must be excepted from the general statement. Russia, essentially during the eighteenth century a part of Asia rather than of Europe, kept aloof from the great wars of that period. Its expansive power and the lure of the fur trade had led that government by the year 1711, to the shores of the Pacific. In the year 1724, just five weeks before his death, Peter the Great formulated plans for further exploration of the Pacific. His orders to Vitus Bering, the Dane, whom he commissioned at that time, are as follows: "At Kamchatka, or somewhere else, two decked boats are to be built. With these you are to sail northward along the coast, and as the end of the coast is not known this land is undoubtedly America. For this reason you are to inquire where the American coast begins, and go to some European colony; and when European ships are seen you are to ask what the coast is called, note it down, make a landing, obtain reliable information, and then, having charted the coast, return."

In pursuance of these orders Bering sailed northward along the Siberian coast, and in 1728, discovered the straits which bear his name.[1] After this

[1] After suffering and hardship in crossing the steppes and morasses of Siberia Bering reached the Kamchatkan peninsula. Here under great disadvantages he built the staunch Gabriel, the timber of which was hauled from the forest by dogs. The tar was manufactured by sailors, and the cables, rigging and anchors had been dragged 2,000 miles through the Siberian wilderness. Fish oil was the sailors' butter, and dried fish their beef. The sea gave up its salt, and spirits were distilled from straw. With rude equipment Bering started out on a voyage of discovery along an unknown coast. July 13, 1728, the Gabriel headed north, usually keeping in sight of land. Bering proceeded to a point near 67° 18′, latitude, and 193° 7′ east of Greenwich longitude, establishing the fact that two continents were separated by a sea which is now known as Bering Strait. Owing to cloudy

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achievement Bering went into retirement, and it was not until 1741 that he sailed upon his last ill-fated voyage of discovery. In that year he sailed from Avatcha, on the Siberian coast, with two inadequately supplied vessels, the Saint Peter and the Saint Paul, the latter being commanded by his lieutenant, Chirikoff, who sailed to a point near Sitka, where he lost two boats while trying to effect a landing, after which he returned to Avatcha. Bering, in the Saint Peter, sailed down the Alaskan coast and discovered and named Mount Saint Elias. This is generally accepted as the Russian discovery of Alaska, which afterward furnished one of the Russian claims to that region. He touched the American continent at latitude fifty-nine degrees and forty minutes at a point supposed to be near Mount Fairweather. Bering's crew being by this time badly crippled by scurvy, he turned about and sailed north where his ship was wrecked upon an island of the Aleutian archipelago which bears his name. Here Bering died and, after a winter spent amid unbelievable hardships, the few survivors managed to return to Avatcha Bay. They brought with them, however, a few of the beautiful pelts of the sea otter and fur-bearing seal which created particular interest upon their arrival in Siberia and caused a stampede to the American coast in quest of these valuable furs.[2] It is these furs rather than scientific interest in exploration or desire for colonizing that made the discoveries of Bering and Chirikoff the basis of Russian settlement. From this time on, the Russians, sailing sometimes in the flimsiest of vessels, penetrated the Aleutian Islands and followed the main coast in their pursuit of the fur-bearing animals of that region. It is said that fully one-third of these frail vessels, held together in some instances merely by thongs, were wrecked, but the fatalistic Russians persisted in spite of all obstacles and did succeed in building up a rather precarious fur trade with the Siberian coast. The furs thus secured were for many years transported overland to China, their ultimate market, and it was not until 1770 that the Russians succeeded in establishing direct trade with the coast of China. They seem to have been very much in disfavor with both the Chinese and Japanese, which circumstance proved later to be to the advantage of the Americans.

The contact of the Russians with Cook's expedition seems to have created among them a renewed interest in the American fur trade, and in the year 1781, a number of merchants of the coast of eastern Siberia organized a company for the purpose of developing the business. This company met with small success, due no doubt to their brutal treatment of the natives. It was merged in 1799 with the newly organized Russian-American Company and to

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weather Bering was unable to see the American shore. From Saint Petersburg it was announced that "Bering has ascertained that there really does exist a northwest passage and that from the Lena river it is possible, provided one is not prevented by polar ice, to sail to Kamchatka and thence to Japan and China and the East Indies." In 1729 Bering made another voyage charting the Kamchatka peninsula and northern Kurile islands.

[2] In the meantime Chirikoff with the Saint Paul continued on eastward, and about July 11 sighted the highland of the west coast of the archipelago Alexandria near latitude 55° 21′, and on the following morning the promontory afterward known as Cape Addington. Next came the Hazy Islands so named by Dixon in 1787. On July 17 the vessel was estimated to be in latitude fifty-seven degrees, fifteen minutes north, in the region of Sitka Sound. Being in need of fresh water Chirikoff sent ten of his best men ashore in a small boat. They never came back. Neither did a second party. It was thought they were murdered by the natives.

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this concern was given a monopoly of the fur trade on the American coast from Bering Strait as far south as latitude fifty-five degrees. This is a fact of importance as foreshadowing the ultimate Russian claim to this coast and as having a bearing upon the "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" controversy of later years. In the meantime, between 1781 and 1783, Russian fur traders followed the American coast to Prince William Sound, explored Kodiak Island, and in 1787 founded an establishment at Cook's River.

The chief agent of the Russian-American Company in America was Alexander Baranoff, who later loomed so large in the plans of Astor. For twenty years he ruled, sometimes with brutality, always with inflexible severity, his northwestern dominions and, except for the difference in the character of the two men, he is comparable to the Hudson's Bay Company factor, Dr. John McLoughlin. Having made several unsuccessful attempts to locate establishments on the Alaskan coast, Baranoff in 1799 bartered with a native chief for a tract of land and at once proceeded to build his new capital, known as Fort Archangel Gabriel, or Sitka, the "City on the Channel," which became the center from which thenceforth the Russian Company conducted its business. The territorial ambitions of the Russians on the Pacific coast and the international complications which resulted will be described later.[3]

In passing it may be mentioned that in 1786 the Frenchman, La Perouse, acting under instructions from his government visited the North Pacific coast in the vicinity of Mount Fairweather, but excepting this unimportant participation, the French nation had no part in these explorations.

Having introduced these new actors upon the stage of international rivalry upon the northwestern coast of America we shall now return to the activities of the English explorers. The British government itself was largely to blame for the tardy exploration of the coast of the Pacific Northwest by Englishmen. In accordance with its policy of granting monopolies to trading companies and strictly delimiting their field of operations, the British government had granted to the East India Company the exclusive privilege of trading with the coast of Northwest America. This company was reaping such a rich harvest from its trade with the East Indies that the fur trade of the Pacific coast offered no inducement to them to extend their operations into that field, whereas rival companies and independent traders could not legally trade there while sailing under the British flag. The result of this short sighted policy was that English captains wishing to trade in this region sailed under the Austrian flag or took out Portuguese papers at the port of Macao on the China coast. The first of these traders definitely mentioned was James Hanna, who sailed from Macao in 1785 in a small brig. When he arrived at Nootka the indians tried to board his vessel in the open day. Many were killed in the fray that followed. Hanna, however, took back to Macao a cargo of sea otter skins which brought $20,000. An attempt was made the next year to start a line of packets from Kamchatka but this was not a success. About the same time also small ships from Calcutta and Bombay were sent out by the East India Company. Lowrie and Guise came to Nootka in the Captain Cook, a 300-ton vessel and the Experiment of 100 tons, fitted out at Bombay. Their voyage brought $24,000. The King George's Sound Company was organized in London, and

[3] In Chapter IX infra. Regarding Russian Explorations, see Russian Expansion on the Pacific, Golder; Bancroft, Alaska.

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in 1785 it sent out an expedition consisting of the King George and the Queen Charlotte, under Captains Dixon and Portlock.[4] Dixon's name was given to the entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound. Dixon claimed to have discovered the region between fifty-two and fifty-four degrees north, on the ground that it had not been seen by Cook. He called the land Queen Charlotte Islands. He thought it was not a portion of the mainland. This fact was confirmed by Capt. Charles Duncan and James Colnett of the same company who came to the coast in 1787. Portlock cruised to Cook's Inlet where he was "not a little mortified" to find other traders ahead of him, presumably Russians.

Among others resorting to the subterfuges mentioned above was Captain Barkley, an Englishman whose name is sometimes spelled Berkeley, or Barclay, operating under the flag of the Austrian East Indian Company, who, in 1787, visited the northwestern coast in command of the ship Imperial Eagle. His wife accompanied him upon this voyage and has the distinction of being the first white woman to visit these shores. Opposite Quadra's Isla de Dolores, he discovered a river into which he sent a boatload of his men after fresh water. They were set upon by the natives and all killed, whereupon Barkley named the stream Destruction River, which name has been since transferred to the island and the river is called by its original indian name, Hoh. After anchoring at Nootka a canoe came alongside and Mrs. Barkley was astonished when a man in every respect appearing to be an indian, but a very dirty one, clothed in a filthy sea otter skin, came aboard and introduced himself as Dr. John Mackay, late surgeon of the Captain Cook. So far as known Mackay was the first European to live among the Northwest indians as one of them. In 1786 Captain Hanna on his second voyage had offered to take Mackay back to civilization but the doctor had declined. He had begun to relish dried fish and whale oil. During Barkley's stay at Nootka he, with the aid of Mackay, cornered all the skins, and when soon after the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, respectively commanded by Colnett and Duncan, arrived they could do no business. From Nootka Barkley sailed south discovering Clayoquot Sound. He anchored off a large village near what is now known as Effingham Island. A successful trade was carried on here and several points and islands were named.

On leaving Barkley Sound the Strait of Juan de Fuca was discovered and located on a July day in 1787 as the following quotation from the diary of Mrs. Barkley shows: "In the afternoon to our great astonishment we arrived off a large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance to which appeared to be about four leagues wide and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear easterly horizon which my husband immediately recognized as the long lost Strait of Juan de Fuca and to which he gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart." Barkley, however, did not examine the opening or explore the strait at all. He proceeded along the coast and in latitude forty-seven degrees forty-three minutes on a river supposed to be the Ohahlat, near Destruction Island, the mate, Mr. Millar,

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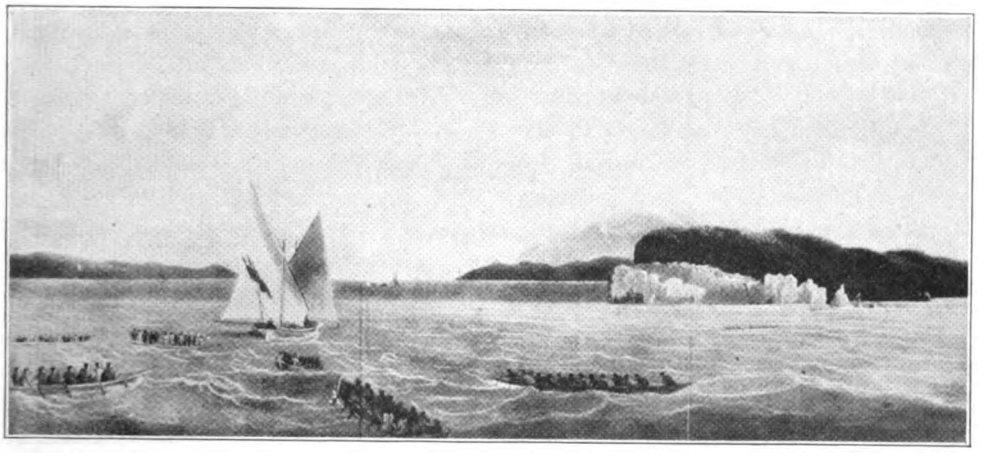
[4] Shafer says this was a company organized in London by Richard Cadman Etches, "which seems to have received the government's blessing but no financial help," and refers to a book published by the latter, entitled "An Authentic Statement, etc., of Facts Relating to Nootka Sound," by Argonaut. (Joseph Shafer, Hist. of Or. (1918), p. 17.) Etches and Company are named in the Spanish reports as the owners. (Nootka Controversy Papers in the Library of Congress.)

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MAQUINA

The engraving of the chief at Nootka Sound, with whom the early expeditions to the Pacific coast came in contact on many occasions, is in Goleta's Voyage, published in Madrid, Spain, 1792.



CAPTAIN MEARES AT THE ENTRANCE OF STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA

The island on the right is Tatoosh Island. Meares claimed to be the discoverer of the strait, but it had already been seen by Barkley. The picture is from Meares' Voyages.

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the purser, Mr. Beale, and four seamen were murdered by indians. After this loss of men Barkley continued to Cape Fear and thence sailed to China.[5] The owners found they were not warranted in trading even under the Austrian flag with China and the Northwest coast, and through fear of loss of their positions with the East India Company felt obliged to sell the ship to avoid worse consequences. They tried to avoid their contract with Barkley, but he brought suit and obtained a verdict of 5,000 pounds sterling against them.

But the first navigator actually to enter the long sought strait was Capt. John Meares, who was a retired lieutenant of the British navy, and one of the most interesting and spectacular characters of all those who figured in the early maritime annals of the Pacific Northwest. He was eminently successful as a geographer and fur trader, he was the first to introduce Chinese labor on the Pacific coast, and he launched the first vessel built in this region. He also nearly brought on a war between England and Spain. He was a veritable human dynamo and injected more real interest into the history of the Pacific Northwest than any of his predecessors.[6] In 1786, he sailed from Bengal with two vessels, the Nootka and Sea-Otter, names suggestive of furs and adventure.

Meares first sailed to Unalaska, thence to Prince William Sound, where he was to meet the Sea-Otter in command of William Tipping. However that vessel, which in the meantime reached the rendezvous, left before Meares arrived. She was never heard of again. Meares remained for the winter, but he and his crew had a miserable time there. Scurvy broke out among the crew and there was not a healthy man on the ship. The surgeon died. In Meares' journal is this entry: "We continued to see and lament a gradual diminution of our crew from this terrible disaster. Too often did I find myself called to assist in performing the dreadful office of dragging the dead bodies across the ice to a shallow sepulcher which with our own hands we had hewn out for them on the shore. The sledge in which we fetched the wood was their hearse and the chasms in the ice their grave." Of the crew twenty-three died of scurvy and exposure. In the spring Captain Dixon, in the Princess Charlotte, arrived from London. Dixon had heard through natives of Meares' plight, and came to his relief. He was welcomed as a "guardian angel with tears of joy." Soon afterward Captain Portlock arrived. But although Meares was given some assistance, a heated controversy arose between these sea captains which later found expression in pamphlets and letters published in England full of bitter charges and counter charges. Dixon claimed that on the Nootka ship the scurvy was augmented by drunkenness, an assertion which was vigorously denied by Meares. For the assistance rendered, Meares was required to furnish bond to return to China at once and to leave the coast clear for trade to Portlock and Dixon, a bargain that was a hard one to say the least. So finally, June 21, to the infinite joy of her crew, the Nootka set sail for the orient. But Meares soon returned. In 1787, English merchants in India fitted out two ships, the Felice Adventurer and the Iphigenia Nubiana and p'aced them under the command of John Meares and William Douglas. Pro-

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[5] The following year when Meares visited Nootka he saw a seal hanging from the ear of a native that was recognized as having belonged to Millar. (Meares, Voyages, 124.)

[6] Meares has been criticised as unreliable. (Greenhow, History of Oregon, pp. 172, 178, 193, 211.) But in the main his very readable narrative is in accordance with the facts. (Meares' Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America.)

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ceeding to Macao, on the coast of China, they provided themselves with Portuguese flags, papers and captains. This was perhaps to avoid port charges at Macao or to avoid the imposition of excessive licenses by the East India and South Sea Company, but was looked upon then, as now, as illegitimate. A Portuguese partner was taken along, and the plan was to make it appear, in case of necessity, that the real captains were merely supercargoes and clerks.

Thus in May, 1788, Meares arrived again on the coast. He entered Nootka harbor and in exchange for two pistols, procured from Chief Maquina a tract of land upon which he built a fort.[7] He had brought with him the framework of a schooner. He had also brought Chinese helpers and with them and the members of his crew he straightway set about its construction. While his men were at work at this shipbuilding he set sail upon an exploring expedition to the southward. On June 29, he sighted, in latitude forty-eight degrees thirty-nine minutes north, the great inlet which had been discovered the previous year by Barkley. Believing that this was the passage described by Michael Lock or Lok nearly two hundred years before, he named it after its supposed discoverer, Juan de Fuca. Crossing to the point of the entrance, he was hospitably entertained by Chief Tatoosh, whose name he gave to the small rock island nearby, where now is situated the United States light-house and weather station. The following is Meares' own account of his discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca: "At noon the latitude was 48 degrees 39 minutes north, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing east-southeast, distant about six leagues. We endeavored to keep with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety, as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we knew no other navigator, said to have been this way, except Maurelle; and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he either had never seen this part of the coast or that he had purposely misrepresented it. * * * By three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet already mentioned, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the masthead it was observed to stretch to the east by north, and a clear unbounded horizon was seen in this direction, as far as the eye could reach. * * * The strongest curiosity impelled us to

[7] See the affidavit of Robert Duffin given to Captain Vancouver, which, however, says the consideration paid was eight or ten sheets of copper and several other trifling articles, and gives a full description of the site. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. 6, p. 53.) Canoes filled with native men and women and children surrounded the Felice. To their great surprise Comekela, a Nootkan who had been carried to China on an earlier expedition was restored to them. "Dressed in a scarlet regimental coat decorated with brass buttons, a military hat set off with a flaunting cockade, decent linens, and other appendages of European dress, which was far more than sufficient to excite the extreme admiration of his countrymen." A magnificent feast of whale blubber and oil followed and the day was spent in rejoicing. Even the little children drank the oil with all the appearance of extreme gratification. A day or two later Maquina and Callicum, two chiefs, accompanied by a fleet of war canoes, visited Meares. The canoes moved in a procession around the Felice while the crews sang "a pleasing though sonorous melody." Each canoe had eighteen men clad in robes of beautiful otter skins covering them from neck to ankle, enough to excite the cupidity of the whites. Meares presented Maquina with copper, iron and other articles. (Meares, Voyage, pp. 109-113.)

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(From Meares' Voyages).

THE LAUNCHING OF THE NORTH WEST AMERICA AT NOOTKA SOUND, SEPTEMBER 20, 1788

Being the first vessel that was ever built in that part of the globe.

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enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, Juan de Fuca."[8]

His curiosity seems, however, not to have been sufficiently compelling to induce him to explore the straits. He did send his mate off in one of the ship's boats, who proceeded to sound for anchorage between the shore and Tatoosh Island, after whose return Meares again set sail toward the south. Sighting the snow-capped mountain, formerly named Santa Rosalia by the Spaniard, Perez, he renamed it Mount Olympus, whence the modern appellation Olympics, applied to the range. On Sunday, July 6, he passed the promontory, called by Heceta, Cape St. Roc or St. Roque (Cape Disappointment), and sought for the river supposed to debouch in that latitude, but he failed to find the Columbia, thus again illustrating the perversity of fate in keeping her secret hidden so long from the Spanish and English navigators.

Meares thus describes his experiences off the mouth of the Columbia River: "At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoalwater, we had a perfect view of it; and with the glasses we traced the line of the coast to the southward, which presented no opening that promised anything like an harbour. An high bluff promontory bore off us southeast, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbour. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half past eleven we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took a rather westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right ahead, and from the masthead, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of Deception Bay. By an indifferent meridian observation it lies in the latitude of 46° 10′ north and in the computed longitude of 235° 34′ east. We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts. To those of Maurelle we made constant reference but without deriving any information or assistance from them. We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and being almost certain that we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore."[9]

Thus on account of a preconceived doubt as to the veracity of the Spanish

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[8] Meares, Voyage, Chap. XIV, pp. 152-155.

[9] Meares, Voyages, pp. 167-8.

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accounts of the existence of a river in these parts, and a wholesome dread of the breakers of the bar, Meares missed his opportunity to become the discoverer of the Columbia and thereby to give to his country a much stronger claim than was ultimately hers to its tributary territory. It is interesting to note that within two months after this experience he chanced to be at King George's Sound when the American sloop Washington sailed in, and its captain, Robert Gray, gave him information of his having landed at a harbor on the coast that had just been vainly scrutinized by Meares.

After his return to Nootka, the schooner which had been built during his absence was launched and christened the North West America. The Russians had built vessels in Alaska before this, but here began the shipbuilding industry that has since grown to great proportions on this part of the coast. The North West America was put in command of Robert Funter. He, with Douglas, who had returned from a cruise to the north, was ordered to proceed to the Sandwich Islands. Meares then sailed to China with the cargo of furs. An interesting entry in Meares' journal at this time is as follows: "We also took on board a considerable quantity of fine spars, fit for topmasts, for the Chinese market, where they are very much wanted and of course proportionably dear. Indeed the woods of this part of America are capable of supplying with these valuable materials all the navies of Europe."[10] A storm arising shortly after Meares set sail compelled him to jettison his cargo of spars, but this attempt is of interest as being the beginning of the lumbering industry on the northwestern coast of America, and an early recognition of the particular excellence of this timber for ship masts and spars.

It will not be necessary here to follow the various discoveries of the English captains Duncan and Colnett who were in the vicinity of Queen Charlotte Island in the summer of 1788 while Meares was there. But Duncan, whose tiny vessel of fifty tons had sailed for twenty months through the Atlantic and the Pacific and had rounded Cape Horn, spent several days at anchor on the south side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. He did not penetrate further than two miles and his ship remained at the indian village of Claaset, although his chart indicates a knowledge of a more extensive coast line.

But while rival discoverers were thus finding new islands and sounds and were gaining additional geographical information, as well as of the native inhabitants on the northwestern part of the American continent, and while rival fur traders were thus competing in bartering with the natives for the pelt of the sea otter, far more important events, changing the main current of human history, were taking place on the Atlantic shores. A confederacy of free states had been formed and the nation of the United States had been established on new principles of government. Its merchants of Boston and the seafarers of the New England coast were sailing abroad under a new flag and were developing a new merchant marine. For the first time the flag of the United States was seen in foreign ports, and a new type of sailorman now approached the Pacific shores drawn hither by the lure of undiscovered country but more especially by the profit to be gained from whales and fur bearing animals.

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[10] Id., p. 223. Gray and Haswell are authorities for the statement that the North West America was under Portuguese colors. (F. W. Howay in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 257.)

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CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS

Meares did not, as he had planned, return from China to the Pacific coast in the Felice, but he organized a joint stock company which secured a license from the East India Company allowing trade with the American coast. This license obviated the necessity of making use of double colors, as had been done on the former occasion, but, of course, Douglas and Funter in the Sandwich Islands were ignorant of this, and this ignorance on their part led to unpleasant complications later on as we shall see. The new company sent out two ships, the Argonaut in command of Captain Colnett, and the Princess Royal under Captain Hudson. Material was carried on board for the construction of another schooner at Nootka. Twenty-nine Chinese were also carried, the intention being to procure for them Kanaka wives in the Sandwich Islands and to settle them as the nucleus of a colony at Nootka. The permanent settlement to be established at that place was to be called Fort Pitt and very elaborate plans were made for its improvement and fortification.

Meantime, the Spaniards had heard of the encroachments of the Russians from the north and of their plans to monopolize the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest. Spain was still wedded to the belief that the South Sea and all the western shores of the two Americas washed by it belonged exclusively to itself and that any others venturing into these regions were poaching upon its domain. Moreover the coasts now being occupied and exploited by the Russians had been previously explored to some extent by Spanish navigators and taken possession of in the name of the Spanish king. Consequently it seemed to Florez, the Spanish viceroy of New Spain or Mexico, that it was time to reassert the authority of his king over the disputed regions or the opportunity might irretrievably be lost. Whatever was to be done had to be done upon his own initiative, owing to the slowness and difficulty of communication with Spain and the dilatoriness of the home government.

The viceroy was moved to immediate action by a report brought to him in December, 1788, by a naval officer whom he had dispatched to the north to make an investigation of the rumored encroachments of Russians and British. This was Ensign Don Estevan José Martinez who had sailed as second pilot with Perez to the same waters in 1774 and who had been at Nootka in 1778. He knew the basis of the Spanish claims, and knew of Cook's visit to this coast in 1778, and his instructions directed him to ascertain and report whether any attempts had been made to establish settlements or trading posts. On returning he had given full details of his visit to the Russian fur trading station at Unalaska where he reported that he had been hospitably and even generously received and entertained, and where he had no difficulty in drawing out from the officials that the Russian claims by reason of the discoveries of Bering and Chirikoff extended far down the coast, and that indeed they were then but

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awaiting the arrival of four frigates from Siberia to proceed to assert the Russian rights by ousting the English fur traders that had located at Nootka. Florez therefore took immediate action, hoping in this way to get possession of Nootka before the Russian fleet could reach that port.

The matter is of more than passing interest to Americans for the first American vessels to the Pacific coast were also under surveillance. The instructions given to Martinez, who was entrusted with the command of the new expedition, ordered him to take the frigate Princessa and the packet San Carlos the Filipino, well armed and manned, and to take the convoy packet Aranzazu, with provisions and supplies. He was furnished with a copy of Cook's map of the entrance to Nootka, then but recently published in London. Four Apostolic friars were to accompany the expedition for religious work among the indians. A building was to be erected at Nootka with a view to showing thereby the dominion of the Spanish sovereign. Martinez was instructed if Russian or English ships should arrive to receive their commandants with the politeness and good manners which the existing peace and amity with those nations required, but to show them "the just reason for our establishment at Nootka, the superior right we have to continue them along the entire coast, and the arrangements which our superior government is taking to hold them." The expedition was to use prudent firmness, but if the foreigners should attempt to use force they were to be met with force and prevented from trading and bargaining with the indians. The English were to be reminded if they depended in any degree for priority upon Captain Cook's visit of March, 1778, that in the narrative of his voyage he had related that he had redeemed two Spanish silver spoons that had been stolen from Martinez himself at that place in 1774. As for the Americans, if any were met, they were to be dealt with according to these instructions:

"Your honor can make use of stronger argument still to the subjects of the independent American colonies, if they should appear on the northern coasts of the Californias, which up to the present time have not seen their vessels; but from an official letter of the most respected Senor, the Viceroy of Peru, I have learned that a frigate which is said to belong to General Washington left Boston in September of 1787, with the intention of going to the aforesaid coasts, that a storm compelled her to put in to the Island of Juan Fernandez in distress, and when repaired she pursued her course."

"In case your honor should meet with this Boston frigate, or with a little packet that sailed in her convoy and which she lost in the storm they encountered, these facts will serve your honor as a guide in order to take such action as you can, and as may seem to you proper; it being well understood that our settlements are being extended in order to make it known thereby to all foreigners that we have already taken formal possession in 1779, as far as beyond the Port of Prince William, and of that port and its adjacent islands." [1]

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[1] The American vessels were the Lady Washington and the Columbia from Boston. The correspondence, copied from the originals, is in the Library of Congress, with the reports and accompanying documents, excepting letter No. 672, which is in the archives at Seville, Spain. In the report of Florez, Viceroy, to Valdez, Foreign Minister in Spain, the suspicion with which the voyage of the Washington and Columbia was viewed is indicated by the following passages:

"It is to be suspected that this frigate and the little packet which left Boston in her company came with the view of discovering the port and neighboring territory on our

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From Agnes Laut, "Vikings of the Pacific," by permission

DEPARTURE OF THE COLUMBIA AND THE LADY WASHINGTON FROM BOSTON
(Reproduced from a contemporaneous painting.)

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In 1789, therefore, Martinez went north to build a fort at Nootka and to hold it in the name of the Spanish king. On arriving he took possession with elaborate and impressive ceremonies, and proceeded to erect three houses to be used as a forge, a cook house and a dwelling. A building for the troops was also constructed with a battery of ten guns upon a high hill commanding the entrance to the port. There were no Russians there, but he found the American vessels, Washington and Columbia, the latter lying in port, under command of Capt. John Kendrick, while the Washington was just leaving port for a cruise to Queen Charlotte Islands in search of furs, under command of Capt. Robert Gray. However, as the "passports given by General Washington" as the report states, were found to permit a voyage of discovery around the world, and did not indicate any purpose to interfere with Spanish rights, the vessels were not arrested. The Columbia, it was represented, was engaged in extensive repairs made necessary by reason of a fire in the store room in which the sails were kept, a misfortune that happened near Santa Barbara, and it was represented that as soon as the vessels were ready they would continue their voyage around the world, but the Spanish commander took the precaution of notifying the Americans in the name of the king that they were "not to return by these seas and coasts without bringing a passport provided with a special license from our monarch," and that it was prohibited by ordinance for any foreign nation to "sail the coasts of America."[2]

Martinez found also in the harbor the Nubian Iphigenia under command of the Englishman, Captain Douglas, who, upon arrival of the Spaniards, had run up the Portuguese flag. Martinez, being suspicious of the subterfuge, seized the Iphigenia in spite of its colors, but later, fearing international complications, released his prize, and furnished Captain Douglas with supplies for which he accepted an order upon the supposed Portuguese partner. He subsequently discovered that this partner was a bankrupt, whereupon he seized the

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northern coasts of the Californias, in order to establish and maintain some new colony of their nation. There is no doubt that this is the enterprise for what other object could have compelled them to such a long voyage as these two barks are making." The Viceroy proceeded to quote from Jonathan Carver's Travels and to call attention to his proposal to travel to the coast and said, "if this man had wandered some 24 degrees of longitude farther to the west he doubtless discovered cape Gregory, or St. Gregory on the northern coasts of New California," and he adds, "On account of all this we should not be surprised that the English colonists of America, republican and independent, are putting into practice the design of discovering a safe port on the South Sea and trying to hold it by travelling across the immense territory of this continent above our possessions in Texas, New Mexico and California. Much more wandering about may be expected from an active nation, which bases all its hopes and resources on navigation and trade; and in truth it could hold the riches of Great China and of India, if it succeeds in establishing a colony on the western coasts of America."

[2] Id., No. 1182, Secret; Document No. 2. A later letter shows complaint that the Americans were still in Spanish waters after nearly a year had elapsed. It has always been a subject for speculation as to why Martinez did not follow orders and treat the Americans as he did the British. This is partly explained by the so-called Barrell letters of Captains Gray and Kendrick written to the owners at Boston, the Martinez Diary and Haswell's Log. The American captains established friendly personal relations with Martinez, gave him presents, flattered his vanity, and aided him in his plans, at the same time keeping up the more or less obvious pretense that they were upon an exploring expedition, and were intending to depart as soon as possible. (See F. W. Howay, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 243, who collects much of interest on this relationship but does not make use of the valuable material in Nootka Sound Controversy, Mss. in Library of Congress.)

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schooner, North West America, which returned to Nootka early in June. Then on June 14, 1789, Captain Hudson arrived with the Princess Royal, took the furs from the North West America and sailed away on another trading trip. On July 3, Captain Colnett with the Argonaut sailed into Nootka. Regardless of the presence of the Spaniards, and in open defiance of their authority, Colnett set about aggressively with his preparations for the building and fortification of Fort Pitt, basing his right to do so upon the land purchase of Meares from Chief Maquina, but Martinez seized his vessel and all of its cargo, stores and supplies, and when Captain Hudson returned to Nootka, July 14, the Princess Royal was also seized. This was somewhat beyond the written instructions, and the seriousness of the consequences possible, the gravity of the risk of precipitating war thus assumed by subordinate local officials, became apparent even to themselves. In August, Martinez sent his English prizes to San Blas, where Florez, the viceroy, found himself in a rather embarrassing position. He had no means at his disposal for reinforcing Martinez at Nootka, and had not received from his home government confirmation of his own acts, nor had he any assurance as to when such confirmation would come, if ever. Moreover his successor as viceroy had been appointed and was on his way to replace him. Eventually he was ordered by the Spanish government to release the prizes, but before the receipt of the order he had already done so, refitting them and paying wages to their owners for the time of detention. In December, 1789, Martinez abandoned the fort at Nootka; but early in 1790 a new Spanish garrison was sent there under the command of Lieut. Francisco Eliza.

The English government at this time had no desire to enter upon a war with Spain. The cabinet hoped for the continuance of European peace, and consequently, when they received from their minister at Madrid the first intimation of these events upon the Pacific coast, they kept the matter quiet until they should have more details. The details were forthcoming upon the arrival of Captain Meares in London in April, 1790. In his famous memorial to the British government he straightway set forth all the wrongs, real and imaginary, which his company had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards, and he loudly demanded redress. In an itemized statement he set down his real losses as amounting to 153,433 Spanish milled dollars, and the "probable" losses as 500,000 dollars. The government could no longer keep this matter secret and the furor which resulted from its publication was tremendous. The cabinet immediately took the matter up and warlike preparations were begun on an extensive scale. England appealed to her allies, Holland and Prussia, and both promised to lend their aid. The combined fleets of these nations were put in readiness. All outlying British colonies were warned to prepare, Canada in particular, and she was advised to cultivate friendly relations with the United States. The Spanish colonies in Central and South America were approached with the view to their taking this opportunity to throw off the Spanish yoke. A grand alliance of all these peoples was planned to fight against Spain. The United States was also approached, but this country decided to remain neutral in case of hostilities.

The only help that the Spaniards could reasonably look for was from France, but France at that time was in the first throes of her great revolution which rendered any aid from that quarter out of the question. Consequently the Spanish government felt itself forced to yield, and on the 28th day of October,

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1790, all differences between Spain and Great Britain relative to their disputed claims in the Pacific Northwest were settled by the "Nootka Convention."[3] By this treaty it was stipulated that all buildings and tracts of land on the northwest coast of America of which Spanish officials had dispossessed any British subjects should be restored; that just reparation should be made for any acts of violence committed by their respective subjects upon the subjects of the other; that any property seized should be restored or paid for; that subjects of Great Britain should not navigate or carry on their fishery within ten sea leagues of any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain; that north of the coast already occupied by Spain, the subjects of both parties shou'd have free access wherever the subjects of either of the two powers had made settlements.

This treaty met with violent opposition in both England and Spain on the ground that it was too favorable to the other side, which probably shows that it was as fair an arrangement as could have been made under the circumstances. It was several years before the terms as stated were carried out, and in the meantime the Spaniards remained in possession of Nootka; but eventually, as will be seen later, the post was evacuated and left to the natives who are its sole occupants to this day. The amount finally paid by the Spanish government by way of damages was $210,000. It was a fortunate circumstance for the young republic of the United States that this controversy was settled peaceably rather than by the arbitrament of arms, for had the latter course been pursued, it is likely that England, having established her title to the Oregon Country by the right of war, would not readily have relinquished it, and that the "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight" controversy might not have been so easily adjudicated.

In 1792, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, representing Spain, and Capt. George Vancouver, representing Great Britain, met at Nootka in order to carry out on the spot the terms of the "Nootka Convention," but although the two agents became fast friends, witnessed by the fact that the original name given to Vancouver Island was Quadra and Vancouver's, they could not come to any satisfactory agreement. In 1795, two other representatives were sent out by their respective governments, Sir Thomas Pierce and Manuel de Alava who finally consummated the terms of the settlement. These matters will be given further attention in the next chapter in which Captain Vancouver's visit will be described.

Meanwhile many traders and explorers were visiting the northwestern coast of America, English, Spanish and now also American, but before proceeding further we must record the exploits of the man to whom, perhaps more than to any other, this coast is indebted for its thorough exploration and nomenclature.

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[3] This treaty is set out in Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 476.

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CHAPTER X

VANCOUVER'S VOYAGE

Capt. George Vancouver has left a far greater impress upon the Pacific Northwest than has any other navigator who ever visited these shores. Not less than seventy-five mountains, bays, capes and sounds bear names bestowed by him, and two prominent cities have since been given his name. Various considerations led the British government to send out this the most thorough and painstaking exploring expedition that ever visited the northwest coast.

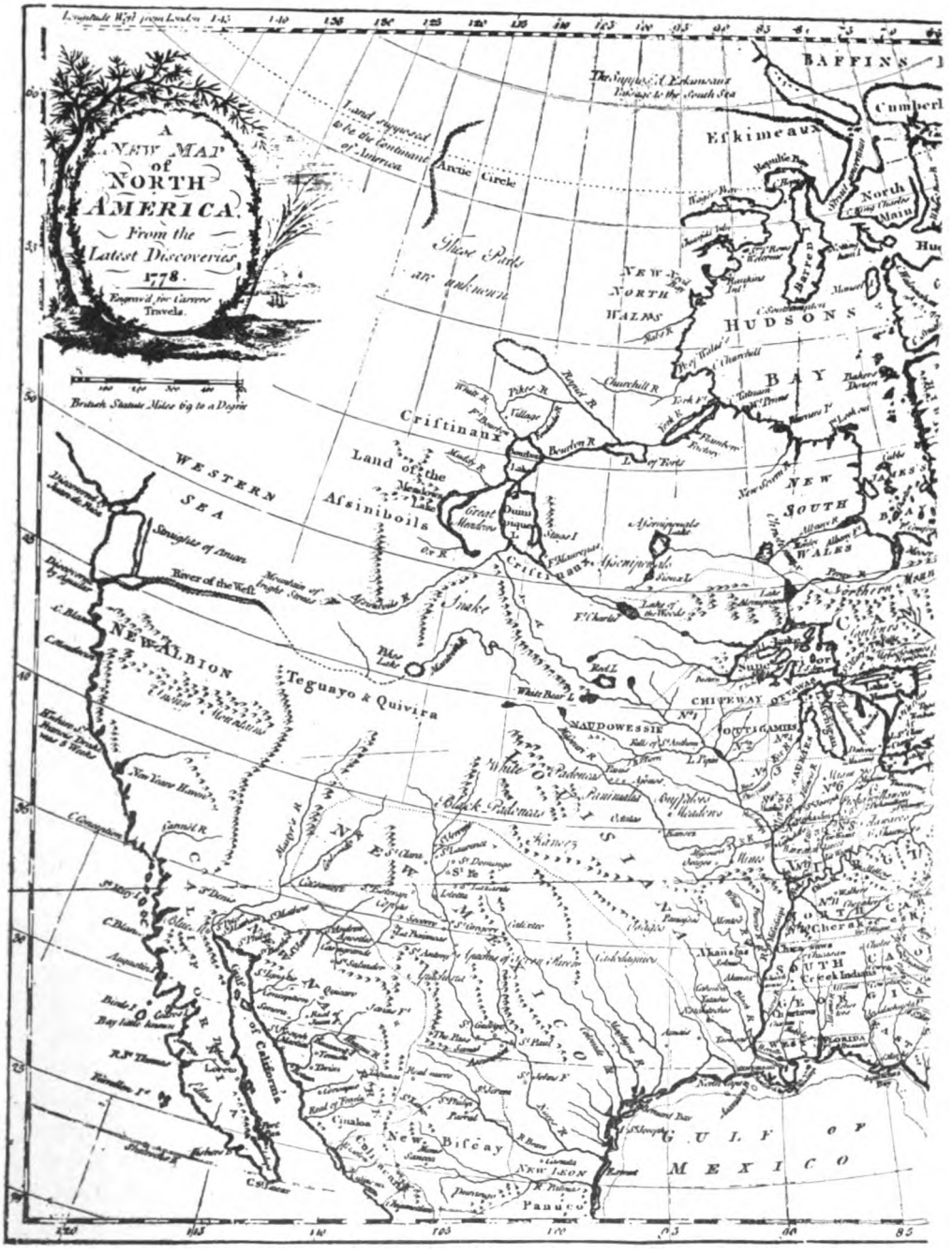
By the terms of the Nootka Convention the British were not to navigate or fish within ten sea leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain, but the limit of Spanish occupation was not fixed. Consequently the Spanish wished to establish themselves in the northern region as speedily as possible and a feverish period of activity on their part ensued. We find their explorers looking into every nook and cranny of the coasts of British Columbia and southern Alaska. The French navigator, Marchand, also explored this region in 1790. By this time also not less than seven American vessels were regularly engaged in the fur trade on this coast, and the voyages and discoveries of these active seamen aroused the anxiety of the British. Furthermore, in accordance with the terms of the Nootka Convention it was necessary to send a commissioner to Nootka Sound in order to meet there an emissary from Spain and carry out the provisions of the treaty upon the spot. Another incentive to the British government was the fact that Meares, upon his visit to England in 1790, had published a pamphlet on "The probable existence of a northwest passage." The discovery of the Strait of Fuca and of other inland waterways of southern Alaska had led him to believe that they were a part of a vast network of such straits through which it would be possible to sail through to the Atlantic. Mackenzie's overland explorations and discoveries which disproved this theory had not yet been made. The British government thought that this was an opportune time either to prove or disprove the centuries-old idea of the existence of the Strait of Anian.[1]

These were the principal motives that induced the English to send out Captain Vancouver upon his memorable expedition in January, 1791. It had been originally intended to put Capt. Henry Roberts in command of the expedition, which was in readiness to sail during the year 1790, but as a great European war seemed imminent at that time, Captain Roberts was sent upon an expedition to the West Indies and this command ultimately devolved upon Vancouver, much to his satisfaction.

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[1] Vancouver says in the Introduction to his Voyage (VI) that recent visits of merchantmen had revived the slumbering hypothesis of a communication between the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, the Archipelago of St. Lazarus was once more called into being, and its existence assumed upon the authority of De Fonte, De Fonta or De Fuentes, and of a Mr. Nicholas Shapely from Boston in America. He evidently was little impressed by the renewal of these ancient theories, and speaks with sarcasm of those who had dared even to drag the name of Captain Cook forward in support of the visionary conjectures.

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ONE OF JONATHAN CARVER'S MAPS, 1778

From the first edition of Carver's Travels. This map indicates the Columbia River as the "River of the West," the upper portion being called Manton's River, with source near that of the Missouri. Note the similarity to Russel's map of the same year, on page 151.

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Vancouver was ordered to examine and to survey the shore of the American continent on the Pacific, from latitude thirty degrees to sixty degrees, and was furthermore explicitly instructed to ascertain particularly "the number, extent and situation of any settlements" of European nations within these limits; and especially to inquire as to "the nature and extent of any water communication which may tend in any considerable degree to facilitate an intercourse for the purposes of commerce between the northwest coast and the country on the opposite side of the continent" occupied by the British subjects. He was to examine particularly the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth parallels of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop Washington is said to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka.[2]

The expedition consisted of the sloop-of-war Discovery, of four hundred tons burden, commanded by Vancouver himself and the armed tender Chatham of much smaller tonnage in command of Lieutenant Broughton. An ample equipment and personnel for scientific purposes was also carried. Vancouver with his two vessels sailed by way of the Cape of Good Hope into the South Sea, where he carried on extensive explorations, discovering several hitherto unknown islands, among them Chatham Island. He spent the winter at the Sandwich Islands and the next spring proceeded toward the American coast which he reached April 17, 1792, in latitude thirty-nine degrees, off California. Proceeding northward, April 24, he reached the Oregon coast near a great headland which some of his company thought might be the Cape Blanco of Martin d'Aguilar, but which he called Cape Orford, thus honoring the English earl of that name. Near this point a number of indians came out in their canoes to visit his ship. This is but one of many instances of this kind which show that the natives of the Oregon coast were bold and skilful deep sea sailors.

For two days after this a haze prevented Vancouver from accurate observation of the coast, but on the evening of April 26, he found himself off that part of the Oregon coast formerly observed by Captain Meares, with clear skies and conditions particularly favorable for observation. Vancouver seems to have evinced a very lively interest in this section of the shore line because of Meares' previous survey and because he wished to take this opportunity to prove or disprove the existence of the river said by Heceta to debouch in these parts. It will be of interest to read Vancouver's description of this part of the Oregon coast, because it is the first detailed survey by an Englishman and because the landmarks as pictured by him will be easily recognizable to any one familiar with this region as it is today. It will be noted that although the description is accurate as far as it goes, nevertheless it shows that Vancouver must in general have kept so far off shore that he failed to note some of its more important details, and these omissions colored very perceptibly his geographical conceptions of the Oregon coast line.

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[2] Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. I, p. xviii. In his instructions was the following paragraph: "With respect to the first object, it would be of great importance if it should be found that, by means of any considerable inlets of the sea, or even of large rivers, communicating with the lakes in the interior of the continent, such an intercourse, as hath been already mentioned could be established; it will therefore be necessary for the purpose of ascertaining this point, that the survey should be so conducted as not only to ascertain the general line of the sea coast but also the direction and extent of all such considerable inlets, whether made by arms of the sea, or by the mouths of large rivers, as may be likely to lead to, or facilitate, such communication as is above described."

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The following is Captain Vancouver's account: "Sunset brought us in sight of the coast which had been seen by Mr. Mears; its northern extremity in sight bore by compass N. ½ W.; Cape Lookout N. 10 E.; the nearest shore N. 34 E. about a league distant. This being a remarkably steep bluff cliff, flattered us for some time with an appearance like the entrance of an harbor; but on a nearer approach the deception was found to have been occasioned by the low land to the north forming a very shallow open bay; the southernmost land in sight bore S. S. E.; in this situation we had fifty fathoms of water, black sandy bottom."[3]

On Friday, April 27: "The night which was tolerably fair, was spent as usual in preserving our station until daylight, when we pursued our examination along the coast with a favorable breeze, attended with some passing showers. Cape Lookout then bore by compass east, about two leagues distant. This cape forms only a small projecting point, yet it is remarkable for the four rocks that lie off from it, one of which is perforated, as described by Mr. Mears; and excepting a rock passed the preceding afternoon, these were the first we have seen north of Cape Gregory.

"From Cape Lookout, which is situated in latitude 45 degrees, 32 minutes, longitude 236 degrees 11 minutes, the coast takes a direction about N. 8 W. and is pleasingly diversified by eminences and small hills near the seashore; in which are some shallow sandy bays, with a few detached rocks lying about a mile from the land. The more inland country is considerably elevated; the mountains stretch toward the sea, and at a distance seemed to form many inlets and projecting points; but the sandy beach that continued along the coast renders it a compact shore, now and then interrupted by perpendicular rocky cliffs, on which the surf violently breaks." It appears from this description that Vancouver passed Tillamook and Nehalem Bays without seeing them, showing that he must have sailed past at a greater distance from the shore than he estimated. His narrative continues: "This mountainous inland country extends about ten leagues to the north from Cape Lookout, where it descends suddenly to a moderate height; and, had it been destitute of its timber, which seemed of considerable magnitude and to compose an intire forest, it might be deemed low land." The mountainous country thus described extends from the entrance of Tillamook Bay to Clatsop Beach, and includes the hills back of Garibaldi Beach, Neakahnie Mountain, False Tillamook and Tillamook Head. It seems strange that he did not notice Tillamook Rock.

He proceeds: "Noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea from the low land before mentioned. These hummocks are barren and steep near the sea, but their tops thinly covered with wood. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind it not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the sandy beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares' description of the coast south of this promontory I was first induced to believe it to be Cape Shoal-

[3] Voyage, Vol. I, p. 208. This peculiar promontory projects out into the ocean like a dike. Its southern face is very steep, rising several hundred feet above the level of the sea and extending far beneath it. In summer, with the prevailing northwest winds, it furnishes a safe anchorage for vessels of any size close to its rocky sides. The shallow bay is Netarts.

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water; but on ascertaining its latitude I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment, and the opening south of it Deception bay. This cape was found to be in latitude 46 degrees, 19 minutes, longitude 236 degrees, 6 minutes. The sea had now changed from its natural to river colored water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the N. W. being desirous to embrace the advantage of the breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to our examination of the coast. * * * "[4]

Thus Vancouver's reference to the entrance of the mighty Columbia is that it was "not worthy of more attention," a statement that would be humorous had it not been fraught with such momentous consequences. It seems almost inconceivable that a navigator with the experience of Vancouver could have dismissed the evidence which he describes of the existence of a great river. Whether he relied too much upon the judgment of Captain Meares or was merely indifferent where he should have been alert, we cannot tell, but the fact remains that he thus lightly threw away an opportunity that was grasped shortly afterwards by Captain Gray.

Having made this cursory examination of the mouth of the Columbia, Vancouver sailed northward under a sunny sky and with a favorable breeze, gazing upon the Washington shore and being pleased with this country "furnishing so delightful a prospect of fertility." On the evening of April 28 he made the following entry in his log: "The several large rivers and capacious inlets that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific between the 40th and 48th degree of north latitude, were reduced to brooks insufficient for our vessels to navigate, or to bays inapplicable as harbors for refitting; excepting that one of which Mr. Dalrymple informs us that 'it is alleged that the Spanish have recently found an entrance in the latitude of 47 degrees 45 minutes North, which in 27 days' course brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay'; this latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John de Fuca, the Greek pilot, in 1592."[5] With pertinacity Vancouver adhered to his preconceived opinion that there was no great river in the latitude of the Columbia.[6]

It so happened, however, that upon the next day after writing the skeptical

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[4] Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. I, pp. 209-210. In an anonymous Journal, kept by one of the officers of the Chatham, the note of April 25, is as follows: "At night with the land wind we weigh'd and stood out to the Wd. and at daylight with a fair Soly: Breeze bore away along shore. The fair and pleasant weather continued, and on the 27th at noon we observed in the Lat.: of 46.10 N. Just then the Discovery made the Signal that we were standing into Danger, we haul'd out, this situation is off Cape Disappointment from whence a very extensive Shoal stretches out and there was every appearance of an opening there, but to us the sea seem'd to break entirely across it." The Columbia bar was therefore actually seen, but it was passed without appreciating the importance of the place. (A New Vancouver Journal, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 132.)

[5] Voyage, Vol. I, p. 213.

[6] Vancouver in passing along the Washington coast in the neighborhood of Shoalwater Bay and Gray's Harbor, was, as he says, very solicitous to find a port in the vicinity, and "our attention was therefore earnestly directed to this object," but every promising opening proved on closer examination to be impassable. He particularly comments on Meares' mention of two possible entrances to Shoalwater Bay, where he says the breakers gave reason to consider them inaccessible and unworthy any loss of time whilst unaccompanied by as favorable a breeze (p. 211).

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opinion quoted above, he was to meet the very man who sought the entrance to the Columbia with an open mind and actually sailed past the forbidding breakers and entered into its expansive estuary. Early in the morning of Sunday, April 29, a sail was seen standing in toward the shore, the first strange craft observed by Vancouver in eight months. Naturally, great curiosity was evinced among the British sailors as to who this lonely voyager might be and what colors marked his nationality. Approaching nearer, a friendly salute was fired by the stranger which was answered in like manner by the Discovery. Both ships hove to and it was ascertained that the stranger was the ship Columbia, nineteen months out from Boston, flying the Stars and Stripes and under the command of Capt. Robert Gray. Vancouver sent the ship's boat with Puget and Menzies, the former his lieutenant and the latter the surgeon and naturalist of the expedition, to pay his respects to Captain Gray. The latter, after the proper exchange of courtesies, reported that he had just discovered, in latitude 46 degrees and 10 minutes, the mouth of a great river which he had not been able to enter on account of the outset or reflux which was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. It was learned moreover that Gray had sailed some fifty miles into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, having thus to some degree forestalled the ambitions of Vancouver.[7] Commenting upon Gray's testimony relative to the existence of the Columbia River, Vancouver writes in his journal, "this was probably the opening found by me on the forenoon of the 27th, and was inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers which extended across it."[8]

Keeping a sharp lookout all that day for the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, his vigilance was finally rewarded with the view of its broad expanse of waters extending as far as the eye could reach toward the east. Sailing toward its southern shore he came to anchor in Neah Bay, where the natives flocked on board in most friendly fashion and the evening was spent amid mutual amenities and entertainment. Vancouver, however, was impatient to be under way; the new "Mediterranean Sea" beckoned him on, and we next

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[7] It will be remembered that Vancouver's instructions had expressly directed him to examine the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca leading to an opening through which the sloop Washington was reported to have passed in 1789 and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka. Concerning this report Vancouver says: "It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop Washington." (Id., p. 214.) The Anonymous Journal confirms this by the following entry: "At daylight a strange Sail was seen on the N. W. Quarter standing toward us, she hoisted American Colours. About 7 we spoke her, she proved to be the Ship Columbia of Boston, commanded by Mr. Grey, on the Fur trade. She had wintered on the coast in Port Clayoquot in Berkley's Sound. This Mr. Grey being the man who Mr. Mears in his chart has published having entered the Streights of De Fuca, and after proceeding a considerable distance up, returned to sea again by another passage to the Northward of that by which he entered—Captain Vancouver was desirous of obtaining from him some information respecting the Streights, he therefore hoisted a boat out, and sent an officer on board the Columbia. Mr. Grey very civilly offered him any information he could possibly give him, but at the same time told him that Mr. Mears had been very much misled in his information and had published what never had happened; for though he (Mr. Grey) did enter the Streights of De Fuca, and proceeded a considerable distance, where he still saw an unbounded horizon, he return'd, but return'd by the same way he entered." (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 133.)

[8] Voyage, Vol. I, p. 215.

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find his ships gliding under full sail before a favoring wind eastward and up the strait. The log of the Discovery for the days following shows the keen enjoyment, the almost boyish abandon of Vancouver and his men in their task of exploration and discovery. Swiftly they sailed, careless of hidden reefs or shoals, intent only upon the marvelous vistas opening before them of lovely archipelagoes and snow-mantled mountains.

Meares had already noted and named Mount Olympus, and the range is now known as the Olympics. It was Joseph Baker, the third lieutenant of the Discovery, who was the first to see another lofty snow-clad mountain, Mount Baker, which his captain named after him. At seven o'clock on the evening of April 30, a fine harbor was found which so much resembled Vancouver's home port that it was named Dungeness. In his log entry for this evening, the navigator reverts again to the negative results of his exploration to the southward. He enlarges upon the subject to show how minutely the coast had been examined, and deems it a very singular circumstance that on the coast of nearly 215 leagues on which his inquiries had been made under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, he should not until now have seen any appearance of an opening in its shores. He asserts that the whole coast forms "one compact, solid, straight barrier against the sea." He refers again to "Mr. Gray's river" as "very intricate and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen."[9]

On May Day a short sail brought the voyagers upon the inland sea to a fine harbor which was named Port Discovery in honor of the ship, while the island which stood guard at the entrance to the harbor was named Protection Island. This proved to be such an ideal port that Vancouver decided to rest there and undertake a general refitting and cleaning of his ships. A week was occupied with these tasks, after which small boats were sent out in charge of Menzies, Puget, Johnstone and the captain himself. It would unduly extend this narrative to attempt to follow the courses and detailed examination of Puget Sound made during the summer by these men. It will suffice for our purpose merely to summarize their accomplishments as a whole. Vancouver's plan was to explore thoroughly every opening beginning at the right and following the whole coast line wherever it might lead.[10]

Hood Canal was explored throughout its entire length. It was named, as later was the great Oregon mountain, in honor of Viscount Hood of Whitley, a commander in the British navy who won fame in the war of the American Revolution fighting against de Grasse, as well as in the Napoleonic wars. The loftiest mountain in the Northwest, rearing its summit to an altitude of over fifteen thousand feet, was discovered and given the name of Ranier in honor of Rear Admiral Peter Ranier who also served with great distinction in the British navy. Port Townsend was named after the marquis of that name who served with Wolfe in Canada. Vashon Island bears the name of Admiral

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[9] Id., p. 223. At another place he sarcastically disposes of ideal but false reports of safe and secure harbors on this coast, and denies that any such exist (p. 216).

[10] Vancouver, although in no sense the discoverer of Puget Sound was the first to enter the sound itself. Berkley and Meares had seen the strait. The Spaniards, Quimper and Elisa, had entered the strait, the former in 1790 going as far as Port Discovery, and the latter in 1791 as far as the Gulf of Georgia. Gray claimed to have gone into the strait fifty miles to Clallam Bay, and out by the same route, although the stated distance may have been exaggerated. Vancouver found two Spanish vessels exploring just north of the sound.

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James Vashon. Port Orchard was discovered by a clerk of the Discovery bearing that name and was named in his honor. Lieutenant Puget's memory is perpetuated in Puget Sound by the body of water thus named. Port Gardner, Penn's Cove, Whidbey Island, Port Wilson, Bellingham Bay and many other landmarks were named by Vancouver either in honor of his friends or of other Englishmen more or less prominent at that time. The whole region to the east of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Vancouver called New Hanover, and it is perhaps prophetic of the lasting amicable relations which have since that time developed between the two great branches of the English speaking race, that our British cousins have changed this name to British Columbia.

While cruising northward after a partial circumnavigation of these inland waters Vancouver met two Spanish vessels, the Sutil and Mexicano, bearing as commanding officers Galliano and Valdez. Through them he learned that the Spanish commissioner, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, awaited him at Nootka for the purpose of consummating the terms of the Nootka Convention. The Spaniards also told him that they had sailed past what appeared to them to be the entrance to a great river. This was in reality the Fraser River, but Vancouver with his usual skepticism dismissed this testimony as not worthy of credence and made no effort either to verify or disprove the existence of this waterway. The English and Spanish ships sailed for some distance northward in company through the channels recently explored by the small boats. Later, however, Vancouver parted from the Galliano party and learning from the master of the British trader, the Venus, that a supply ship from England was awaiting him at Nootka, he completed the circumnavigation of Vancouver's Island and arrived at Nootka on August 28, 1792.

Here Quadra received his fellow commissioner with as much pomp and circumstance as the primitive conditions at Nootka permitted. There was much feasting, drinking of toasts and entertainment, in which the indian chieftain Maquina, as well as his daughter, the Princess, participated. Vancouver and Quadra became fast friends and it was at the suggestion of the latter that the island where this meeting took place received its name from them jointly and was called Quadra and Vancouver's Island, which name has since, for brevity and convenience, although perhaps rather ungenerously, been abbreviated to its present form. In spite of the good fellowship which marked the relations of the two commissioners, when it came to the transaction of the business which had called them half way around the globe to Nootka, they could reach no agreement. Vancouver contended that the provision in the treaty for restoration to the British of the buildings and tracts of land they had been dispossessed of by the Spanish in April, 1789, fairly meant more than merely the identical space occupied by the house and accessories of Meares, and he asked for the whole of Nootka; he also insisted that the Spanish settlement at Nootka was established after the treaty, at which time there was no Spanish settlement north of San Francisco Bay, and that, fairly interpreted, the British were by the treaty to have free access to all Spanish settlements and establishments above San Francisco. Quadra offered to restore the exact site of the British station, but did not feel authorized to accept Vancouver's wider definition of the territory to be surrendered, and he proposed to refer to his government the question raised as to the free access to Spanish establishments at Nootka and north of San Francisco, one such having been recently located on Neah Bay in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Arriving at this diplomatic impasse the

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From Agnes Laut, "Vikings of the Pacific," by permission

BUILDING OF THE FIRST AMERICAN SHIP ON THE PACIFIC
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negotiators declared the proceedings adjourned and agreed to report to their respective governments pending further instructions.[11]

During the stay of Quadra at Nootka Captain Gray visited the place twice. The first time from July 24 to August 24, 1792, during which period he made repairs upon the Columbia. He was indebted to the Spanish governor for many favors, and the generosity of the latter is shown by the fact that he would not allow the American to pay for the supplies or assistance given, but did all in his power to aid him, entertaining Captain Gray at his own house during his stay, and turning over to him the use of a building in which to store the ship's cargo and stores while she was being overhauled. The English carpenters from the Daedalus, Vancouver's supply ship which was awaiting him, and the Spanish carpenters from the governor's vessels helped in the repairs. At that time Captain Vancouver had not yet arrived. Gray sailed away northward intent on finishing his fur trading, and returned to Nootka on September 21, meeting Quadra at the entrance just as the latter was beginning his homeward voyage. He desired to purchase the sloop Adventure, and agreed to wait for Gray at Neah Bay, at the Spanish settlement, where he was going for the purpose of leaving orders. On this occasion Gray entered Nootka Sound and found Captain Vancouver there with his ships, the Discovery and Chatham, besides the Daedalus. The Spanish colors were still flying at the fort. It was no doubt on this occasion that Captain Gray gave to Captain Vancouver the details of his voyage to the Columbia River.[12] The latter had just demonstrated that Nootka Sound was not in fact on the main coast, and had circumnavigated the island, thereby confirming a surmise that was noted in the journals of the Americans as early as the preceding June.

Vancouver was duly impressed this time, and did not fail to verify the information about the Columbia River, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter. But before taking up the immediate events let us pause to add a word about Nootka after the plenipotentiaries left it with its fate unsettled.[13]

Spain soon after consented to an amicable adjustment. The final scene occurred March 23, 1795, when in the presence of Lieut. Sir Thomas Pierce of the royal marines, representing Great Britain, and Brig.-Gen. Manuel Alava, representing Spain, the Spanish flag was hauled down and the British flag was

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[11] A succinct statement of the negotiations and the cause of the failure to agree is to be found in the Anonymous Journal. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 51.) See also Greenhow, Or. and Cal., p. 242; and William May Manning, the Nootka Sound Controversy in Rept. of Am. Hist. Ass'n, 1904, p. 279.

[12] According to Greenhow (246) Quadra presented Vancouver with copies of charts given him by Gray. The Anonymous Journal says Gray gave Vancouver a plan or map. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, pp. 56, 59.) John Boit's Journal gives no particulars, but says Gray left the next day for Neah Bay where he met the Spanish governor and sold the Adventure. (Wash. Hist. Quar., XII, p. 47.)

[13] During Vancouver's stay at Nootka the following named vessels were in and out of that harbor: *Spanish,* Sutil, Mexicana, Activa, Aranzazu, Princessa; *English,* Discovery, Chatham, Daedalus, Venus, Three Brothers (or 3 B's), Jenny, Butterworth, Jackal, Prince Lee Boo, Fenis (the last two named under Portuguese flag), Prince William Henry; *American,* Hope, Columbia, Adventure, Margaret; The Prince William and a tender for the Margaret were built there during that summer. Vancouver sent his lieutenant, Mudge, to England with a special report on the failure of the negotiations; and a list of vessels on the coast in 1792 was enclosed. The fur trade was already overdone, and prices in China had fallen, while the natives were demanding more than formerly. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, pp. 65-6, 86.)

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run up in its place on the site of the buildings that had been erected by Meares. The Spanish fort was then deserted and both nations withdrew. This place which was the center of so much activity and the scene of so much of interest, has never since the departure been a port of commercial importance.

In a short time the American traders, or "Bostons," and the Russians, had control of the fur trade in the north. In one year 18,000 skins were collected on the islands and mainland of the Pacific. Later the sea otter became so scarce that the trade grew unprofitable. There were frequent conflicts between the natives and traders, who did not hesitate to take by force, and the natives retaliated. In 1803 at Nootka the ship Boston was seized by the natives under Maquina by strategy, as has already been related in these pages, and all on board were murdered except John R. Jewitt, armorer of the vessel, and John Thompson, a sail maker. The vessel was beached and burned and the goods were distributed among the indians. Jewitt and Thompson were held slaves by Maquina until 1805. In that year the Lydia under Captain Hill arrived at Nootka. Maquina was anxious to resume the old relations with the traders and he bore a letter to Hill written by Jewitt, in which Jewitt requested Hill to hold Maquina a prisoner until he and Thompson were released. The scheme was successful and they were set free.[14] In 1805 also, the Atahualpa, from Rhode Island, was attacked by a number of indians, who had come on board ostensibly to trade. They were repulsed after the captain, mate and six men had been killed. It may be said that while the sea otter trade enriched many, it demoralized the indians.

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[14] This Captain Hill, as will be seen hereafter, comes into the story again as having obtained from the indians at the mouth of the Columbia in 1806 the written message from Lewis and Clark left by them on their departure for home.

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CHAPTER XI

THE BOSTON MEN

From an early period Americans were called Bostons by the indians along the coast, and later this appellation was similarly in common use in the Hawaiian Islands. This in itself indicates the activity of Boston merchants and traders during the latter part of the eighteenth century in their exploitation of the fur trade of the northwest coast. It is said that during the years 1791 and 1792 no less than thirty ships visited this coast from the United States, the greater number of them hailing from Boston.[1] Perhaps it was ordained by nature that the men of New England should be the ones to undertake these distant enterprises. Their own coast line being indented with many harbors, and the near-by ocean fisheries furnishing incentive, a sea-faring life opened naturally to this hardy race. It may be true also that climatic and soil conditions at home somewhat discouraged farming as an occupation there. But from whatever cause, New England very early developed capable and adventurous sailors, and at the same time it excelled in the building of fast and sea-worthy sailing vessels. The trade out of Boston and other New England ports with the West Indies became lucrative, and the merchants and ship owners were full of enterprise and were keen for trade where trade would prove profitable. Very soon after the close of the war of the American Revolution their argosies ventured afar over all the seas. Brave captains, fathers of large families, voyaged thousands of miles from home, while their wives like Penelope of old remained by the firesides and wove, awaiting their return after years of absence.[2]

Young John Ledyard, who as already mentioned, had sailed with Captain Cook as petty officer, returned home with a story of his stirring adventures about 1782, and soon afterward he published a short account of the famous voyage. No doubt this attracted attention at Boston, and it may be that the report of the remarkably profitable transactions of the Cook expedition in peltries between the northwest coast and Canton drifted into Boston from other sources, for in 1787 there was already much interest in the possibilities

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[1] The name Boston may have been used by the natives by reason of the tragic fate of the officers and crew of the American vessel of that name captured and destroyed by Nootka indians in 1803, all on board being killed excepting Jewitt and Thompson, as elsewhere related herein. The indian name for the British was King George's men. Both names, however, from their general use on the coast, may owe their acceptance to white rather than native powers of apt and effective designation for purposes of common parlance.

[2] "When independence closed our colonial trade routes within the British Empire, the merchantmen and whalers of New England swarmed around the Horn in search of new markets and sources of supply. The opening of the China trade was the first and most spectacular result of this enterprise; the establishment of trading relations with Hawaii followed shortly." Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, Samuel Eliot Morison, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 3.

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thus opened.[3] In spite of the fact that American ships were already engaged in the Chinese trade there was no great profit, since there was no commodity to carry there, and return cargoes of tea and other Chinese goods had to be paid for with actual money. This, and the long distance to China upon those voyages by way of the Cape of Good Hope, made Boston take keen interest in the prospect of a new trade route, with enormous profits to be made in turning in New England manufactures to the indians in exchange for furs, and then in turning again at a good profit these furs for Chinese commodities.

To the desire of the Chinese for otter and beaver furs, for which they were willing to pay liberally, may be traced the subsequent acquisition by the people of the United States of the wide domain of the Oregon Country. But the sources of history, like the sources of great rivers, are but beginnings, and as will be seen many other elements contributed to the great result.

This fur trade was the subject of conversation among a gathering of friends which met one evening in 1787 at the residence of Dr. Charles Bulfinch, Bowdoin Square, Boston. Besides the doctor himself there were present his son Charles, a graduate of Harvard and recently returned from a European tour; Joseph Barrell, a prosperous merchant; John Derby, a shipmaster of Salem; Captain Crowell Hatch of Cambridge; Samuel Brown, a trader of Boston and John Marden Pintard of the New York firm of Lewis Pintard Company.[4] Discussing the immense profits made by Cook's men through the sale of their furs in Canton, Joseph Barrell remarked: "There is a rich harvest to be reaped by those who are on the ground first out there," and the assembled company agreed.

The result of this conference was that a stock company was forthwith formed with a capitalization of $50,000, divided into fourteen shares. Two vessels were purchased, the Columbia, a full rigged ship of 212 tons burden, 83 feet long and carrying ten guns, and the Lady Washington, a small sloop of ninety tons. John Kendrick of the merchant marine, a man 45 years of age, was chosen to command the Columbia, and the sloop Washington was put in charge of Robert Gray, a native of Rhode Island, who had seen service in the navy in the war of the American Revolution. The latter commander proved, as we shall see, to be the more able and by far the more daring of the two. Great care was exercised in preparing for this expedition to provide against every recognizable contingency. Passports were procured from the Massachusetts authorities, and from the Spanish minister to the United States were procured letters recommending the voyagers to the Viceroy of New Spain. However friendly and honest the intentions of the Spanish minister, the same cannot be said of the officials of California, for upon hearing of the intended expedition of the Boston captains the following instructions were sent to the commandant at San Francisco: "Whenever there may arrive at the Port of San Francisco, a ship named the Columbia said to belong to General Washington of the American States, under the command of John Kendrick which sailed from Boston in

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[3] Shafer, History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 22, n., says that Bulfinch's Oregon and El Dorado, published in 1866, in which we are told that Cook's voyage was the "topic of the day" in Boston in 1787, cannot be accepted on this point. But there is an inherent probability besides Bulfinch's assertion to justify statement of the fact.

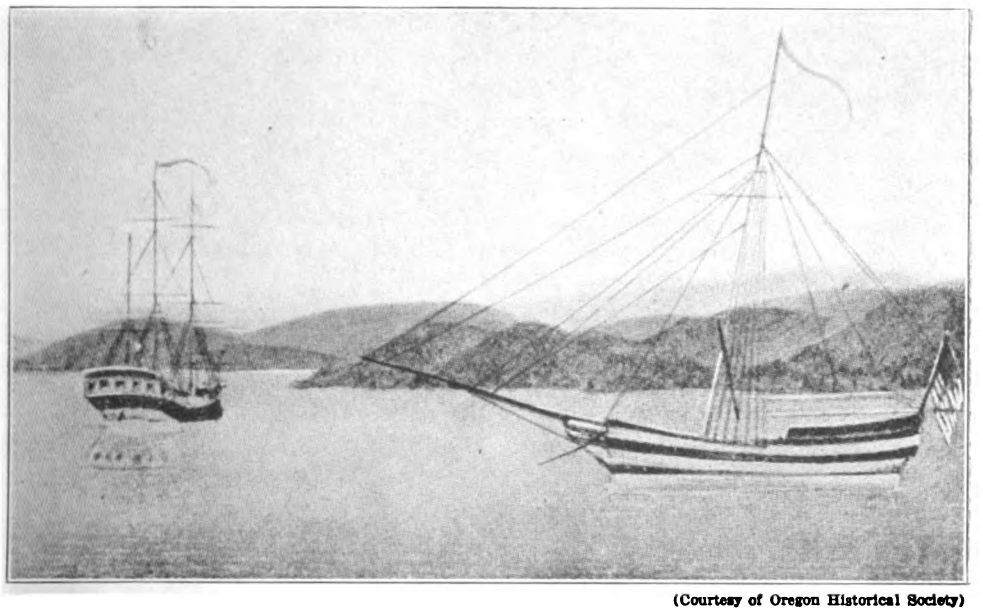
[4] Vikings of the Pacific, Laut, p. 211. Miss Laut gives assurance that she has verified this statement.

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THE COLUMBIA MEDAL

Used on the first voyage to the Pacific coast by the Columbia and Washington, 1787



(Courtesy of Oregon Historical Society)

THE SHIP COLUMBIA AND THE SLOOP WASHINGTON

(From a contemporaneous painting.)

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September, 1787, bound on a voyage of Discovery and of Examination of the Russian Establishments on the Northern Coast of this Peninsula, you will cause said vessel to be secured together with her officers and crew."[5] This brief order, filled with inaccuracies as it is, shows that the Spaniards still considered the South Sea to be their own particular preserve, and that they looked upon all navigators who ventured into those waters as trespassers.

Orders were given Kendrick and Gray to avoid offense to any foreign power, to treat the natives with kindness and Christianity, to obtain a cargo of furs on the American coast, to proceed with the same to China to be exchanged for a cargo of tea and to return with the tea to Boston. An outward bound cargo was taken on consisting of such trinkets as were thought to appeal to the savage heart, beads, brass buttons, ear-rings, calico, tin mirrors, blankets, hunting knives, copper kettles, iron chisels, snuff, and tobacco. The crews were carefully chosen, and in addition to the usual complement there was taken along a surgeon, an accountant, a trader and an astronomer.

The promoters of this enterprise evidently fully realized the importance of the step which they were about to take and the consequences with which it was fraught as is evidenced by the bronze and silver medals which were struck off to commemorate the event. These bore on one side the names and pictures of the vessels together with that of Kendrick as commander, and on the other the names of the chief stockholders in the enterprise. The importance was realized also by the Boston people in general for upon the day of the departure of the little flotilla it seemed that practically the entire population of that city assembled at the pier to bid the hardy voyagers God speed.

Sailing out of Boston harbor on Monday, October 1, 1787, their course was laid for the Cape Verde Islands where there was a delay of two months. It was there that Gray took on board a young negro, Marcus Lopez, whose indiscretion later caused trouble with the indians. From the Cape Verde Islands Gray and Kendrick steered for the Falklands where there was another delay. Captain Kendrick was awaiting weather more favorable for passing around the Horn. Gray, however, and the other bolder spirits of the party prevailed upon him to proceed. The Horn was passed with the tiny vessels much of the time in peril from stress of weather. Then came a period of extreme cold when the shrouds were frozen stiff. There followed terrible storms which separated the two vessels, which were destined not to meet again until they reached their rendezvous at Nootka. Kendrick with the Columbia landed at Mas a Tierra, one of the islands of Juan Fernandez, for water and repairs. The Spanish governor of the latter place, notwithstanding his country's objections to the intrusion of foreigners, treated Kendrick with kindness, but for doing this he later received at the hands of the Spanish government a reprimand and dismissal from office.[6]

Taking advantage of the prevalent southwest winds, Gray, in his little

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[5] Laut, Vikings of the Pacific, p. 213; Bancroft, California, Vol. I, p. 445; Id., Northwest, Vol. I, p. 186. The Nootka Sound mss. in Library of Congress shows that the error of the Spanish governor in regard to the ownership of the vessel was shared by other officials, and appears in several of the letters. See Chapter IX, supra. The agitation of the Spanish officials from Juan Fernandez and Peru to New Spain and California has already been described.

[6] Some reference to this and the Nootka Sound Controversy is in Chapter IX, supra. Greenhow, Hist. of Or. and Cal., p. 184, gives additional authorities for the text.

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sloop, Lady Washington, sped onward toward the coast of North America, which he first sighted near the location of Cape Mendocino, August 2, 1788. Cruising northward along the Oregon shore he saw the entrance to a large river where great commercial advantages might be reaped. The latitude corresponds with that of the Siuslaw, while the Umpqua lies not far to the south. Neither stream can be properly called large, but Gray's ideas of the Oregon coast and the bays and inlets there as he observed them are in sharp contrast with those of previous navigators. Whether he had the courage to sail closer to the shore, and to brave the danger of entering bar bound harbors where they were more cautious, may be a question, but certain it is that where they had reported an impenetrable wall with small streams and inlets unworthy of serious notice he found important bays and rivers.

Sailing along the coast of Oregon he found a tolerably commodious harbor near Cape Lookout. That cape is approximately forty miles south of the mouth of the Columbia, and the nearest bay to that cape is now known as Netarts, but surely even the optimistic Gray could not have described Netarts as tolerably commodious. For this reason geographers now believe that the bay he referred to is Tillamook. But this is not entirely clear for other reasons.[7] However, whatever may have been the location of this place, Gray had real excitement here. He sailed boldly in, and at first the natives seemed friendly and hospitable, bringing berries and crabs, which delicacies were no doubt very welcome to those on board, some of whom were at that time suffering from scurvy, that curse that always followed the early voyagers. But a party of the men had been sent ashore to gather grass for some animals that were on board, and the negro boy, Marcos, negligently left his cutlas or knife sticking in the sand. An indian seeing it and coveting it attempted to take it, when the boy ran after him and tried to wrest it from him by force. Marcos was quickly overpowered and killed by a group of natives and the whole party was in danger of meeting the same fate that so often came to landing parties from other ships at other places along this coast. In making their retreat to the ship, however, which they did without worse injury to themselves than fright, several of the indians were killed.

Conflicts of this kind can generally be traced to lack of tact or understanding on the part of the white men. We now know from wide experience of many explorers and travelers that if proper representations had been made to the chief, instead of attempting forcible recovery of the boy's property, restitution would have been made and bloodshed would have been avoided. Lewis and Clark had several such experiences when on the Columbia River a few years later, but managed to avoid open rupture. Generally speaking, the indians were jealous of their rights and would expect, as a white man would,

[7] Meares in his narrative says that when he met Gray afterwards in the north the latter told him of this harbor and that it could only admit vessels of small size, and Meares thought it must lie somewhere near Cape Lookout. This would fit Tillamook, but Greenhow suggested that Gray must have meant the Columbia's mouth, because there is no evidence or reason to believe that Gray ever visited that part of the coast or ever discovered the mouth of the Columbia on any other occasion prior to his meeting with Vancouver, April 29, 1792, when he first told the latter of having seen the Columbia. Greenhow, History, p. 180. Bancroft, following the diary kept by Robert Haswell, mate of the Lady Washington, gives a critical analysis of the stated facts for the purpose of identifying the geographical points on the coast with present day nomenclature. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I, p. 187, note, and see the Haswell diary in appendix to the same volume in the 1886 edition.)

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to be consulted and perhaps to be compensated before wood, or water, or game could be taken by strangers. But until contact with the whites made them suspicious of good intentions, most of the tribes were hospitable, generous and generally trustworthy.

Gray left Tillamook after this experience and put well out to sea. So far as we know he did not spend nine days at that time off the Columbia. If he was well out to sea he could not have noticed the river on this occasion. He arrived at Clayoquot Sound, near Nootka, August 16, just in time to witness the launching of the North West, the first vessel built on the coast. He was welcomed by the Englishmen, Meares and Douglas, and soon after Captain Kendrick arrived safely with the Columbia, much to the relief of Captain Gray. The two American vessels spent the winter in Friendly Cove, Nootka. In the following May Martinez, the Spaniard, arrived here, but he did not evince any hostility to the Americans, and they were allowed to carry on their trading without molestation. Captain Kendrick made explorations further north, during which operations his own son was killed by the indians. The Columbia, with Captain Gray in charge, was sent to China with the cargo of furs, whence she returned to Boston.[8] The welcome she received was most enthusiastic, and although the venture did not prove a financial success because the Chinese market had been found to be demoralized by the large offerings of furs from other ships at the time, still it was decided to fit out a second expedition for the same purpose. It is upon this second expedition that our interest is chiefly centered, for it was upon this voyage that Captain Gray entered the Columbia River and named it after his little vessel. The elusive River of the West was at last found and located upon the maps.

[8] Gray circumnavigated the globe, and thus was the first to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world.

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CHAPTER XII

CAPTAIN GRAY SUCCEEDS

It may be well before describing the epoch making discovery of the Columbia River to bring to mind that Captain Gray's voyages were in no sense governmental in character. They were purely private enterprises. Moreover, the mere discovery of and entrance into the mouth of a river would not be sufficient to warrant a claim to the country, particularly as against a nation or nations already claiming by earlier exploration and discovery of the same general region, and followed by actual and visible occupation.[1]

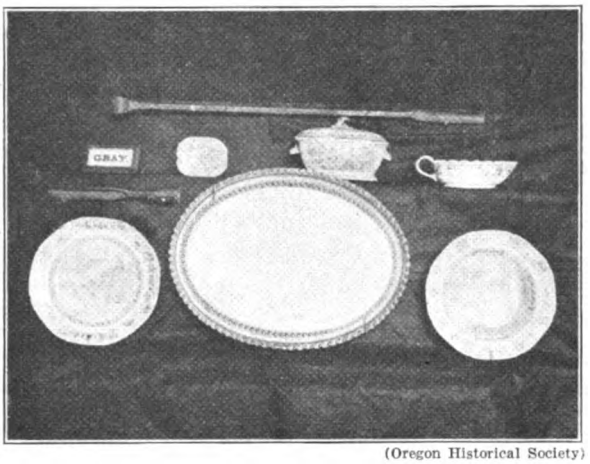
When Captain Gray returned to the coast, Spain was claiming the country and England was seeking a foothold. The United States, newly organized as a nation, was separated from the Pacific region by the intervening Louisiana Country, extending (more or less indefinitely at this time) to the Rocky Mountains from the Mississippi River, and the Spanish claimed the New Spain and California Country west of the Rocky Mountains, extending indefinitely northward. Russia by reason of exploration and a settlement at Sitka, or New Archangel as it was then called, was claiming the extreme north, her southern boundaries being likewise indefinite. And England, having acquired Canada and the French claims north of the United States, claimed that her explorations and discoveries on the Oregon coast and northward gave her an outlet from the east to the Pacific. These claims, conflicting as they were, finally yielded to diplomacy. But for a half century the title to the Oregon Country was in dispute, as will be shown more fully in another part of this narrative.

At the close of the Revolution, Great Britain had given up to her rebellious colonies all of her claims south of the middle of the Great Lakes and east of the middle of the Mississippi, and the latter line marked the western boundary of the United States until the acquisition of Louisiana from the French in 1803, when the Oregon Country at once became a territory contiguous to the United States, a condition that did not exist when the Columbia was discovered.

Upon Gray's return to Boston there was a reorganization of the company backing the fur trading venture. The sloop Columbia was refitted as quickly as possible and it left for a second voyage to the Oregon coast on September 28, 1790. Clayoquot Sound near Nootka on the southern coast of Vancouver Island was reached on the 5th of June, 1791. Gray busied himself during the remainder of that season in exploring to the north along the eastern shore of Queen Charlotte's Island. While engaged in this work the mate and two of the crew were attacked and killed by the natives. Returning to Clayoquot Sound

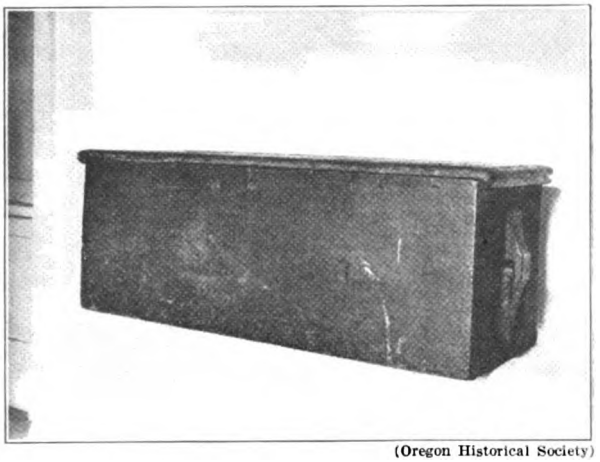
[1] The discovery is unimportant from a legal point of view as a basis for claims of sovereignty, but a discovery must always precede occupation, which must be of such character as to present an existing fact to any other state seeking to introduce its jurisdiction upon the same land. The question of what amounted to an occupancy was the main question in the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon question. Foulke, International Law, Vol. I, pp. 305-8.

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(Oregon Historical Society)

ARTICLES FROM THE SHIP COLUMBIA



(Oregon Historical Society)

CAPTAIN GRAY'S SEA CHEST

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he made preparations to spend the winter there. Quarters were built for officers and crew and these were securely fortified against any possible hostile demonstration on the part of the indians, who seemed to be in a particularly unfriendly mood that season. The small schooner, the Adventure, was also built during this winter at Clayoquot, this being the first American vessel to be built upon the shores of the Pacific. It afterwards made a voyage to the north for furs, being commanded by Captain Robert Haswell, who had been Gray's mate. On the return southward it was sold to the Spaniards.

Gray tried to cultivate the friendship of the indians but without any marked degree of success, for a conspiracy was formed among them to seize the fort and massacre its garrison. He was warned of this by a young Hawaiian, the son of a chieftain of the islands who had accompanied the American expedition to Boston. Attoo, the Hawaiian prince, had been approached by the indians, who promised to make him their chief if he would assist them in their attack upon the whites by smuggling out to the natives as much ammunition as he could and wetting the ammunition in the fort. Attoo weighed this offer for some time but finally decided upon the honorable course and informed Captain Gray, who immediately made preparations to repel the expected attack. The Columbia, which had been pulled out of the water for the winter, was again launched and her guns were remounted. As soon as the treacherous natives saw that Gray was cognizant of their plans they gave up all thought of the attack and made overtures of friendship, which as may well be imagined were quite futile.

Soon after the approach of the spring of 1792 Gray took the Columbia and sailed southward in order to satisfy his curiosity regarding the great river to the south of Cape Disappointment of whose existence he was thoroughly convinced.

He followed the coast of Washington and Oregon as closely as possible and noted the appearance of several good harbors, but the weather conditions prevented entrance. He turned back northward before he reached the California line, but the weather continued unpropitious and he was near the strait of Juan de Fuca again when he chanced to meet Captain Vancouver.[2] At that time his statement that he intended to return to make further investigation of the river he had noted, made little impression upon the English explorer as is evident from the latter's journals. Gray lingered about the strait a few days and then with improving weather again turned southward, having the determination to enter where he could and feeling certain that in new and uncharted harbors where the natives had not yet learned to measure the value of sea otter skins in trade for iron and cloth he would secure the coveted furs at attractive prices.

Sailing down the Washington coast he sighted one of the openings, which he entered without trouble. This was May 7, 1792. It proved to be a fine bay which he named Bulfinch Harbor after one of his ship's owners, but though he noted this name in his log and marked it upon his chart, his officers and

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[2] This was on April 28, according to Boit's Journal, or April 29, 1792, as stated in Vancouver's Journal. Gray's voyage along the coast and return was between April 2 and April 28. His ship had gone as far south as Lat. 42°, 50′. Gray told Vancouver that he saw a river and stood off and on for nine days trying vainly to effect an entrance. Boit's Journal shows that the time was actually April 17 to April 22. (Boit's Journal, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 28.)

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crew had their own name for the bay, and called it Gray's Harbor, a name also given by Vancouver, and now generally used.[3] During the night of the eighth the expedition had an exciting time with little opportunity for sleep by any on board. Several canoes full of indians were first seen passing the ship, but they were kept away by the firing of muskets over their heads. It was a bright moonlight night, and soon after midnight the indians were seen approaching again. Several cannon shot were then sent over them, but they continued to advance with war whoops and at length one large canoe with at least twenty men, dangerously close, was blown to pieces with a direct shot and probably all on board were killed or drowned. This put an end to the threatened assault, and the next day trading was resumed, nothing being said of the tragedy of the night. The Columbia remained at anchor here until the tenth, many indians coming out to visit the ship and to barter.[4]

On the afternoon of May 10, Gray weighed anchor and stood down the bay, emerging into the ocean at seven-thirty in the evening. Proceeding slowly down the coast during the night the dawn of the next day found his ship was six leagues off the entrance of the great river, which bore east-south-east. The air was clear, the coast line being visible for a distance of twenty miles and the breeze though light was fair. Without hesitation or faltering Gray stood in directly for the line of breakers on the bar. The breakers had proved an impassable barrier to Heceta, Meares and Vancouver, but had no terror for the American, and he found exactly what he expected, a passageway through, where soundings showed from five to seven fathoms of water, approximately thirty feet, deep enough to permit the entrance of vessels of more than a thousand tons burden.

Through this channel with his characteristic boldness Gray sailed without mishap, and the Columbia was soon riding gently within the entrance of the great River of the West. May 11, 1792, three hundred years after the discovery of America, marks an epoch important in the history of the Pacific Northwest.[5]

In describing his first anchorage point, Captain Gray's log says:

"When we were over the bar we found this to be a large river of fresh water up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At 1:00 P. M. came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of same two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west by

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[3] Boit's Log of the Columbia, Vol. 53, Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 245; Vancouver, Voyage. Vol. I, p. 418; Id., Vol. II, p. 79.

[4] The original log book of the Columbia is lost, but a copy of the original may be found in Greenhow, Appendix, p. 434, so far as relates to Gray's Harbor and the Columbia River. It was made by Charles Bulfinch in 1806. See his affidavit, April 21, 1838, in U. S. Pub. Doc. Serial No. 318; Sen. Doc. 470, 25th Cong., Second Session, pp. 14-23, and note by Prof. E. S. Meany in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 1. A more detailed account of the visit to Gray's Harbor is given in John Boit's Journal printed in Vol. 58, Mass. Hist. Soc., and in the Washington Quarterly to which the note is introductory.

[5] John Boit gives the date as May 12, 1792. Gray's qualities are illustrated by Boit's entry relating to Gray's Harbor a few days previous, as after the cutter in charge of the second officer, who had been sent to examine the inlet, had returned to the Columbia with the officer's report that he could find nothing but breakers at the entrance but that farther it had the appearance of a good harbor, Gray was determined not to give it up, and successfully negotiated the passage with his ship.

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north, three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends." And thus ended the exciting and epoch making day.[6]

Afterward the ship went farther up the stream, got aground but was soon free again without mishap, and after several changes of position during the days following left the river on May 20th. The native canoes crowded around the ship, and doubtless there was much trading. Captain Gray and Mr. Boit went on shore, Gray's account is laconic and rather meager, in strong contrast with the elaborate descriptions afterward given in Vancouver's Journal, but the Journal of John Boit, recently discovered, adds some particulars of interest.

The following is a quotation from John Boit's Journal, the dates given all being one day later than those in Gray's log.

"The river extended to the NE. as far as eye cou'd reach, and water fit to drink as far down as the Bars, at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble River in search of a village. The beach was lin'd with natives, who ran along the shore following the ship. Soon after, above 20 canoes came off, and brought a good lot of furs and salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. They appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. At length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the River, about 5 leagues from the entrance. Came to in 10 fm. sand, about ¼ mile from shore. The River at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver skins, 2 spikes each, and other land furs, 1 spike each.

"We lay in this place till the 20th May, during which time we put the ship in good order and fill'd up all the water casks along side, it being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn it. Observ'd that the canoes that came from down river, brought no otter skins, and I believe the otter constantly keeps in salt water. They however always came well stocked with land furs, and capital salmon. The tide set down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees sometimes come down with the stream. The Indians inform'd us there was 50 villages on the banks of this river.

"May 15. N. Latt. 46° 7′; W. Long. 122° 47′. On the 15th we took up the anchor, and stood up river, but soon found the water to be shoal so that the ship took the ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our first station.

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[6] The point then reached is now identified as off McGowan's just above Chinook point (now generally called Fort Columbia). The Chinook Village was between McGowan's and the point. In October following Broughton anchored at this place and found the water salty, but this was no doubt due to different stage of water in the river at that time of year, and to difference in tides. Greenhow, Extract from Log-book of Ship Columbia, in Appendix, p. 434; Vancouver Voyages, Vol. 1, p. 75. The place where the Columbia grounded was about half way across Gray's Bay. At that time Sand Island was attached to the Oregon shore, as Lieutenant Broughton reported to Vancouver, and the channel crossing the bar led direct from Baker's Bay on the north side of the river. The bar was at that time two or three miles inshore from its present location. Boit's Journal varies slightly in the estimate of distances, from Gray's estimates, criticized by Broughton, but Gray's estimates are substantially correct.

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However soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side, and that there was a sand bank in the middle. As we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our present situation, which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the ship with Capt. Gray to view the country and take possession, leaving charge with the 2d Officer. Found much clear ground, fit for cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from underbrush. None of the Natives come near us.

"May 18. Shifted the Ship's berth to her old station abreast the Village Chinoak, command'd by a chief Polack. Vast many canoes, full of Indians, from different parts of the River were constantly alongside. Capt. Gray named this river Columbia's, and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point, Adams."

It was on May 20, 1792, that the ship Columbia left the river that was thence forward to bear her name. She proceeded northward, making stops on Vancouver's Island, at St. Patrick's Harbor and Columbia's Cove. At both of these places there was some friction between the ship's crew and the indians, and at the latter place a war canoe full of indians was fired upon "so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the canoe." There were similar occurrences with the indians a few days later when the ship reached Queen Charlotte Sound (which waters, Captain Gray called Pintard's Straits after one of the owners of his ship.) The full narrative of Gray's voyage reveals many clashes with the natives, several with fatal results. The trading, however was carried on vigorously, the ship returning from time to time to Columbia's Cove and several times cruising in the vicinity of Queen Charlotte Sound, and even going one hundred miles southerly behind Vancouver Island, on a course that would, if continued, have resulted in establishing for a certainty the Americans' guess that the island waterway would ultimately lead to the Strait of de Fuca, a fact that was demonstrated conclusively by Vancouver a few weeks later. The Adventure rejoined the Columbia in these northern waters, and turned over her 500 skins which had been obtained still farther north and west. The Boston ship Margaret, Captain Magee, was met with, but the captain was sick and his trade was not good. On July 28, on one of the trips to Queen Charlotte Isles the Columbia had the bad fortune to strike a hidden rock and came near being lost. She was freed successfully on the next tide, but leaked badly. The stem and other parts of her hull were badly damaged, but the ship was kept afloat by hard work at the pump, and reached Columbia's Cove for repairs; ultimately she had to be taken to Nootka Sound to be beached and to have renewals that could not be completed at the former place. It was after getting from Captain Gray at Nootka the details of his discoveries of Gray's Harbor and Columbia River on a second visit to Nootka in the following October that Captain Vancouver undertook to revise his own survey of that part of the coast, and to plan for a more detailed examination.

On beginning his voyage southward with the Discovery, accompanied by the Chatham, in command of Lieutenant Broughton, and the Daedalus, in command of Lieutenant Whidbey, Vancouver followed the Washington shore as closely as possible. He left to Whidbey the duty of entering Gray's Harbor, with the Daedalus. The Discovery and the Chatham arrived off the mouth of the Columbia, October 19, 1792. The Discovery was the larger vessel, and not readily finding a feasible channel the prudent Vancouver believed his ship in imminent

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danger of running aground on the spit, and so stood off shore, while the Chatham successfully negotiated the passage of the bar. The Discovery then made another effort to enter, but a southwest gale arising she abandoned the attempt, and put about, steering southward for the agreed rendezvous at Monterey on the California coast, there to await the other two vessels.

The further explorations of the Chatham's crew upon the waters of the Columbia River, supplement those of Captain Gray, so that this seems to be the fitting place to record them. But before doing so let us read Vancouver's account of his last days spent off the Columbia bar and of his unsuccessful effort to enter with the Discovery. On October 20, 1792, he says: "The morning was calm and fair, yet the heavy cross swell continued, and within the Chatham the breakers seemed to extend without the least interruption from shore to shore. Anxious however to ascertain this fact, I sent Lieutenant Swaine, in the cutter, to sound between us and the Chatham, and to acquire such information from Mr. Broughton as he might be able to communicate; but a fresh easterly breeze prevented his reaching our consort, and obliged him to return; in consequence of which a signal was made for the lieutenant of the Chatham, and was answered by Mr. Johnstone, who sounded as he came out, but found no bar, as we had been given to understand. The bottom was a dead flat within a quarter of a mile of our anchorage. From Mr. Johnstone I received the unpleasant intelligence that by the violence of the surf, which during the preceding night had broken over the decks of the Chatham, her small boat had been dashed to pieces. Mr. Johnstone was clearly of opinion that had the Discovery anchored where the Chatham did, she must have struck with great violence. Under this circumstance we undoubtedly experienced a most providential escape in hauling from the breakers. My former opinion of the port being inaccessible to vessels of our burthen was now fully confirmed, with this exception, that in very fine weather, with moderate winds and a smooth sea, vessels not exceeding four hundred tons might, so far as we were able to judge, gain admittance. The Daedalus however being directed to search for us here, I was induced to persevere; particularly as towards noon, a thick haze which before had in a great degree obscured the land, cleared away, and the heavy swell having much subsided, gave us a more perfect view of our situation, and showed this opening in the coast to be much more extensive than I had formerly imagined. * * * The flood at one o'clock running in our favor, we weighed with a signal as before for the Chatham to lead. With boats sounding ahead we made all sail to windward, in four to six fathoms of water. The Chatham being further advanced in the channel, and having more wind and tide, made a greater progress than the Discovery. About three o'clock a gun was fired from behind a point that projected from the inner part of Cape Disappointment, forming to all appearance a very snug cove; this was answered by the hoisting of the Chatham's colours and firing a gun to leeward by which we concluded some vessel was at anchor.[7] Soon afterwards sound-

[7] This was the small schooner Jenny from Bristol, England. Captain Vancouver had seen her at Nootka, October 7th, so she could not have been in the Columbia long before the Chatham's arrival. She was a fur trader. James Baker was her captain, and when the Chatham attempted to leave the river, November 10th, it followed the Jenny out over the bar, "Mr. Baker having obligingly offered as his was the smallest vessel, to lead out, and having been there the earlier part of the year he was better acquainted than Mr. Broughton with the course of the channel." Broughton named the cove in the river in which the two

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ings were denoted by the Chatham to be 6 and 7 fathoms, and at four she anchored apparently in a tolerably snug berth. Towards sunset the ebb making strongly against us, with scarcely sufficient wind to command the ship, we were driven out of the channel into 13 fathoms water, where we anchored for night; the serenity of which flattered us with the hope of getting in the next day."

"The clearness of the atmosphere enabled us to see the high round snowy mountain, noticed by us when in the southern parts of Admiralty Inlet, to the southward of Mt. Ranier; from this station it bore by the compass N. 77 E., and like Mt. Ranier, seemed covered with perpetual snow, as low down as the intervening country permitted us to see. This I have distinguished by the name of Mount St. Helens, in honor of his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid."

"Sunday, 21. All hopes of getting into Columbia river vanished on Sunday morning, which brought with it a fresh gale from the S. E., and every appearance of approaching bad weather, which the falling of the mercury in the barometer also indicated. We therefore weighed and stood to sea."[8]

Vancouver, having once made up his mind in regard to the worthlessness of the river, could not change his opinion. The Discovery is officially described as a sloop of war of 340 tons. The Chatham was a brig of 135 tons burden, and like the Columbia was small enough to enter uncharted channels with some prospect of safety, and to venture to explore the river itself. Broughton observed the departure of the Discovery and proceeded to examine both sides of the estuary in which he had come to anchor.[8a] He sailed up a few miles following the north bank and saw a deserted indian village on the shore. The early explorers frequently mentioned these deserted villages which were not in fact permanently deserted but were merely left during the summer season while their inhabitants were away in search of game and berries for their winter store. He sighted and named Tongue Point on the opposite shore and grounded his ship on more than one occasion, but got off without difficulty. Passing across the river to the south bank, he examined the sandy peninsula of Point Adams and then rowed in the ship's boat up a bay and river which he named after Sir George Young, of the Royal navy. While exploring this bay and river he observed immense flocks of wild geese and ducks.

Broughton then undertook with ship's boat and crew of oarsmen a more or less thorough exploration of the river for a distance of more than one hundred miles from its mouth.

Our knowledge of Broughton's voyage up the Columbia is gleaned chiefly from the account given by Vancouver in his Voyage and his own report contained in the same volumes. It is from this account that the following excerpt

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vessels lay before starting out, Baker's Bay, after the commander of the Jenny. (2 Vancouver, Voyages, 73, for Lieutenant Broughton's account of the Columbia River visit and exploration.) If, as stated in Vancouver, the Jenny had been there the earlier part of the year, this must have been after May 20th when Gray left. The Chatham, as it would appear, followed close upon the Jenny's second entrance into the river, and in fact they left Nootka together. (Anonymous Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. 6, p. 88.)

[8] Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. I, pp. 420-2.

[8a] The original log of the Chatham, in the Public Record office at London, was recently examined by Mr. T. C. Elliott whose study of the points of interest in the narrative of the Broughton exploration of the Columbia is published in Or. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, at pp. 73 and 231.

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is taken describing what the English authorities chose to consider the discovery of the river. "The discovery of this river we were given to understand is claimed by the Spaniards, who call it Entrada de Ceta, after the commander of the vessel who is said to be its first discoverer, but who never entered it; he places it in 46 degrees north latitude. It is the same opening that Mr. Gray stated to us in the spring, he had been nine days off the former year, but could not get in, in consequence of the outsetting current. That in the course of the late summer he had entered the river, or rather the sound, and had named it after the ship he then commanded. The extent Mr. Gray became acquainted with (it) on that occasion is no further than what I have called Gray's bay, not more than fifteen miles from Cape Disappointment, though according to Mr. Gray's sketch it measures thirty six miles. By his calculation its entrance lies in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes, differing materially in these respects from our observations.[9]

From this point on Broughton's exploration was the first upon the river, and he gave names to many familiar landmarks. Puget Island was named in honor of Vancouver's lieutenant on the Discovery. Walker's Island was named after the surgeon of the Chatham. Coffin Mountain was so called because of the indian burying ground which was observed there where the dead were placed, as was the custom, aloft in primitive coffins supported by stakes. A point, probably near the mouth of the Willamette, was named Belle Vue, and it was from near this location that Broughton first saw the snow-capped summit of Mount Hood which he named in honor of the same noble Englishman who had been formerly similarly honored in the naming of Hood Canal. The sight of this mountain led him to think that the source of the Columbia was somewhere in the range of which it was a part and that it could not be far away. He had no conception of the fact that the great river's source was more than a thousand miles distant and that it cut its way directly through the chain of mountains which seemed to cross its path.

The farthest point reached was that called by Broughton Point Vancouver. This has been popularly identified with the site of the present City of Vancouver, Washington, but a careful checking up of the account given by Broughton shows that it is the point now known as Cottonwood Point and is the low and broad projection on the Washington side of the river some twenty miles above the town of that name. It is nearly opposite the station on the Oregon side known as Corbett, somewhat above the mouth of the Sandy River.[10] At this point Broughton formally took possession of the entire region in the name of his Britannic Majesty and drank to the health of King George, as did the old indian chief who had accompanied him a portion of the way. The season being now far advanced and supplies being near an end, it was decided to return down stream, which was done with as much speed as possible. After returning to the Chatham, sail was spread and all hands sailed back to the mouth of the river, and from thence in due time overtook Captain Vancouver at the rendezvous at Monterey, California, as agreed upon. In the meantime Van-

[9] Vancouver, Voyage, Vol. II, p. 74.

[10] Broughton called the Sandy River the Baring River. Lewis and Clark subsequently called it Quick Sand River. Lady's Island at that location was called Johnstone Island by Broughton and Brant Island by Lewis and Clark.

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couver's other consort ship the Daedalus[11] having finished its inspection of Gray's Harbor also sailed for Monterey. Old English maps sometimes show the bay as Whidbey's Harbor, after the lieutenant of that name in command of the Daedalus, but the name Gray's Harbor is now well established. Vancouver visited the Sandwich Islands and afterward again returned to the northwest coast, where he completed his elaborate surveys.

He ended his voyage in 1795 after four years of absence from home, during which he not only charted and thoroughly examined the Pacific coast of North America but assumed protection for the British crown of the Sandwich Islands, where his wise course in adjusting the affairs of the native chiefs and settling the controversies that had arisen there shows that he had the qualities of a successful administrator. His narrative was not published until 1798, after he had died. It was, however, printed substantially as written by his own pen, a clear and readable, as well as interesting, story of the long nautical expedition. His memory will always be respected by Americans as well as British, notwithstanding the evidences throughout the narrative of prejudice against American ship masters and traders, which in a man so fair and reasonable in his dealings with others is to be regretted. His taking possession, through Lieutenant Broughton of the Columbia River and the country in its vicinity in his Britannic Majesty's name, giving as the reason his professed belief that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before, was founded on the ungenerous theory that Gray's entrance led him no further than into Gray's Bay as he called it, thus assuming the river to end before it empties into the ocean. His prejudice against Gray may perhaps be ascribed in some measure to the written statement made jointly by the latter with Captain Ingraham, master of the American brig Hope, respecting the proceedings at Nootka in 1789, written in response to a request of the Spanish commissioner, in which they stated what they knew of the buildings that the English claimed to have erected before the arrival of the Spaniards at Nootka. This statement was criticized by Vancouver in his Journal.[12] But his prejudice was against Americans generally, as appears by many passages in his otherwise excellent narrative.

Little is known of the Jenny or her calls at the Columbia. Vancouver first mentions her as arriving at Nootka, October 7, 1792. He is careful to record the information he got from Gray regarding the Columbia, but he is entirely silent as to having learned from Captain Baker of the Jenny's visit to the river made prior to that date. Nor does it appear from the journal that Captain Baker told of his plan to go there again on leaving Nootka. Yet the fact is that on October 7th Vancouver received from the Jenny two young girls, who appear to have been abducted from their homes in the Sandwich Islands, and

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[11] The Daedalus came out from England with instructions and supplies, and reached the rendezvous at Nootka, July 4, 1792. (II Vancouver, Voyage, p. 98.)

[12] Greenhow shows that in Vancouver's synopsis of the American captains' statement it is garbled and distorted, not only by suppressions but by direct misstatements. (Greenhow, Hist. 414.) And as to Captain Ingraham, Vancouver's renaming of certain islands, discovered and named Washington Islands by that American, at the same time showing by his journal that he knew they had previously been discovered and visited by the American traders, may indicate his feeling toward him. Captain Ingraham's log of the Hope is in the Library of Congress, and copies are lodged with Washington State Library and the Archives of the Province of British Columbia at Victoria. A review of this log by F. W. Howay is in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 3.

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for their sakes and for the honor of his nation he undertook the duty of returning them to the islands, on account of the fact that the Jenny was intended to go from Nootka "straight to England." But the Jenny was found in the Columbia River October 21 by Lieutenant Broughton when he entered that river.[13] Vancouver's statement regarding this tells of his hearing a salute fired from behind Cape Disappointment and the answering gun of the Chatham, and seeing the hoisting of the Chatham's colors, from which he says "we concluded some vessel was there at anchor," which carries the implication that he did not know at this time that the vessel was the Jenny, which leaving at the same time as Vancouver's ships, evidently had slipped down from Nootka in advance of the officers of the royal navy. Lieutenant Broughton's description of how the Jenny led the way out over the bar on the 10th of November following discloses the fact that Captain Baker had an assumed familiarity or superior knowledge because of "having been here the earlier part of the year." This earlier visit could not have been before Gray's discovery in May, or priority for British entrance would have been claimed. It seems probable, therefore, that Captain Baker, like Captain Vancouver himself, had met Gray and learned of the discovery of the Columbia, and had then hastened there to try the new field for fur traffic, and thus he secured for himself and his little vessel the honor of being second to enter the river, anticipating Vancouver and Broughton by several months. But just why Vancouver did not learn of his first visit there, or was not told of the purpose to go there the second time in advance, but on the contrary was given to understand that he was going direct to England, remains unexplained.

It may be of interest to add a word concerning the young women from the Sandwich Islands, who were happy in their safe return and no doubt much the wiser for their travels and their novel experiences.[14] Vancouver says: "Amongst the reports industriously circulated at Nootka by the citizens of the United States of America, to the prejudice and dishonor of the British subjects trading on the coast of North West America, it had been positively asserted, that some of the latter had brought the natives of the Sandwich Islands from thence to the coast of America, and had there sold them to the natives of those shores for furs. These two young women were particularly instanced as having been so brought and disposed of by Mr. Baker commanding the Jenny, of Bristol; and the story was told with such plausibility that I believe it had acquired some degree of credit with Sen'r Quadra and most of the Spanish officers who heard it. The arrival of the Jenny, however, in the port of Nootka gave flat contradiction to these scandalous reports and proved them to be equally malicious and untrue; as the two girls were found still remaining on board the Jenny, without having entertained any idea that they were intended to have been sold; nor did they mention having received

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[13] The Anonymous Journal confirms the statement, saying that Mr. Baker had determined on going straight home, touching only at the island of Masafuero to kill a few seals. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 58.) The log of the Hope charges the officers of the Jenny with murdering natives at Clayoquot. (Id., Vol. XI, p. 26.)

[14] Vancouver was in a somewhat delicate position. Whatever he may have thought, or whatever may have been his suspicions, he could not admit before the Americans and the Spanish that Captain Baker had the evil intention imputed to him, or proceed to secure his punishment. He accepted the captain's statement of accidental abduction with a straight face and made the best of an awkward situation.

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any ill usage from Mr. Baker, but on the contrary, that they had been treated with every kindness and attention while under his protection."[15]

Captain Vancouver took charge of these young women and delivered them over to their friends in the islands. His sense of modesty moved him to supply them with what he calls European dress while on shipboard, and we may imagine the ship's tailor fashioning it under the direction of the dignified commander, who says: "This dress was a riding habit, as being best calculated for their situation, and indeed the best of our power to secure. Its skirt, or lower part, was soon found as much for concealment as for warmth; and in a very short time she became so perfectly familiar to its use in this respect that in going up and down the ladders that communicate with different parts of the ship, she would take as much care not to expose her ancles as if she had been educated by the most rigid governess." And here with a kindly smile we may leave this captain of the king's navee.

[15] Id., Vol. I, p. 415; II, p. 227. Another account of this episode is given in the Anonymous Journal. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 58.)

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CHAPTER XIII

JOHN LEDYARD'S INFLUENCE

We now enter upon an entirely new and distinct period in the history of Oregon, the era of exploration carried on by land from the east. Thus far our account has been entirely of voyages to the Northwest coast around South America or around Africa, or across Siberia, conducted by Spaniards, Englishmen, Americans and Russians, in some cases for the sake of increasing the world's store of geographical knowledge, but more often for the sake of trade. There was always, however, the underlying purpose or hope of acquiring the dominion over these far distant regions, although at the early period with which we have been dealing the prize did not seem of sufficient value to justify engaging in war over its possession; the game seemed hardly worth the candle. We have seen, it is true, how Great Britain and Spain almost came to blows, but how the better sense of the statesmen of these nations averted such a catastrophe, unconsciously thereby aiding the cause of the United States.

There is a certain unity of events which must be borne constantly in mind in following the story of the Oregon Country, a certain logical sequence of incidents leading up to the final establishment of the American claim to this far-away section of North America. The key to the possession of this fair land was the great Columbia River. The nation discovering this river would have a decided advantage over rivals provided the discovery was followed by occupation. We have seen how this rich prize again and again, as though by some providential dispensation, escaped discovery by the Spanish and British navigators, to fall at last into the hands of the American captain, Robert Gray.

These early navigators had proved one thing conclusively, that to colonize this distant country would be almost impracticable by way of the sea; the long voyage around Cape Horn or by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the perils incident to such voyages made this quite clear. The conception of an overland passage across the continent was not a new one, for besides the early Spanish explorations in the south (which however were not designed to open a way from the Atlantic to the Pacific), some consideration had been given to the possibility of finding a route across the northern part of the continent almost two centuries before Gray's discovery.

In Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes (Vol. XIV, Chapter XX, Glasgow Edition), the author gives a brief discourse upon the probability of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea, illustrated with testimonies and a brief treatise and mappe by Master Brigges. This was written in 1616, and Master Brigges is recommended as a thrice learned (and in this argument three times thrice industrious) Mathematician, famous for his readings in both Universities and this honorable Citie (London). From Master Brigges' argument and the accompanying map we learn that California is an island, and this is based upon a recent Spanish map captured by the Hollanders and which

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he himself has recently seen. He thinks that it cannot be very far across America from Hudson Bay to the west coast. But that a much nearer, safer, and far more wholesome and temperate route may be found through the Continent by way of Virginia. "And this hope that the South Sea may easily from Virginia be discovered over Land is much confirmed by the constant report of the Savages, not onely of Virginia, but also of Florida and Canada; which dwelling so remote from one another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where they describe great ships not unlike to ours. * * * " Here we have the first suggestion of an overland route, the author arguing the probability of water ways flowing westward to the Westerne Sea, which would aid in transporting the explorers and their provisions (p. 422).

The author in his quaint style displays both his patriotism and his reverence by indicating that if this route is found, of which there is great probabilitie (if not full assurance) their endeavors "shall by God's blessing have a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and Glorie amongst these poore ignorant Heathen people, the publique good of all the Christain world, the never dying honor of our most gracious soveraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedie increase and advancement of that most noble and hopeful Plantation of Virginia; for the good success whereof all good men with mee I doubt not, will powre out their prayers to Almighty God."[1]

As knowledge of the Pacific coast after Cook's visit there in 1778 rapidly increased by reason of the many voyages already mentioned, interest in the overland exploration became more general. After Great Britain acquired the French rights in Canada and her fur traders pushed out farther and farther west, and particularly after the publication of Carver's Travels, it became evident that it would be but a short time until the Terra Incognita of the old maps would be explored and definitely mapped. Among the expeditions prior to that, Anthony Hendry visited the Blackfeet indians in 1754, probably in the present province of Alberta, and Samuel Hearne in 1769-72 had made an adventurous journey as far as Coppermine River in the Arctic regions for the Hudson's Bay Company. Its rival, the North West Company, planned in 1784 and 1785 an expedition to reach the coast. Alexander Mackenzie was a partner in that company, and had himself made some discoveries in the Northwest. In 1789 he even went around the Great Slave Lake and discovered the river flowing from it into the Arctic Ocean. His journey showed that there was no feasible passage for sea vessels from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, for he found the mouth of the river closed by ice in July, and observed moreover that the chain of mountains lying westward ran even farther north than the estuary of the river. The latter was named the Mackenzie River, and its discover returned convinced that it would be desirable to find a way across the continent to the Pacific on some course south of his recent explorations. This, it may be again mentioned, had been suggested to Vancouver in his original instructions given him by the British Admiralty, as one of the questions he was to look into upon his voyage to the coast. Mackenzie's plans were carried out by him in 1792 and 1793, and no more courageous feat of western exploration was ever accomplished; but instead of following down the great River of the West as he had planned, his course led him upon another stream. He had

[1] See also The Discoveries of John Lederer, in similar vein cited in Chapter I, supra.

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PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1778

From History of America by William Russell, (London, 1778). This map shows the Columbia River as the River of the West, with its source near that of the Missouri, and is similar to Jonathan Carver's map of the same year, on page 117.

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spent the winter upon the Peace River, and from there he began his journey as soon as spring permitted, May 9, 1793.

June 18, he came to a river that seemed to have a westerly direction. This is the stream now known as Fraser River. He had ten well seasoned men in his party, but after continuing down the river for twenty-five arduous days they found the difficulties of keeping along the stream too great to be overcome, so they crossed a divide to the Blackwater and then to Dean River, and down Bella Coola, until they ultimately reached the coast. His farthest point was, July 21, 1793, a place on tidewater called by Vancouver, Point Menzies. This was the first overland journey to the waters of the Pacific, a journey full of danger and menaced by starvation and failure, but the ocean was found at almost the very time that one of Vancouver's officers, Lieutenant Johnstone, in small boat was examining this part of the coast. The explorers missed each other, as Lewis and Clark missed the hoped for American ships when they reached the Pacific. Mackenzie, before turning his face eastward upon the return journey, left an inscription, painted in large letters on the face of a rock: "Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety three."[2] This was where Vancouver had given the estuary the name Cascade Canal. Mackenzie had not discovered the Columbia, whose lower reaches had been seen the previous year by Gray and Broughton; but Vancouver's map published at London in 1798, gave to the world exact knowledge as to the mouth of that river and the geography of the coast line, and then Mackenzie made a map of his own, joining his own discoveries with those of the navigator.[3] He indicated a river which he erroneously designated as the Columbia (which of course he did not know by name until after he had returned from his journey), by a dotted line as though it was the river of Gray's discovery, believing that this was the same river he had followed for twenty-five days. In reality, as was later ascertained, it was the Fraser River, subsequently explored by Simon Fraser and named after the latter.[4]

On his return, Mackenzie suggested a plan for the consolidation of the Hudson's Bay Company with the North West Company, and the active cooperation of all the capital and organization of these two companies to develop the fur trade on a grand scale by establishing a line of posts from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Rocky Mountains, thence across to and along the Saskatchewan River and Lake Winnipeg and Nelson River. His plan con-

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[2] Voyages, p. 349.

[3] He wrote an account of the journeys, entitled, Voyages on the St. Lawrence and through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean (London, 1801). An interesting account of his explorations is given in "The Search for the Western Sea" by Lawrence J. Burpee (New York, 1908).

[4] In 1807 when Simon Fraser was instructed by the North West Company to explore this river, then called by the indians Tacoutche Tesse, it was believed that this was a part of the Columbia. (F. V. Holman, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. X, p. 9.) The name (spelled as Tacootchetessee), was first used by Lewis and Clark as a river into which Clark's River and its tributaries, Hellgate and Bitter Root or St. Mary's River, ultimately flow, somewhere to the northward along the Rocky Mountains. Thwaites assumes they used that long name in referring to the Columbia River, which takes the course so indicated by them. But it rather shows that Lewis and Clark were aware of Mackenzie's discoveries, as they probably had the name from his book. (Original Journals, Lewis and Clark, Thwaites' Edition, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 60.)

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templated the use of the Columbia River, and of course the surrounding and tributary country by British subjects. Mackenzie published his account in 1801, still not knowing that the Columbia was not identical with the river he had descended.

Contiguity of territory is a great aid in carrying on land explorations. As long as Spain or France owned the Louisiana Country west of the Mississippi and extending northwesterly to the Rocky Mountains, the United States was not directly interested in the development of the Pacific coast, for the wedge intervened. Some there were even at the early period now under consideration who contemplated American development of the far west. But these did so no doubt with the idea that such development would have to be governed by an independent state. Even twenty-five years later Senator Benton, in studying the Oregon question, at first took that view although in time he came to realize that this was not necessary or desirable. But important events after Gray's discovery came along rapidly, so rapidly as to be almost simultaneous in their happenings. President Jefferson heard of contemplated plans in Great Britain for the exploitation of that section; American sailing vessels in great number were following the lead of Bulfinch and his associates and were building up a commercial enterprise of importance; and finally there was change in the ownership and the sovereignty of the Louisiana country.[5]

These events will take our attention. Jefferson's interest in the Oregon Country, though stimulated by these several circumstances, was not new born. It may be traced through his correspondence to a much earlier period, and to a connection with the same young Ledyard whose name has already been concerned with events in this narrative. And as will be seen, the expedition that was sent to the Pacific Ocean under the directions of this close-constructionist republican president, whose whole political theory and practice should logically have made him a bitter opponent of the plan to acquire Louisiana or to explore and colonize the Oregon Country, was an expedition that was really the outcome of long treasured plans and deliberate purposes of his own. Such is the inconsistency of human nature.[6]

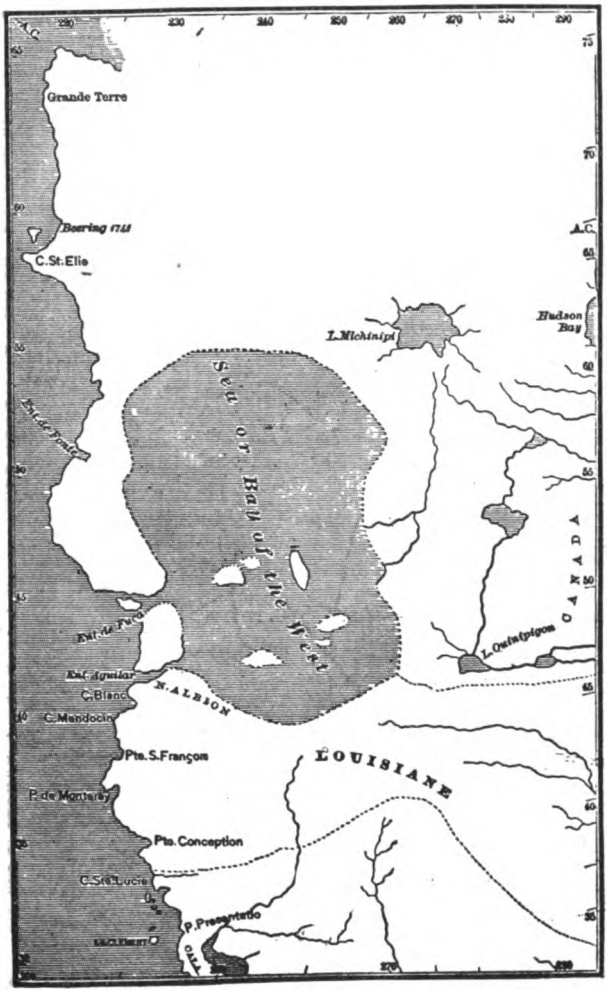
But this does not go so far as to say that in sending Lewis and Clark to the

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[5] The vast stretch known by the name Louisiana originally belonged to the French by whom it was discovered and settled. In 1762, the French government, being pressed by the English in the then pending war, made a cession to Spain of "all the country known under the name of Louisiana," including New Orleans, and when the war closed in 1763 the treaty of peace turned whatever portion that may have been east of the Mississippi to Great Britain, only to return to Spain again by the treaty between Great Britain and Spain in 1783. Spain then had the entire Louisiana from the latter date until it was secretly ceded to France once more in 1800. When this fact leaked out in 1802, it produced uneasy sensations, to use Jefferson's expression, in the United States, and great effort was at once made to acquire Louisiana by purchase. This was accomplished in 1803 by negotiations with Napoleon and his minister Talleyrand, and the free navigation of the Mississippi and its control from its mouth to the source of the great river and its tributaries was insured. There is no ground for the claim that the title of the United States to the Oregon Country was derived in whole or in part by the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, although that was assumed for a time by geographers and historians. The Louisiana title did not include any lands west of the Rocky Mountains.

[6] In 1803, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, on the other hand, ardent Federalist and member of the Constitutional Convention, who might have been expected to favor expansion, denied the right of the United States to acquire additional territory and to admit new states created therein. (Farrand, Constitutional Convention, Vol. III, pp. 401, 404.)

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MAP OF OREGON COAST, 1782

Janvier's map (French) reproduced from Bancroft's Northwest (p. 135). This map should be compared with Remondini's map (p. 73).

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Oregon Country Jefferson had in mind originally the acquisition of that territory for the United States. On the contrary his instructions to Lewis and Clark indicate that he was then considering the advantage of developing a fur trade that could be conducted through the Missouri River into the United States. But as will be seen, after the expedition was formed, and Louisiana was acquired by the United States from France by purchase, he conceived the possibility of making some future claim to the Oregon Country.[7] The expedition, however, paved the way for the subsequent settlement of the Astor party and for the movement of Americans over the Oregon Trail, which furnished this country with the really clinching argument to prove its title to the disputed territory. In treating this sequence of events chronologically it will be useful to turn to the career of the man who furnished Jefferson with the information that perhaps later on influenced his decision to send out the pathfinders, Lewis and Clark.

John Ledyard was born in Groton, Conn., in 1751. His mother who had been early left a widow intended that her son should be educated for the ministry and consequently we find him at the age of twenty-one attending Dartmouth College, noted at that time as a training school for missionaries to the indians. Although Ledyard was a young man of brains he seems to have lacked the power of application which is needful for a successful professional career, and his own adventurous and roving proclivities together with the unfavorable opinion formed of him by the members of the Dartmouth faculty caused him to disappoint his mother's ambitions, and we find him embarked upon a career of adventure which was never abandoned through his life, and which although it never brought him to any eminent degree of successful achievement, nevertheless was rich in its effects upon the history of his native land.

Urged by his overpowering wanderlust he left college of his own volition, became a sailor before the mast for some years, and then conceived the idea of visiting relatives in London through whom he thought his career might be assisted more rapidly. These relatives treating him with some coolness he haughtily ignored them and after a period of want in that great city secured a berth with the expedition of Captain Cook which was about to set out on its voyage into the South Sea. This expedition brought young Ledyard to the Oregon coast where he had an excellent opportunity to study the ways of the natives and to appreciate the value of the fur trade, then absolutely untouched by the whites. In fact so impressed was he with the possibilities of this trade that it became the ruling passion of his life thereafter to promote this enterprise and to be the first to reap the rich profits which he had the foresight to recognize as possible. Concerning this his biographer, Jared Sparks, says: "Ledyard's views of the commercial resources of Nootka Sound, and other parts of the Northwest Coast, must not be overlooked in this place, because they were the foundation of many important succeeding events in his life in suggesting to him the benefits of trafficking voyages to this coast. It will be

[7] See discussion of this point and quotations from Jefferson's letters in The Louisiana Purchase (Washington, 1898). This review of the annexation by the United States prepared by Binger Herman, Commissioner of the General Land Office, is a comprehensive examination of our title west of the Rocky Mountains, to show that it does not rest upon the Louisiana Purchase, and that until that purchase was made, President Jefferson had no plan for acquisition of the Oregon Country. (See also F. G. Young in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 1.)

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seen that he was the first, whether in Europe or America, to propose such a voyage as a mercantile enterprise."[8] Ledyard himself says: "The light in which this country appears most to advantage respects the variety of its animals, and the richness of their furs. They have foxes, sables, hares, moose, dogs, otters, beavers, wolves and a species of weasels called the glutton. The skins of this animal were sold at Kamchatka, a Russian factory on the Asiatic coast, for sixty roubles, which is near twelve guineas, and had it been sold in China it would have been worth thirty guineas. We purchased while here about 1,500 beavers, besides other skins, but took none but the best, having no thought at that time of using them to any other advantage than converting them to purposes of clothing; but it afterwards happened that skins which did not cost the purchaser six pence sterling sold in China for $100. Neither did we purchase a quarter part of the beaver and other skins we might have done, had we known of making the opportunity of disposing of them to such an astonishing profit."

After leaving Nootka, it was Ledyard who was sent by Cook to communicate with the Russian settlement, and he was with the expedition when it sailed through Bering Strait and learned the impossibility of reaching the Atlantic by way of the Northwest Passage. Upon his return to England he found that country in the midst of the war of the American Revolution. He enlisted in the British navy with the understanding that he would not be called upon for service against the land of his birth, but in spite of this agreement he found himself during the year 1782 off the Long Island coast every foot of which was familiar to him. The call of home was too strong to be resisted. Ledyard obtained shore leave, and soon after landing, found the abode of his mother with whom there was a happy reunion. He never returned to his ship, but he spent some time in New England where he disseminated by word of mouth and through his writings the knowledge which he had gleaned of the Northwest coast and the attractive features of the fur trade. This was the first intimation that the New Englanders had had of this commercial opportunity, and it created great interest. Ledyard tried for some time, but in vain, to organize companies and enlist capital in ventures to the Oregon coast; but at last becoming discouraged he sailed for England and afterwards went to France where he pursued the same quest. He was always just on the verge of success but something always intervened to blast his hopes. It was while he was in France that he met Thomas Jefferson who took a genuine interest in his plans. The importance of this meeting is well set forth by one of Jefferson's biographers who writes: "To a statesman like Thomas Jefferson it was evident that a large portion of that immense territory, separated from the United States by no barrier of nature, would be eventually embraced within their boundaries. He was convinced, therefore, of the propriety of its being explored by a citizen of the United States, and regretted the failure of Ledyard's attempts in his own country to engage in a voyage before the same thing had been meditated anywhere else. These views were deeply impressed on the mind of Jefferson, and in them originated the journey of Lewis and Clark, twenty years afterwards, which was projected by him and prosecuted under his auspices."

Jefferson himself speaks thus of Ledyard: "In 1786, while at Paris, I became acquainted with John Ledyard, of Connecticut, a man of genius, of some

[8] Life of John Ledyard, by Jared Sparks (Cambridge, 1828).

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science and of fearless courage and enterprise.'' When all of Ledyard's schemes for promoting an expedition by sea to the northwest coast had failed, Ledyard determined that he would reach his goal by proceeding overland by way of Russia and Siberia to the Pacific Ocean and then to the American coast as best he could. This was, as events proved, about as impracticable a plan as could have been proposed, but he had the support of English friends and tried to carry it into execution. After many hardships in Russia and Siberia, the Russian authorities absolutely vetoed the project and arrested him and brought him back. This ended his attempts to exploit the fur trade of the Northwest. His further adventures led him to Africa and he died soon afterward, a failure as far as the accomplishment of his ambitions went, but a character of importance in indirectly influencing the history of Oregon.[9]

[9] Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. III, p. 655. Jefferson's last reference to him was ''my last account of Lediard (another bold countryman of ours) were from Grand Cairo. He was just then plunging into the unknown regions of Africa, probably never to return again. If he returns, he has promised me to go to America and penetrate from Kentucke to the Western side of the Continent.'' (Jefferson's Writings; Letter to Carmichael, Vol. V, p. 455. Federal Edition.) The quotation from Jefferson is in the Autobiography, written in 1821 (Jefferson's Writings, Ford Ed., p. 94).

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CHAPTER XIV

JEFFERSON THE STATESMAN

The development of our narrative now makes a digression into the field of international politics necessary. Throughout the early period of their history the American colonists had been involved in various wars that originated upon the continent of Europe. The war of the Palatinate, the war of the Spanish Succession, the war of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' war, though in no instance involving primarily the interests of the colonists, had spread to their doors and drawn them into sanguinary conflict. It seemed at the close of the last named war, when the English acquired Canada, that there was ground for hope that permanent peace was secure for the Americans, but soon after that came the war of the American Revolution, itself largely the result of, or greatly influenced in its course and duration by the antagonisms engendered by the ousting of the French from Canada. The termination of the war with the mother country again gave promise of permanent peace. The Americans had now settled their differences with Great Britain. They were secure on the north, and they had as their neighbors on the west the Spaniards, who had sunk to such an international position as made them no longer dangerous to the interests of the young republic.

This was the situation then when, in 1795, Great Britain, involved by reason of the French revolution, found herself again at war with Spain. The danger was instantly realized by American statesmen that the world's greatest maritime nation might seek to take advantage of this opportunity to seize Louisiana from the Spanish and thus compensate herself for the loss suffered through the independence of her American colonies. Jefferson, then secretary of state, one of the first to sense this possibility, wrote at once to the American minister at London: "We wish you therefore to intimate to them (the British ministry) that we cannot be indifferent to enterprises of this kind; that we should contemplate an exchange of neighbors with extreme uneasiness; that a due balance on our borders is not less desirable to us than a balance of power in Europe has always appeared to them." It will be noted that this, the first utterance of its kind, contains the germ of the later Monroe Doctrine.

It was perceived that the United States could not afford to allow Great Britain to border upon both the northern and western boundaries. But our interest in this question involved more than an anxiety as to who were to be our neighbors to the west. For many years settlers had been coming in increasing numbers to the country contiguous to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and these great waterways were becoming of increasing importance for purposes of commerce. Unfortunately the mouth of the Mississippi was not and never had been American territory, but it was embraced within the boundaries of Louisiana. Annoying tolls and restrictions had sometimes been exacted by the Spanish occupants of that strategic location and although a temporary arrangement with Spain had been effected, the American inhabitants of the

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western parts of the country were in a state of constant anxiety lest the privilege of trans-shipping by way of the river might some time be entirely suspended. Friction had also arisen respecting the settlement by Americans in Spanish territory west of the Mississippi and near the Red River. This state of affairs had led the American government to carry on negotiations with Spain looking to a permanent adjustment of the differences. Progress was made, and the treaty signed with Spain in 1795 was an attempt to agree upon boundaries, principally east of the great river.

Jefferson had always been suspicious as to the intentions of the French in Louisiana. As early as 1790, he wrote our minister at Paris: "It is believed here that the Count de Moustier during his residence with us conceived the project of again engaging France in a colony on this continent; and that he directed his views to some of the country on the Mississippi; and attained and communicated a good deal to his court."[1] His suspicions were verified when in 1800, during the period of French ascendancy in Spain, the treaty of St. Ildefonso was forced upon the latter nation, which transferred the possession of the entire Louisiana territory to Napoleon. The news of this secret treaty reached America in 1801 or early in 1802, and Jefferson, who was president at that time, was greatly alarmed, realizing as he did that the possession of this contiguous territory by such a powerful nation as France was fraught with dangerous possibilities to America.

In a letter to the American minister at Paris he wrote: "The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works sorely on the United States. * * * It compleatly reverses all the political relations of the U. S. and will form a new epoch in our political course. * * * There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. * * * It is impossible that France and the United States can long continue friends when they meet in so irritable a position. * * * The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark."[2] In spite of his lifelong friendship for the French, Jefferson proclaimed openly that the possession of New Orleans by France would make necessary an alliance between this country and Great Britain. How deeply he was stirred may well be understood from the very fact that such an alliance would be deemed a possibility in view of his persistent dislike of that country. But Jefferson was essentially a man of peace. He sought some way whereby he might solve the problem of foreign ownership of the mouth of the Mississippi and at the same time retain the friendship of France.

With this end in view he instructed Livingston, who was at that time our minister to France, to approach Napoleon with an offer to purchase New Orleans. He had already conferred with the congress on the subject and had received their consent and an appropriation for that purpose. It soon became apparent that Livingston was unable to get results. The men of the western country were clamoring and something had to be done, and that quickly. Therefore Jefferson sent his friend Monroe to Paris as a special envoy in order to try to bring matters to a head.

But by this time Napoleon had come to the realization of the fact that in

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1 The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. VI, p. 117. (Federal Edition.)

2 The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. X, p. 364. (Federal Edition.)

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the acquisition of Louisiana he had assumed greater responsibilities than he could carry, mighty as he was. He knew he could not spare armies and fleets to protect his title and that the time would surely come when Great Britain with her preponderant naval power would take this remote western territory from him, and thereby add to her already too extensive dominions. That Napoleon fully appreciated all this is clearly shown by his own statement on the subject: "I know the full value of Louisiana and I have been anxious to repair the fault of the French minister who abandoned it in 1762. A few lines of treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it before I must lose it. But if it escapes from me it shall one day cost dearer to those who obliged me to strip myself of it than those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, New Foundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. * * * I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. * * * I think of ceding it to the United States. * * * They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the entire country as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it. * * * I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. To attempt to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this offer with the envoys of the United States. I will be moderate, considering the necessity in which I am making the sale. * * * Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in order. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview with Mr. Livingston this very day."[3] This being his temper and point of view the transaction was soon consummated.

Shortly after the conclusion of the negotiations, when the treaty had been signed, Napoleon said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."[4] Here for once Napoleon's powers of statesmanship failed him. Thanks to the good sense of our own countrymen and of our British kinsmen there has been no occasion to humble England's pride and there is now no desire to do so. What is even more a matter of congratulation, Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen are now drawn together in bonds of friendship, which let us hope will be enduring.[5]

Thus at the stroke of a pen for the comparatively paltry sum of $15,000,000, and without the shedding of a drop of blood, we acquired an empire almost as extensive as our original territory. We did not hesitate to purchase without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants, but nations were not particular in those days and there was no thought of the necessity of doing so. The peaceful solution of this problem of ten years' standing was as pleasing to Jefferson as it was to Napoleon. It meant that Americans could thenceforth work out their own destiny without fear of interference on the part of other nations. It also produced another consequence of equal importance. It resulted in the

[3] Marbois' Hist. of Louisiana (1830 Ed.), p. 264.

[4] Id., 312. A Century of American Diplomacy, John W. Foster, pp. 188-197. The Louisiana Purchase, Binger Herman, p. 28.

[5] For details of the negotiation, see H. Adams, Hist. of the U. S. First administration of Jefferson, Vol. 2, ch. 1-3; D. C. Gilman, James Monroe, ch. 4; B. Marbois, Hist. of Louisiana, pt. 2; Am. St. Papers; Foreign Relations, Vol. 2, pp. 506-583.

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increase of the power of the federal government. It seems like the irony of fate that Jefferson, who had always so jealously guarded the prerogatives of the individual states should be the instrument in an act of statecraft which so greatly promoted the unity, power and sovereignty of the nation. From the very beginning of his negotiations he doubted the constitutionality of the step he was taking, and even planned at the inception a constitutional amendment to legalize the transfer; but subsequently he feared to have such a suggestion made lest ratification should fail and he resigned himself to the exigencies of the situation. He himself said as to this: "The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our union. The Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence, which so much advances the good of the country, has done an act beyond the constitution. The Legislatures in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves upon the country for doing for them, unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves, had they been in a situation to do it."[6]

Looking back upon the year 1803 from our present point of view we can see how President Jefferson in taking advantage of the necessities of Napoleon paved the way for the settlement and acquisition of the Oregon Country.[7] No sooner had Louisiana become ours than settlers and trappers began to swarm across the Mississippi and to enter the territory between the river and the Rocky Mountains.

It is evident that for twenty years previous to the setting out of the expedition of Lewis and Clark, Jefferson had revolved in his mind the project of the exploration of the extreme western part of the American continent and of finding an overland route to the Pacific. The first evidence found of such a design agitating his fertile brain is in a letter which he wrote to Gen. George Rogers Clark on December 4, 1783, wherein he says: "I find that they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. They pretend that it is only to promote knowledge. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. Some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making an attempt to search that country; but I doubt if we have enough of that kind of spirit to

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[6] To John C. Breckenridge, Works, Vol. X, p. 5. (Federal Edition.) This recalls Lincoln's letter to Mr. Hodges (April 4, 1864), in which he said: "My oath to preserve the constitution imposed on me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means that government, that nation, of which the Constitution is the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? * * * I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong I assumed this ground, and now I avow it. I could not feel that to the best of my ability I had even tried to preserve the Constitution if to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution altogether." (Quoted in Bryce, Am. Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 388, n.)

[7] Jefferson's correspondence at this period shows that he had no conception of the importance of the territory as a whole. A constitutional amendment was prepared by him which while confirming the purchase would have prohibited grants of lands therein north of the mouth of the Arkansas River, other than to indians in exchange for lands occupied by them east of the Mississippi, until authorized by further amendment to the Constitution. His object seemed to be "to prevent emigrations excepting to a certain portion of the ceded territory," perhaps with a view to restricting slavery therein. (Jefferson's Works, Vol. X, p. 3. Federal Edition.)

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raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party? Though I am afraid our prospect is not worth asking the question." Here we find the germ of the plan for the Lewis and Clark expedition.[8]

This project was undoubtedly still further developed in the mind of Jefferson through his meeting with John Ledyard in Paris in 1786, whose contact with the statesman has already been mentioned. Jefferson himself thus describes this meeting: "When I resided in Paris, John Ledyard of Connecticut arrived there, well known in the United States for energy of body and mind. He had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and distinguished himself on that voyage for intrepidity. Being of a roaming disposition, he was now panting for some new enterprise. His immediate object at Paris was to engage a mercantile company in the fur trade of the western coast of America, in which, however, he failed. I then proposed to him to go by land to Kamschatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to and through that to the United States. He eagerly seized the idea, and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian government."[9]

In 1792, Jefferson, who was a member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, proposed a western exploration, and suggested that the society undertake the task, and that the necessary funds for its accomplishment be raised by private subscription. This was successfully done, and it was decided to appoint André Michaux, a noted French botanist, to head the enterprise. It was soon discovered however that Michaux had been associated with Genet in his schemes for the embarrassment of the American government, and it was considered unwise to allow him to go. This resulted in the cancellation of the plans for the expedition.[10] Thus far plans for the exploration of the far west had failed, but when he was elected president in 1800 an entirely different aspect was given to his projects. It is a fortunate circumstance, as matters

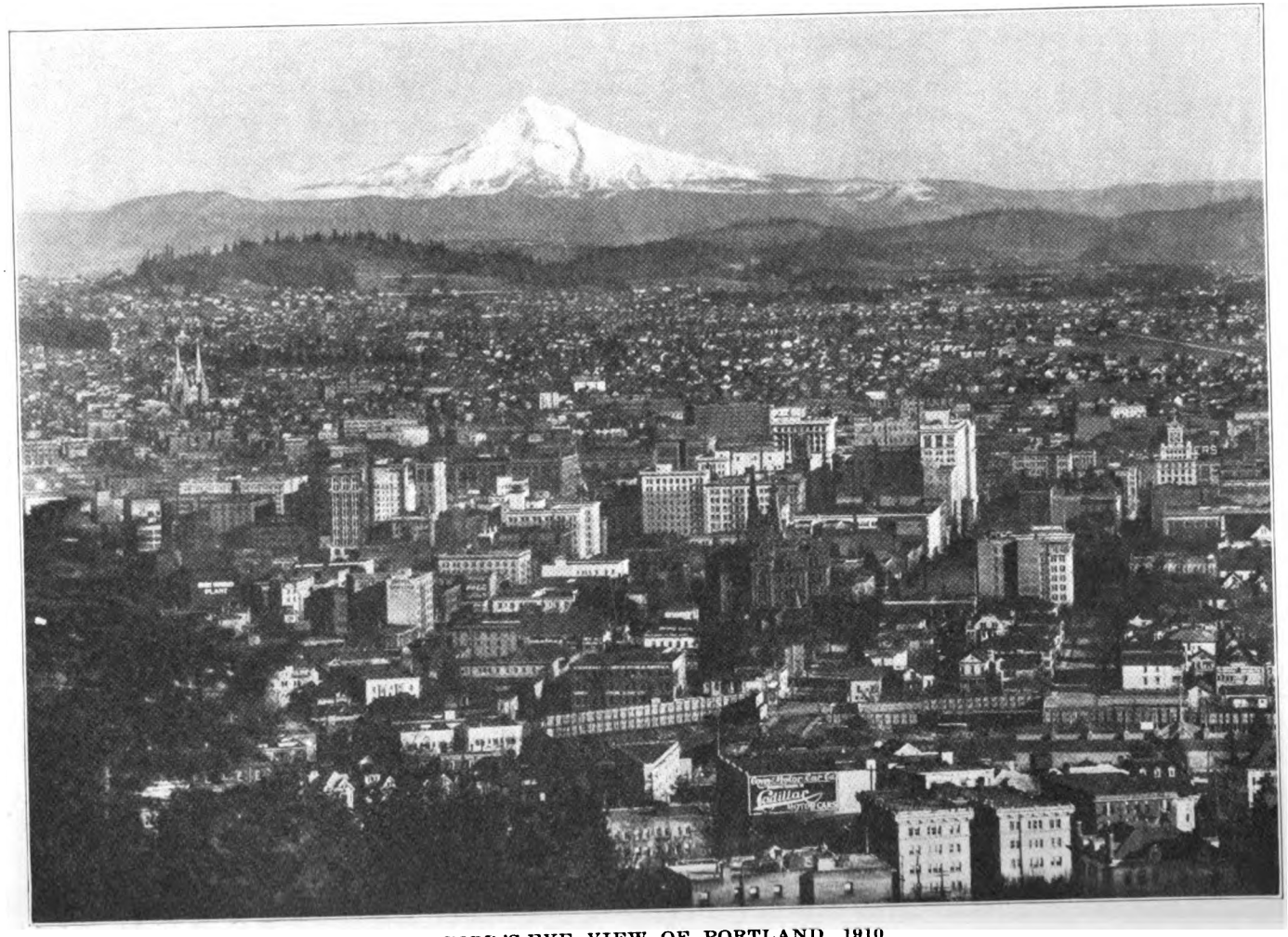
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[8] Am. Hist. Rev. III, p. 675; quoted also in Shafer, Hist. Pac. Northwest, p. 34. Jefferson's relations with General Clark and his active interest in western expansion begins even earlier. He had in 1779, supported the campaign under General Clark in which the latter took possession of the country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, then claimed by the British, and which became American territory at the close of the Revolution. When Virginia surrendered her claim to that territory north of the Ohio to the federal colonies in 1784, Jefferson drafted and presented a plan, known as the Ordinance of 1784, for the division of the territory into ten states with universal suffrage, republican form of government, and no slavery. His draft was not accepted, but the famous Ordinance of 1787 was based upon it, concerning which Daniel Webster is reported as saying: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character." Yet Madison said Congress in this acted "without the least color of constitutional authority." Here was a precedent for Jefferson's action in the Louisiana Purchase, as well as for his Lewis and Clark expedition.

[9] Life of Captain Lewis, contributed by Jefferson to the edition of 1814 of the History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark.

[10] Jefferson's memorandum dated January, 1793, of instructions to Michaux in behalf of the Philosophical Society are in some respects similar to those later given to Lewis and Clark. It is deemed of prime importance that the Missouri shall be explored "to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the United States and the Pacific ocean within the temperate latitudes." "It would seem by the latest maps as if a river called Oregon interlocked with the Missouri for a considerable distance, and entered the Pacific not far southward of Nootka sound. But the society are aware that these maps are not to be trusted so far as to be the ground of any positive instruction to you." (Jefferson's works, Vol. VII, p. 208. Federal Edition.) This is one of the first of known uses of the word Oregon. (See Chapter I, supra.)

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BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PORTLAND, 1910

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transpired, for the Oregon Country, that Jefferson was elected at that particular time. The Federalists were not unfriendly to England, and might not have followed up the discovery of Captain Gray with an expedition if likely to result in a dispute with that country over the ownership of the territory contiguous to the Columbia. Jefferson was no sooner in the executive office than he revived his plan. His communication to Congress was confidential. It was dated January 18, 1803. The action of Congress was likewise kept from the public as far as possible, principally perhaps to avoid friction with other nations.

Solicitous as he always was to act strictly in accordance with the letter of the federal constitution, Jefferson coupled with his proposal of an expedition to the Pacific, the plan of investigating the government trading posts which had been established in the west for the benefit of the indians, the contracts for whose maintenance were about to expire. In connection with this investigation it was proposed to send an expedition up the course of the Missouri River to its source, across territory belonging at that time to France, having just been acquired by that country from Spain. While the expedition therefore was given a scientific aspect, it was really intended, as Jefferson said, to secure a report upon the state of trade as far west as the Rocky Mountains, together with recommendations of means for its further development. In making the recommendations to Congress Jefferson wrote as follows: "While other nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, by undertaking voyages of discovery, and for other literary purposes, in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe to its own interests to explore this, the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional power of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance geographical knowledge of our own continent cannot but be an additional gratification." After it was settled upon, Jefferson wrote Lewis: "The idea that you are going to explore the Mississippi has been generally given out. It satisfies the public curiosity and masks sufficiently the real destination." [11]

As the northern boundary of Louisiana at this time was a matter of uncertainty, and it was highly desirable that Great Britain's claims west of the Mississippi should be confined to the district far north of the Missouri, it was probably a part of the plan to gain a knowledge of the upper Missouri and its tributaries with a view to forestalling British pretensions.

Congress promptly passed an appropriation of $2,500 to defray the expenses "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States" and plans were immediately undertaken to start the expedition on its way. That Jefferson hardly expected the expedition to keep within the appropriation is evident, for the leaders were given unlimited letters of credit. The members were also carried on the pay rolls of the army.

It will be noted that these plans were laid before the purchase of Louisiana, so that it is clear that the Lewis and Clark expedition was not the result of this great territorial acquisition. The purchase was to some extent the logical outcome of the friction engendered by American settlers crowding into Louisiana, and the difficulties with the Spanish authorities concerning the passage of

[11] April 27, 1803. Works, Vol. IX, pp. 421-434. (Federal Edition.)

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American goods up the Mississippi. But Jefferson's plans for exploring this territory had a different source, although they may have been revived with the growing belief that the United States should acquire Louisiana. It will be also noted that throughout all these plans up to this point, and for some time afterward, there was no thought of securing possession of the "Oregon Country." The expedition was purely for commercial purposes, to promote the fur trade with the indians in the region of the upper Mississippi and to attract, if possible, that of the Columbia basin and divert it across the Rockies. At the time when these preparations were being made Jefferson may have thought that his own countrymen would be the first to undertake this task of reaching the Pacific by an overland route and perhaps he had not yet been informed of the fact that the feat had already been accomplished.[12]

[12] It is not certain that Jefferson was not already apprised of recent British explorations, and of Alexander Mackenzie's exploit in reaching the Pacific overland. In his instructions to Lewis and Clark he said: "The northern waters of the Missouri are less to be inquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in the course of ascertainment by English traders and travellers." (Id., p. 426.) Mackenzie's book was first published in London in 1801, and French and German editions were printed in 1802. Alexander Mackenzie, "Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793" (London, R. Noble, 1801). Gallatin (secretary of the treasury) was so much interested in the success of Jefferson's plan that he suggested that "General Dearborn (secretary of war) should write immediately to procure 'Vancouver's Survey,' one copy of which, the only one I believe in America, is advertised by F. Nichols, No. 70 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Price, with the charts, fifty-five dollars." (Writings of Gallatin, Ed. by Henry Adams, Vol. I, p. 107.) There is reason to believe that Lewis and Clark had seen both the Vancouver and the Mackenzie books by the time they left St. Louis upon their expedition. See note 4, p. 170 infra.

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CHAPTER XV

LEWIS AND CLARK REACH THE ROCKIES

"Ocean in view! O the joy!" were the triumphant and happy words entered in Captain Clark's journal on November 7th, 1805, when the first glimpse of the Pacific was obtained. It has been well said of the Lewis and Clark expedition: "The continental divide was surmounted in three different places, many miles apart. The actual travel by land and water, including various side-trips, amounted to about one-third the circumference of the globe. This cost but one life, and was done without another serious casualty, though often with great hardship, sometimes much suffering, and occasional imminent peril. * * * The story of this adventure stands easily first and alone. This is our national epic of exploration." [1]

Another authority on Oregon history says of it: "While our title to the Oregon region was in question and our claim to the Pacific Northwest was disputed by England, it was customary to name the Lewis and Clark expedition as one of the four or five links in the chain of our right. The list comprised generally the following: The discovery of the Columbia River by Robert Gray; the Lewis and Clark expedition; the founding of Astoria; the restitution of Astoria in 1818, involving an acknowledgment of our possession of the region; the transfer to us of the rights of Spain in the treaty of 1819. But were these events equally and independently decisive? The battle of Manila Bay is recognized by all as the decisive event leading to our possession of the Philippines. * * * Much the same relation did the Lewis and Clark expedition bear to the subsequent events that furnished the basis of our claim to Oregon. * * * This can be claimed for the Lewis and Clark expedition rather than for Gray's discovery." [2]

President Jefferson with his own hand wrote out most minute directions for the guidance of the leaders of the expedition. Here again he showed not only his humanitarianism but his statesmanship in his directions as to the treatment of the indians who might be encountered along the route. After making suggestions as to methods to be pursued in trading with them, he continues: "And considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion and information among them; as it may better enable those who may endeavor to civilize and instruct them to adapt their measures to the existing notions and practices of those on whom they are to operate. * * * In all your intercourse with the natives treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies

[1] Dr. Elliott Coues, in his edition of the Lewis and Clark Journals.

[2] F. G. Young. See his article "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Exploration." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 1.)

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as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the U. S.; of our wish to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them, confer with them as to the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us." "The object of your mission," said he, "is to explore the Missouri river and such principal stream of it as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or some other river, may offer the most practical and direct water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce." [3]

President Jefferson chose as the leader of the expedition his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, but at the latter's request the leadership was shared with William Clark. Two more capable leaders could not easily have been found. Lewis was a Virginian of distinguished Scotch ancestry, born in 1774. A youth spent between his studies and outdoor sports had innured him to the hardships to be encountered in the perilous undertaking upon which he was about to launch. As soon as he was appointed he applied himself diligently to special studies to equip himself with some knowledge of the sciences. He himself said, when upon a former occasion he had asked to be selected for a similar expedition, that he could live wherever an indian could.

William Clark was a trained frontiersman and was a resident of Kentucky, where he learned indian methods in warfare and in peace. He was a native of Virginia, four years older than Lewis. Each of them had served in the army, and they had been for some years close friends, Clark's appointment to this expedition being due to Lewis' suggestion to the President. Among the party were four sergeants, Ordway, Prior, Floyd and Gass. Among others were Shields, Colter, two brothers named Field, Drewyer, a half-breed, and Clark's negro servant, York, who was of special interest to the indians on account of his great strength as well as his color. The personnel of the expedition besides Lewis and Clark consisted of twenty soldiers, who were all volunteers, together with eleven voyageurs, and nine frontiersmen.

On the ninth and tenth of March, 1804, the inhabitants of St. Louis experienced a bewildering series of changes of national control. This was by prearrangement to transfer the national sovereignty in accordance with the previous treaties. First the Spanish colors were lowered and those of France were run up in their stead, and then the French flag gave place to that of the United States. This latter transfer was a matter of considerable moment to Lewis and Clark who had been encamped across the Mississippi River not far from St. Louis waiting for the spring to bring weather conditions favorable for the beginning of their journey.[4] On the 14th of May, the party set out up the

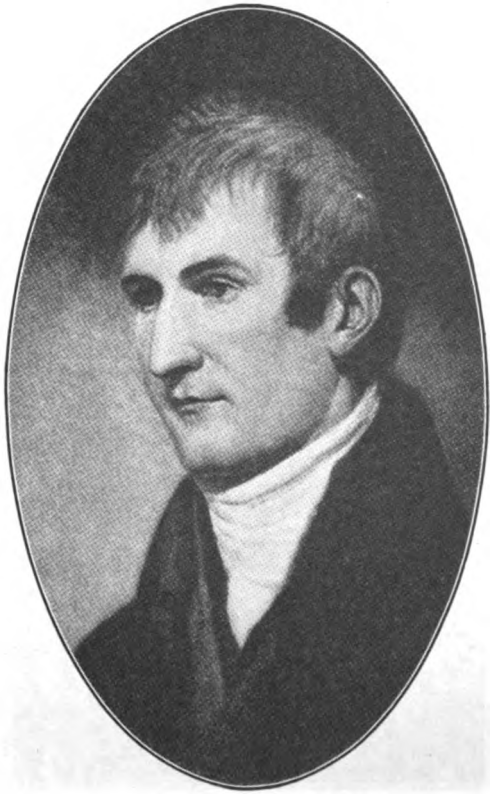
[3] Jefferson's Works, Vol. IX, p. 425 (Federal Edition). These instructions are also set out in Jefferson's sketch of the life of Lewis contributed by him to the 1814 edition of Lewis and Clark.

[4] The instructions given to Captain Lewis were dated June 20, 1803; the expedition actually started May 14, 1804, from their encampment on the Mississippi. The interval was made use of in preparation and in training the men constituting the convoy. The Spanish commandant at St. Louis not having received an official account of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, nor even of the preceding transfer to France, his consent was not obtained before the cession was officially announced. The fact of the acquisition of the province by the United States was promptly conveyed to Captain Lewis by a letter

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WILLIAM CLARK



MERIWETHER LEWIS

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Missouri. Their equipment consisted of a large craft, fifty feet over all, square rigged and with twenty-two oars; a tow line was also provided by which the vessel could be tracked up stream past the rapids. There were also two small pirogues, or boats sharp at the bow and broad and flat at the stern. Horses accompanied the expedition, being led along the bank. It had been decided to use boats as far as possible as the plan was to follow the Missouri River to its source, but it was later learned that this was not the best method, nor were the routes followed the best for crossing the Rockies to the Pacific.

The instruction of Jefferson relative to contact with the natives was faithfully carried out. Their friendship was cultivated and a careful inquiry was everywhere made into their manners and customs. It was noted that those indians which had been most in contact with the whites were in a worse plight than those farther in the interior who had not had the contaminating influence of civilization.

The journey up the Missouri was slow and arduous, the current was swift and the obstructions many and troublesome. Buffaloes, which then existed in abundance on the vast prairies, were hunted, and the indians, who were the remnants of the Missouri tribes, visited the explorers, and were hospitably entertained. On the 26th of June the mouth of the Kansas River was passed, and on the 4th of July a small tributary was named Independence Creek. Progress was so slow that the captains had an opportunity to walk along the bank of the river while the hunters ranged the adjacent country for game. On the 21st, the Platte River was reached, where sandbars at its mouth impeded greatly the progress of the boats. Fifteen miles was the distance made that day.

At one of the picturesque highlands bordering the valley of the river a meeting was arranged by Lewis and Clark between the chiefs of the Missouris and the Otoes, and after much speechmaking, and bestowing of medals a general agreement was reached to maintain peace and cultivate amicable relations with each other and with the Government. From this circumstance the site of the meeting was called Council Bluffs. On the 20th of August the site of the present Sioux City was reached, at which place there occurred from natural causes the death of Charles Floyd. This was the only loss of life suffered by the party throughout the entire course of the expedition.

In September the party entered the territory of the Sioux indians, who showed a more unfriendly disposition than any of the natives met before. However, thanks to the tact of the captains they were able to pass through this region without mishap. The next tribe encountered was that of the Arikaras, who proved to be of a most friendly disposition, and who supplied the travelers with corn, beans, squashes and watermelons. The ethical code of these indians was admirable, corporal punishment and the use of liquor being taboo among them.

Late in October, 1804, because of the increasing inclemency of the weather, the leaders decided to seek a situation favorable for winter quarters. The site

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from President Jefferson dated July 15, 1803, which contained also the first information the latter had received of Broughton's survey of the Columbia, and it used that name for the river. (Jefferson's Works, Vol. IX, p. 430.) It is not known whether Lewis was furnished with a copy of Vancouver's book, containing Broughton's description of his visit to the Columbia, but it is apparent from the Journals that the leaders were fully informed as to Broughton's nomenclature. Shafer expresses the opinion that they carried copies of both Vancouver and Mackenzie's books. (Hist. of Pac. Northwest, p. 38. Revised Ed.) See note at end of preceding chapter.

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chosen was the village of the Mandans who had through the efforts of Lewis and Clark made peace with their enemies, the Arikaras, and who had become the fast friends of the Americans. Here the men were set to work felling timber for the erection of their winter quarters. These took the form of a triangular stockade with barracks along two of the converging sides. At this point, near the site of the present city of Bismarck, sixteen hundred miles from St. Louis, the members of the expedition spent a tolerably comfortable and happy winter. There was much hunting of buffalo, deer and elk, much entertainment of their indian friends, and some trouble with rival traders of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies. These men were given to understand that the territory in which they were operating belonged now to the United States and that they were to obey such rules as Captains Lewis and Clark saw fit to establish.

Hitherto the party had been able to employ as interpreters such French trappers as they met along their route, but from this time on they would be entering into a country where there were no trappers. Fortunately for them they found at the Mandan village a former Northwester, one Charboneau, who was induced to proceed with the expedition. Charboneau was married to an indian girl, Sacajawea, who was born among the Shoshone indians on the western side of the Rockies, but who at an early age had been taken captive by a hostile tribe, carried eastward, and had been bought by Charboneau.

April brought with it fine weather and the party made ready to continue on their way. The large boat was sent back down the river bearing an Arikara chief and four other braves of the tribe to pay a visit to President Jefferson. On the seventh, the remainder of the party, together with Charboneau, his wife and child, and a Mandan indian who wished to visit the Shoshones and make a treaty of peace with them, set out. This time the flotilla consisted of the two pirogues and six canoes.

The progress made from now on was even slower than before, owing to the increasing swiftness of the current. For many days the interest of the members of the party centered exclusively in exploration. From the time that the country of the Mandans was left until that of the Shoshones was reached no indians were seen. Game was plentiful, however, and an ample supply of meat was secured without difficulty. On April 29, 1805, Captain Lewis met his first grizzly bear. Of this encounter the journal reports: "Of the strength and ferocity of this animal the indians had given us dreadful accounts; they never attack him but in parties of six or eight persons, and even then are often defeated, with the loss of one or more of the party. Having no weapons but bows and arrows, and the bad guns with which the traders supply them, they are obliged to approach very near to the bear; and as no wound except through the head or heart is mortal, they frequently fall a sacrifice if they miss their aim. He rather attacks than avoids a man, and such is the terror which he has inspired that the indians who go in quest of him paint themselves and perform all the superstitious rites customary when they make war on a neighboring nation. Hitherto those we had seen did not appear desirous of encountering us, but although to a skilful rifleman the danger is very much diminished. the grizzly bear is still a terrible animal. On approaching these two, both Captain Lewis and the hunter fired, and each wounded a bear. One of them made his escape; the other turned upon Captain Lewis and pursued him seventy or eighty yards, but being badly wounded, he could not run so fast as to pre-

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vent him from reloading his piece, which he again aimed at him, and a third shot from the hunter brought him to the ground."

On the 26th of April, the mouth of the river called by the French the Roche Jaune, later translated by the Americans into Yellowstone, was passed. After the mouths of Milk River and Dry Fork had been passed, the journal records on May 9th: "The game is now in great quantities, particularly the elk and buffalo, which last are so gentle that the men are obliged to drive them out of the way with sticks and stones." Day after day was passed through a "country beautiful in the extreme" although as they proceeded the river narrowed and the current was often so swift that it was necessary to "track" the boats by the use of the tow line. Late in the month of May there was a recurrence of such cold weather that the water froze on the oars and there was an eighth inch of ice on the surface of their buckets. They named a "handsome river about fifty yards wide" Sahcajahweah (Sacajawea) or Birdwoman's River, out of compliment to Charboneau's wife.[5]

On Sunday, May 26, Captain Lewis who was proceeding on foot, climbed to the summit of a cliff and saw for the first time the crests of the "Rock Mountains" which he alludes to as "the object of our hopes and the reward of all our ambition." On June 8th they reached the mouth of Maria's River, so named by Captain Lewis in honor of a young lady of his acquaintance. At this point the explorers were in doubt as to which of the two confluent streams was the real Missouri and parties were sent to explore both streams. These parties were not able to decide the problem and consequently the two leaders ascended to the higher ground from which they could view a broader expanse of country. It was decided that the proper course to follow was that of the more southerly stream. Soon afterward the booming of the falls of the Missouri proved to them that their judgment had been correct. These falls impressed them greatly and they were here for some days. Captain Lewis' description rises to more than his usual fluency, as well it might, for the Great Falls in the heart of Montana is an inspiring spectacle. He says he traveled toward the falls seven miles after first hearing the roar, and as he approached, a spray which seemed driven by the high southwest wind, arose above the plain like a column of smoke. He seated himself on some rocks and "enjoyed the sublime spectacle of this stupendous object which since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence upon the desert, unknown to civilization."

Captain Lewis' description of the adventures of one day in the vicinity of Great Falls will serve to show the abundance of game in this region, as well as the danger that was never far away from the pathway through these mountains. The journal says that while alone, making an examination of the river,

[5] Sacajawea is said to have died on Shoshone Reservation, Wyoming, April 9, 1884, where she is buried. Monuments to her memory have been erected in Oregon, Montana, Wyoming and North Dakota, and her services were commemorated at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, at St. Louis, in 1904, and the Lewis and Clark Exposition, at Portland, in 1905. She is the subject of an appreciative narrative under the title "Bird Woman" by James Willard Schultz (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), and Eva Emery Dye attracted attention to her services in "The Conquest" (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1902). It appears that at the invitation of Clark, in 1820, Sacajawea and her young son, Baptiste Charboneau, visited St. Louis, where Clark had the boy that had been carried in the mother's arms to the Pacific and back placed in a Catholic school for a time at Government expense. (See Grace Raymond Hibard's article in Journal of American History, 1907, quoted by Schultz.)

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"He soon met a herd of at least a thousand buffaloes, and being desirous of providing for supper, shot one of them; the animal immediately began to bleed, and Capain Lewis, who had forgotten to reload his rifle, was intently watching to see him fall, when he beheld a large brown bear who was stealing on him unperceived, and was already within twenty steps. In the first moment of surprise he lifted his rifle, but remembering instantly that it was not charged and that he had no time to reload, he felt there was no safety but in flight. It was in the open level plain, not a bush nor a tree within three hundred yards, the bank of the river sloping and not more than three feet high, so that there was no possible mode of concealment. Captain Lewis, therefore, thought of retreating in a quick walk as fast as the bear advanced, towards the nearest tree; but as soon as he turned the bear ran, open mouth, and at full speed upon him. Captain Lewis ran about eighty yards, and finding that the animal gained on him fast, it flashed on his mind that by getting into the water to such a depth that the bear would be obliged to attack him swimming, there was still some chance of life; he therefore turned short, plunged into the river about waist deep, and facing about, presented the point of his espontoon. The bear arrived at the water's edge within twenty feet of him, but as soon as he put himself in this posture of defense he seemed frightened and wheeling about, retreated with as much precipitation as he had pursued." Then on the way to the camp Captain Lewis had an encounter with a wolf, or a coyote. "He went on, but as if the beasts of the forests had conspired against him, three buffalo bulls, which were feeding with a large herd at the distance of half a mile, left their companions and ran at full speed towards him." They came within a hundred yards, stopped, looked at him for some time, and retreated as they came, whereupon the redoubtable captain pursued his route in the dark until he reached camp "reflecting on the strange adventures of the day, which crowded on his mind so rapidly that he should have been inclined to believe it all enchantment if the thorns of the prickly pear piercing his feet did not dispel at every moment the illusion."

Game was not always so plentiful, and ofttimes was not to be found. The feeding of such a large party was always a serious problem, so serious on the return journey that they often knew what it was to suffer from hunger and at times even to see starvation facing them. The meat of indian dogs, and horses, was familiar food to them. A present on one occasion of about twenty pounds of fat horse meat by a generous indian was noted in the journal with gratitude, and roots and leaves, and unsavory looking food from the nomadic tribes, when procurable, helped to eke out the larder, but as the indians had little that they could sell this was not always a reliable resource.

Page by page throughout the journal the narrative is distinguished for its limpid style and terse but effective descriptions. On the 19th of July they entered what they called the Gates of the Rocky Mountains, where "for five and three-quarter miles these rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of nearly twelve hundred feet. They are composed of black granite near their base, but from the lighter color above, and from the fragments, we suppose the upper part to be flint of a yellowish-brown and cream color. Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of these rocks, which project over the river and menace us with destruction. The river, of one hundred and fifty yards in width, seems to have forced its channel down this solid mass, but so reluctantly has it given way, that during

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the whole distance the water is very deep even at the edges, and for the first three miles there is not a spot, except for a few yards, in which a man could stand between the water and the towering perpendicular of the mountain. The convulsion of the passage must have been terrible since at its outlet there are vast columns of rock torn from the mountain which are strewed on both sides of the river, the trophies as it were of the victory."

On July 27, they reached what they called Three Forks at which point they found the first comfortable camping place which they had encountered for some days. The three streams meeting there caused another delay while it was being determined which one would lead them by the shortest route toward the headwaters of the Columbia. The most westerly of the streams was named the Jefferson Fork, the other two being named in honor of Gallatin and Madison respectively. Soon after Captain Lewis, proceeding in advance, found a plain indian trail and marked out the best route for the others to follow after they had been forced to abandon their canoes.[6]

He came at last in sight of an indian and endeavored to get an opportunity to show his friendly intentions, but the red man was suspicious and rode away. The journal of the expedition speaks thus of the arrival at the continental divide on August 12th: "The road was still plain, and as it led them directly toward the mountains the stream gradually became smaller, till after going two miles farther, 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 river, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. As they went along their hope of soon seeing the waters of the Columbia rose almost to painful anxiety, when at the distance of four miles from the last abrupt turn of the stream, they reached a small gap,[7] formed by the high mountains which recede on each side, leaving room for the indian road. From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which rises with a gentle ascent of about half a mile, issues the remotest water of the Missouri. They had now reached the hidden sources of that river which had never yet 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 followed a 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.

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[6] Captain Lewis left the party somewhere below the mouth of the Big Hole or Wisdom River and followed up the main stream to the present site of Armstead, where Red Creek and Horse Prairie Creek join. Lewis followed the westerly or Horse Prairie Creek. The indian trail was found about five miles above Armstead on that stream. His route led him into Trail Creek to the divide on August 12.

[7] As a matter of fact this is rather a wide pass and not a gorge or canyon. It is now known as Lemhi pass and the altitude is approximately 7,300 feet, the mountains extending along the range on each side at an elevation of some 8,500 feet.

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CHAPTER XVI

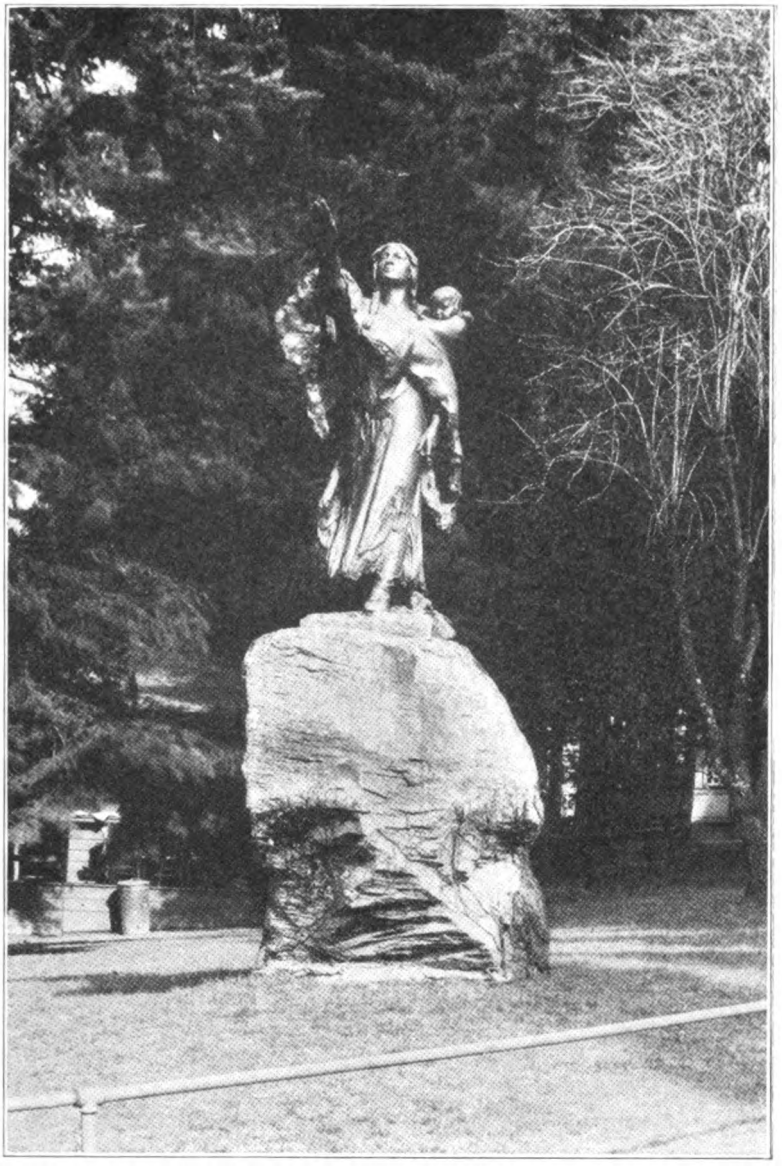
FROM THE ROCKIES TO THE PACIFIC

The chief purpose of Captain Lewis in hastening on in advance of the main party had been to come in contact as quickly as possible with the Shoshones and to get on friendly terms with them as he realized that it must be through their help that the expedition would find its way through the mountains and reach the basin of the Columbia in safety. Excepting the lone horseman he had seen before reaching the continental divide, whom he supposed to belong to the tribe of the Shoshones, the expedition had not come in contact with any of the native inhabitants for several weeks, although they had seen many signs of their occupancy of the country traversed. However, August 13, 1805, he discovered two women, a man, and some dogs on an eminence at a distance of a mile before them. The natives saw Lewis approaching and allowed him to reach a spot a half mile distant without changing their position. Here he ordered his companions to halt while he laid down his knapsack and unfurled a small flag as signs of peace, and went forward alone. The women soon retreated; the man remained until Lewis was within a hundred yards and then followed the women. The dogs alone remained behind and Lewis tried to attach some trinkets to their necks and thus communicate his friendly designs to the indians but in this he failed. Calling upon his men to follow, he again followed the trail, and about a mile farther on came upon three women. One of them was a young woman, who immediately took to flight, but the older woman and a child who was with her bent their heads to the ground thinking that they were about to be killed. Captain Lewis instantly put down his rifle and advancing toward them took the woman by the hand, raised her up, and repeated the words "*tabba bone,*" which was the Shoshone for white man. The fears of the old woman were instantly relieved and she was prevailed upon to call to the younger woman and tell her to return, which she did at once. Both the women were then given presents and they readily agreed to conduct Lewis to their camp.

After traveling for two miles along the trail down the river they were met by a band of sixty warriors, well armed and mounted on fine horses coming at full speed. Lewis laid down his gun, halted his men and advanced to meet them. The two women began telling of their experiences with the white men, whereupon the chief of the party dismounted and embraced Lewis and his men with every show of affection, "and no small share of the grease and paint," a ceremony that was repeated with each of the sixty indians in the party. Thus Captain Lewis had accomplished one object of his journey and after being welcomed at the nearby village where the pipe of peace was smoked and speeches were made, he justly felt that the friendly relations so established had paved the way for the successful advance of the main party following slowly behind.

The next object of Captain Lewis was to induce the Shoshones to return with him to meet the advancing main party and to assist them in transporting their

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"SACAJAWEA," CITY PARK, PORTLAND

This figure represents the Indian woman who accompanied Lewis and Clark's expedition in 1805

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supplies over the mountains. This he accomplished by telling the chief of the objects of the expedition and of how the tribe might profit by assisting them. He also told him of the Shoshone woman who was coming with the whites, and of the black man whose like the indians had never seen. After some hesitation, due to a fear of treachery, the indians were induced to accompany Lewis and his two companions and the junction with the main party was finally effected.[1]

Here upon the meeting of the two parties a very dramatic and very human scene was enacted. Sacajawea recognized at first a young woman who had been taken captive at the same time she had been taken, but who had subsequently escaped. Next she recognized in the chief her own brother, and her demonstrations of joy at this reunion were very much the same as would be expected of her more civilized white sisters. This relationship made Sacajawea invaluable to the expedition, and her knowledge of the Shoshone language proved to be of great assistance to the party.

The advantage gained by cultivating the friendship of the Shoshones was immediately apparent. Captain Lewis had planned to continue his journey following the course of the Salmon River, but his indian friends assured him that that course was quite impossible, and a reconnaissance made by him showed this to be true.[2] The natives then volunteered to direct and accompany the expedition over the main mountain range eastward and northward to the Bitter Root River, or Clark's Fork as it is variously called. The Shoshones kept faithfully their promise and under great hardships to themselves, as well as to the whites, escorted them as far as Ross' Hole, after which they departed eastward in order to replenish their well nigh exhausted food supply by a buffalo hunt. The journey through the Shoshone district brought the white men into frequent contact with the members of that tribe of both sexes, and they found them generous and hospitable and well clad, but there was always a dearth of nourishing food. Coming as the expedition did without previous warning, many of the indian encampments were surprised and frightened, but they soon made the visitors welcome and offered them gifts of ornaments and such food as they had to give.

August 25, 1805, the expedition was saved from total failure by the Shoshone wife of Charboneau. Sacajawea had learned from her tribal friends that because of the shortage of food and the approach of winter the chiefs had requested their people on the other side of the mountains to meet them for the purpose of joining in a buffalo hunt upon the Missouri River. She told this to her husband who, perhaps, not appreciating that it meant a desertion was inclined to join in the plan. Fortunately, however, Captain Lewis was told by him, though with apparent unconcern, that he expected to meet all the indians from the camp on the Columbia the next day. It then came out that the first chief had already sent some of his young men to make this arrangement and that the intention was for all the Shoshones to leave Lewis and Clark and their

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[1] They joined Clark's party near the present site of Armstead.

[2] Captain Clark followed the Salmon River to a point fifty-two miles below the mouth of Lemhi River, and being satisfied as to the impracticability of the route either by land or water the expedition was compelled to work the way through the Rocky Mountains in a generally northerly direction, thus returning to the east side of the divide, whence in due time the Lolo pass was reached and a way was found for the westward journey again. See Original Journals, Edited by Thwaites, Vol. III, Part I, p. 26.

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baggage upon the mountains. This meant to Captain Lewis that no horses would be supplied as promised. Facing now the alternative of continuing the evidently impracticable route down Salmon River the situation was desperate, but the resourcefulness of Lewis was equal to the occasion. The journals thus describe his method, in his own language:

"I was out of patience with the folly of Charbono who had not sufficient sagacity to see the consequences which would inevitably flow from such a movement of the indians, and altho' he had been in possession of this information since early in the morning when it had been communicated to him by his indian woman yet he never mentioned it untill the afternoon. I could not forbear speaking to him with some degree of asperity on this occasion. I saw that there was no time to be lost in having those orders countermanded, or that we should not in all probability obtain any more horses or even get my baggage to the waters of the Columbia. I therefore Called the three Chiefs together and having smoked a pipe with them, I asked them if they were men of their words, and whether I could depent on the promises they had made me; they readily answered in the affermative; I then asked them if they had not promised to assist me with my baggage to their camp on the other side of the mountains, or to the place at which Capt. Clark might build the canoes, should I wish it. they acknowledged that they had. I then asked them why they had requested their people on the other side of the mountain to meet them tomorrow on the mountain where there would be no possibility of our remaining together for the purpose of trading for their horses as they had also promised. that if they had not promised to have given me their assistance in transporting my baggage to the waters on the other side of the mountain that I should not have attempted to pass the mountains but would have returned down the river and that in that case they would never have seen any more white men in their country. that if they wished the white men to be their friends and to assist them against their enemies by furnishing them with arms and keeping their enemies from attacking them that they must never promise us anything which they did not mean to perform. that when I had first seen them they had doubted what I told them about the arrival of the party of whitemen in canoes, that they had been convinced that what I told them on that occasion was true, why then would they doubt what I said on any other point. I told them that they had witnessed my liberality in dividing the meat which my hunters killed with them; and that I should continue to give such of them as assisted me a part of whatever we had ourselves to eat, and finally concluded by telling them if they intended to keep the promises they had made me to dispatch one of their young men immediately with orders to their people to remain where they were untill our arrival. the two inferior cheifs said that they wished to assist me and be as good as their word, and that they had not sent for their people, that it was the first Chief who had done so, and they did not approve of the measure. Cameahwait remained silent for some time, at length he told me that he knew he had done wrong but that he had been induced to that measure from seeing all his people hungry, but as he had promised to give me his assistance he would not in future be worse than his word. I then desired him to send immediately and countermand his orders; accordingly a young man was sent for this purpose and I gave him a handkerchief to engage him in my interest. this matter being arranged to my satisfaction I called all the women and men together who had been assisting me in the trans-

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portation of the baggage and gave them a billet for each horse which they had imployed in that service and informed them when we arrived at the place where we should finally halt on the river I would take the billet back and give them merchandise for it. every one appeared now satisfyed and when I ordered the horses loaded for our departure the indians were more than usually alert."[3] Thus was the crisis in the fortunes of the expedition met by the resourcefulness of the leader, and the party proceeded.

The party now found themselves in the country of the Flatheads, who proved themselves as friendly as had been the Shoshones. After a three days' rest upon the banks of the Bitter Root, the westward journey was resumed. The next stage proved to be more full of hazard than anything yet experienced. The air was cold, due to the altitude, the trail was difficult to follow, the horses suffered severely, game was scarce and the men were pinched with hunger.[4]

A beautiful open plain, partially supplied with pine, now presented itself. Captain Clark, who had proceeded in advance of the slow moving caravan, continued on for five miles farther, when he discovered three indian boys, who on observing the party immediately ran off and hid themselves in the grass. Clark alighted, and giving his horse and gun to one of his men, went after the boys. He soon relieved their apprehensions and sent them forward to the village, about a mile off, with presents of small pieces of ribbon. Soon after the boys had reached home a man came out to meet the party, with great caution, but he conducted them to a large tent in the village, and all the inhabitants gathered around to view with a mixture of fear and pleasure these wonderful strangers. The indians now set before Captain Clark and his six men a small piece of buffalo meat, some dried salmon berries and several kinds of roots. After their long abstinence this was a sumptuous feast. They returned the kindness of the people by a few small presents, and then went on, in company with one of the chiefs, to a second village in the same plain, at a distance of two miles. There they were treated with great kindness, and passed the night. These indians were the Nez Percés, and they generally, although not always, maintained in after years, through the period of settlement by the whites, the same friendly attitude that they showed at their meeting with Captain Clark. This, as will be seen, proved to be a factor of importance in the early history of Oregon.[5]

At the end of September, 1805, several of the party were sick, but nevertheless canoes were built with the assistance of the indians, from cedar, which was found in sufficient quantities. Two chiefs of the Nez Percés offered to act as guides and accompanied the party as far as the dalles. The horses were branded and together with the saddles were left in care of the old chief "Twisted Hair" who proved faithful to his trust, and who returned them in good condition upon the eastward-bound arrival of Lewis and Clark. At fre-

[3] Thwaites' Edition, as supra.

[4] From Ross' Hole at the head of Bitter Root River the part of the route carried the expedition to Weippe Prairie near the Clearwater, in Idaho, through the Lolo pass and over the trail of that name. This route reported upon in Stevens' report, Vol. XII, of Explorations and Surveys for R. R. to Pacific Ocean (Washington, 1860) was first surveyed by Lieut. John Mullan in 1854. It was used in the Nez Percés indian war in 1876-7 by the forces under Gen. O. O. Howard who made a military trail following more or less the route of the old trail. (Original Journals, Thwaites' Ed., Vol. III, Part I, p. 26, note.)

[5] Original Journals, Edited by Thwaites, Vol. III, Part I, p. 77.

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quent intervals during their voyage down the Clearwater to the Snake, which they called the Lewis River, and down that stream to the Columbia, the white men found opportunity to associate with the natives, who had been apprised of their coming.[6] The indians were at that season engaged in catching and drying salmon, then making the seasonal visitation to the upper reaches of the streams for the purpose of spawning. At the junction of the Snake with the Columbia the width of both streams was measured by triangulation; that of the former was found to be 575 yards while that of the latter was 960. At this place a procession of some two hundred natives welcomed the travellers with the barbaric music of drums and marched in honor of their arrival. From this point Clark spent a day ascending the Columbia, and found many indians all busy gathering and drying salmon, and immense numbers of these fish were seen stranded along the banks and deep down in the clear waters.[7]

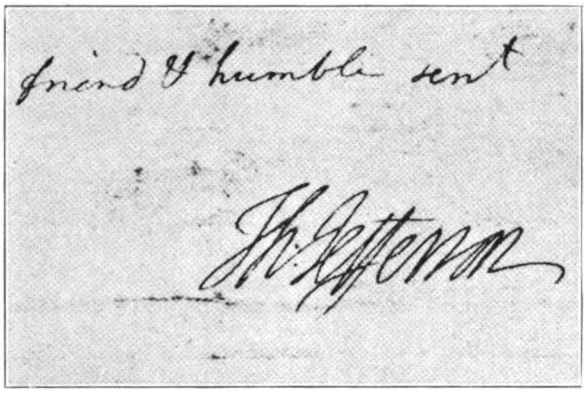
Leaving its junction with the Snake, good progress was made down the Columbia, which they called Clark's Fork, although it was then at its lowest stage. Many different indian tribes were encountered, the one particularly noted in the journals for their friendly disposition being the Walla Wallas, which tribe during the return journey assisted the expedition greatly by guiding them over the hills to the Nez Percés. On October 19, 1805, Mount Adams was sighted and mistaken for Mount St. Helens, and on the same day Mount Hood, called by the indians Tumtum, was observed. On this same day Captain Lewis, who was walking along the bank, shot a white crane on the wing. Near the spot where the bird had fallen was a group of indian huts but no indians were in sight. Upon looking into the first hut Lewis found it filled with natives crouching in the most abject terror. The other huts were also filled with similar groups of terror stricken natives. It was with much difficulty that he was able to allay their fears, and he later learned that the indians, hearing the explosion of the gun and seeing the crane fall from the sky, had conceived the idea that Lewis himself had descended upon them by the same route and that he was some supernatural being.

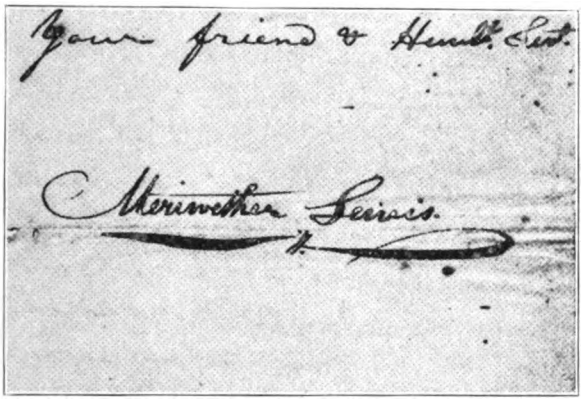
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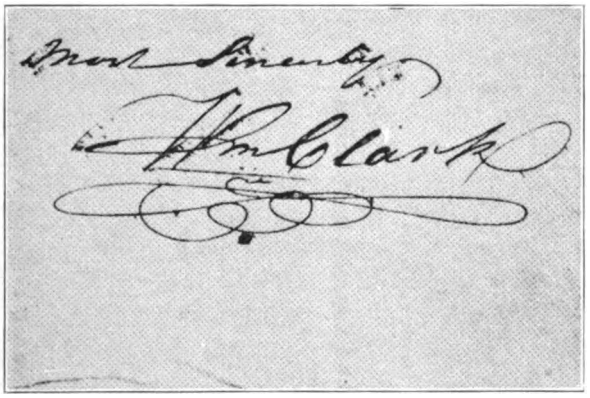
[6] Leslie M. Scott in an analysis of all the conflicting and confusing data respecting the names applied by Lewis and Clark and others of the early explorers to the Snake River and its tributaries concludes that Lewis and Clark intended Lewis River to be the name of Snake River, both as to its Salmon River branch and its main southern course. The nomenclature of Lewis and Clark applied the name Kooskooskie to the Clearwater, and Clark's River was the name given to the stream at the present site of Missoula below the confluence of the Hell Gate River. (History of the Oregon Country, Vol. 2, pp. 324-6.)

[7] One of the original maps that was carried by Lewis and Clark upon their expedition was "A Topogr(aphical) Sketch of the Missouri and Upper Mississippi, exhibiting The Various Nations and Tribes of Indians who inhabit the Country. Copied from the original Spanish MS. Map." Thwaites found this recently in the possession of the descendants of Clark. It shows evidence of wear and tear, having been marked from time to time with the location of various indian tribes as found by the explorers. This map shows an indentation in the coast at near 50° marked "Discovered by Jn de Fuca," and a river flowing from "The Rocky Mountains" just below 45°, marked at the mouth "Discovered by d'Aguillard" and bearing the name "Oregan or R. of the West." The country west and north of the Rocky Mountains is marked "Unknown Country." (Map No. 2, Atlas volume (No. 8), Thwaites, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.) The map bears upon its face evidence that it was compiled from various sources, including Carver's first map (Carver's Travels, 1778, described in Chapter I, supra), or from the map used by Carver in making up his map. It retains Carver's designation for the river, instead of Columbia, notwithstanding Lewis and Clark knew of Gray's discovery and in fact constantly used the name Columbia. T. C. Elliott has recently established that Carver's map, as well as his name Oregon, was taken from the earlier maps.

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FACSIMILE SIGNATURES OF JEFFERSON, LEWIS AND CLARK, WHOSE NAMES ARE INSEPARABLY LINKED IN THE HISTORY OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

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On October 22, the mouth of the Deschutes was passed, which was called by the indian name Towahnahiooks, and soon afterward the roar of the great falls at Celilo was heard. Here throngs of indians were found drying fish, just as their descendants do today. These natives who afterwards developed an evil reputation among the whites were at that time of a peaceable and friendly disposition, although they made use of their opportunity to pilfer. The Nez Percé guides who had accompanied the party thus far were at first unwilling to go among the indians at Celilo, alleging that they were their enemies, but a satisfactory peace was arranged by the leaders of the expedition and the Nez Percés suffered no harm. But the guides left the party and returned home on horseback. The local indians assisted in carrying some of the heavy articles for the expedition and all of the luggage was taken by land to the foot of the rapids.

At the lower dalles Lewis and Clark first came in contact with the important Chinook tribe with whom they were so constantly associated afterwards, and it was necessary for them to acquire still another indian tongue. At this point, as elsewhere throughout the expedition, the leaders in their contact with the indians scrupulously avoided giving any cause for offense and they conducted their negotiations with them so skillfully that they won the friendship and esteem of the natives. It was due to their tact and judgment in such dealings, which is constantly revealed in the narratives, more than to anything else that they finally brought their efforts to a successful conclusion.

November 2, 1805, brought them to the Cascades of the Columbia, which received from the explorers the name "Great Shoot."[8] Below this point they noticed that the river was affected by the tide, which proved to them that they would have no more rapids to encounter and that they were at last on the bosom of the mighty Columbia, the goal for which they had braved all the dangers and hardships of their long transcontinental journey.

Although they no longer had rapids and whirlpools to contend with, nevertheless they were now discommoded by the seemingly never ceasing rains of a more than usually wet western Oregon winter season. In their passage down stream they noted and described such well known features as Castle Rock (which they named Beacon Rock), Rooster Rock and the quicksands at the mouth of the Sandy River. Of the latter the journal says: "At the distance of three miles we reached the mouth of a river on the left, which seemed to lose its waters in a sandbar opposite; the stream itself being only a few inches in depth. But on attempting to wade across, we discovered that the bed was a very bad quicksand, too deep to be passed on foot. We went up a mile and half to examine this river, and found it to be at this distance a very considerable stream 120 yards wide at its narrowest part, with several small islands." This stream was called by them the "Quicksand River." Directly opposite its mouth lay Point Vancouver, now Cottonwood Point, the

[8] The name Cascades was known to the fur traders as early as 1811. (Elliott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVI, p. 134.) Mr. Elliott gives also several possible derivations of the name Celilo, and suggests that the name The Dalles may be derived from the French verb d'aller, to go, or from another French word of similar spelling meaning flagstone, referring to the fact that here and elsewhere on the river where the word dalles is used as a place name it refers to contracted running waters hemmed in by walls of rock. None of these names was used by Lewis and Clark.

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most easterly point that had been reached by Lieutenant Broughton of the Vancouver expedition more than a decade before in his voyage up the Columbia.[9]

The Americans in their passage down stream failed to notice the mouth of the Willamette River, which was not discovered by them until on their return trip when they named it the Multnomah. Many of the indians whom they met from this time on proved to be "very assuming and disagreeable companions." They were less friendly and more sophisticated than those with whom they had formerly come in contact, which was doubtless due to their association with the whites who already occasionally entered the Columbia for trade. The journal gives a description of Hayden Island which the explorers named "Image Canoe Island" from the fact that it was there that they met a large canoe "ornamented with the figure of a bear in the bow, and a man in the stern, both nearly as large as life, both made of painted wood, and very neatly fixed to the boat." It was here also that the party was first supplied with the wappato root which was greatly relished by them. It grew in great abundance upon Sauvie's Island from which circumstance it derived its former name "Wappato Island." The supply of game now proved quite abundant and this together with the roots which they purchased from the indians proved the salvation of the men, who for many days had subsisted upon food which was far from palatable or nourishing and which had caused much sickness among them. Frequent mention is made in the journals, from the time the dalles was reached, of a new annoyance, that of numerous fleas, which infested every indian village and attached themselves to the newcomers. Another annoyance of a lesser degree is mentioned in describing their camp on the night of November 5. The journal says: "Our choice of a camp had been very unfortunate, for on a sand island opposite to us were immense numbers of geese, swan, ducks, and other wild fowl, who, during the whole night, serenaded us with a confusion of noises which completely prevented our sleeping."[10]

The following is the description given in the journal of the valley of the lower Columbia as it was in its pristine wildness: "This great plain or valley begins above the mouth of the Quicksand River, and is about sixty miles wide in a straight line, while on the right and left it extends to a great distance; it is a fertile and delightful country, shaded by thick groves of tall timber, watered by small ponds, and running on both sides of the river. The soil is rich, and capable of any species of culture; but in the present condition of the indians, its chief production is the wappato root, which grows spontaneously and exclusively in this region. Sheltered as it is on both sides, the temperature is much milder than that of the surrounding country; for even at this season of the year we observe very little appearance of frost. During its whole extent it is inhabited by numerous tribes of indians, who

[9] As already stated it is probable that Vancouver's account of Broughton's exploration on the Columbia to this point was known to Lewis and Clark. The name Columbia is used in the Journals; and references to Mount St. Helens and other features bearing names given by Vancouver and Broughton indicate that Lewis and Clark had more detailed information than that furnished by Jefferson's letter of July 15, 1803, referring to Broughton's survey.

[10] Hosmer Edition, Vol. II, p. 68.

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either reside in it permanently or visit its waters in quest of fish and wappato roots; we gave it the name of the Columbia Valley."[11]

In descending the lower reaches of the Columbia the party made the mistake of following the north instead of the south bank. The result was that they were unable to find a suitable camping site at the foot of the precipitous slopes which rise from the river's edge on that side, which not only caused them much discomfort but considerably delayed their establishment of a permanent winter's camp.

November 7, 1805, the voyagers obtained their first glimpse of the waters of the Pacific. The following is the description of this momentous event given in the words of the journal: "We had not gone far from this village when the fog cleared off, and we enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean—that ocean, the object of all our labors, the reward of all our anxieties. This cheering view exhilarated the spirits of all the party, who were still more delighted on hearing the distant roar of the breakers."[12] That night they made their dreary camp at the foot of a bluff and spent the night in the midst of a soaking rain. Day after day thereafter the journal records this same dreary downpour and tells of clothing rotted and provisions spoiled. "It rained without intermission during last night and today" becomes almost a stereotyped phrase in the record.

They eventually succeeded in establishing a very unsatisfactory camp on the shores of Baker's Bay where they were held storm bound by the prevailing southwest gales and did not dare launch their canoes until November 26, when the condition of the weather permitted them to cross to the south side.[13] This move was hastened by the necessity of choosing a permanent winter camp as soon as possible. The journal says: "It becomes necessary to decide on the spot for our winter quarters. The people of the country subsist chiefly on dried fish and roots, but of these there does not seem to be a sufficient quantity for our support, even were we able to purchase, and the extravagant prices as well as our small store of merchandise forbid us to depend on that resource. We must therefore rely for subsistence on our arms, and be guided in our choice of residence by the abundance of game which any particular spot may offer. The indians say that the deer is most numerous at some distance above on the river, but that the country on the opposite side of the bay is better supplied with elk, an animal much larger and more easily killed than the deer, with a skin better fitted for clothing, and the meat of which is more nutritive during the winter, when they are both poor." They desired, moreover, to make their camp near the sea in order that they might renew their fast disappearing store of salt and because of the hope of meeting some of the trading vessels, which were expected in about three months, and from which they might procure a stock of trinkets for use in trading on the way home.

On the 27th they camped on what the journalist calls "a very remarkable knob of land" projecting a mile and half into the river and only fifty yards wide in its narrowest part. This will be easily recognized as what is now called "Tongue Point." Here the party was storm bound again, not daring

[11] Id., p. 70.

[12] Id., p. 74.

[13] Their camp on the north bank was just below McGowan's Station and above Chinook Point, or Fort Columbia. From there Captain Clark visited the cape and the ocean beach as far north as Long Beach.

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to launch their frail canoes, and they again suffered all the discomforts of lack of food and the never ceasing rain. On December 7, however, they set out and entered what is now called Young's Bay. It was called by them Meriwether Bay from the Christian name of Captain Lewis. On the shores of this bay they established their permanent winter encampment. Upon the banks of a stream emptying into the bay, now known as the Lewis and Clark River, at an elevation of thirty feet above the highest tides, a stockade was erected, barracks were built and there the expedition spent the winter of 1805-1806 without serious mishap.[14]

Farther up the Lewis and Clark River where forage was abundant were many herds of elk; it was seven miles across the peninsula to the ocean beach and in that direction among the Clatsop plains were also deer and elk. Waterfowl were also plentiful and their indian friends kept them supplied with the nourishing wappato. What is now the popular resort of Seaside was visited on several occasions and it was there that a site was chosen for the manufacture of salt. The location of Lewis and Clark's salt cairn at Seaside is now an object of never-failing interest to visitors at that resort, and is the only permanent memorial of the winter which the expedition spent at the mouth of the Columbia. During an interval of sunny weather several members of the party made an interesting side trip southerly over Tillamook Head. It had been reported by the indians that a large whale had been stranded upon the beach just south of the head and that the natives were flocking there in order to obtain blubber and oil. On January 5, 1806, a party headed by Captain Clark made ready to set out on this journey when Sacajawea and her husband begged most earnestly to be allowed to accompany them. The journal says: "The poor woman stated very earnestly that she had traveled a long way with us to see the great water, yet she had never been down to the coast; and now that this monstrous fish was also to be seen, it seemed hard that she should not be permitted to see either the ocean or the whale." So reasonable a request could not be denied. They were therefore suffered to go with Captain Clark.[15] From the summit of Tillamook Head they saw the view which has delighted so many tourists since that day and of which the journal says: "Here one of the most delightful views in nature presented itself. Immediately in front is the ocean, breaking in fury on the coast from the rocks of Cape Disappointment as far as the eye can discern to the northwest, and against the highlands and irregular piles of rock which diversify the shore to the southeast. To this boisterous scene the Columbia with its tributary waters, widening into bays as it approaches the ocean, and studded on both sides with the Chinook and Clatsop villages, forms a charming contrast; while immediately beneath our feet are stretched the rich prairies, enlivened by three beautiful streams, which conducted the eye to small lakes at the foot of the hills. We stopped to enjoy the romantic prospect from this place, which we distinguished by the name of Clark's Point of View."

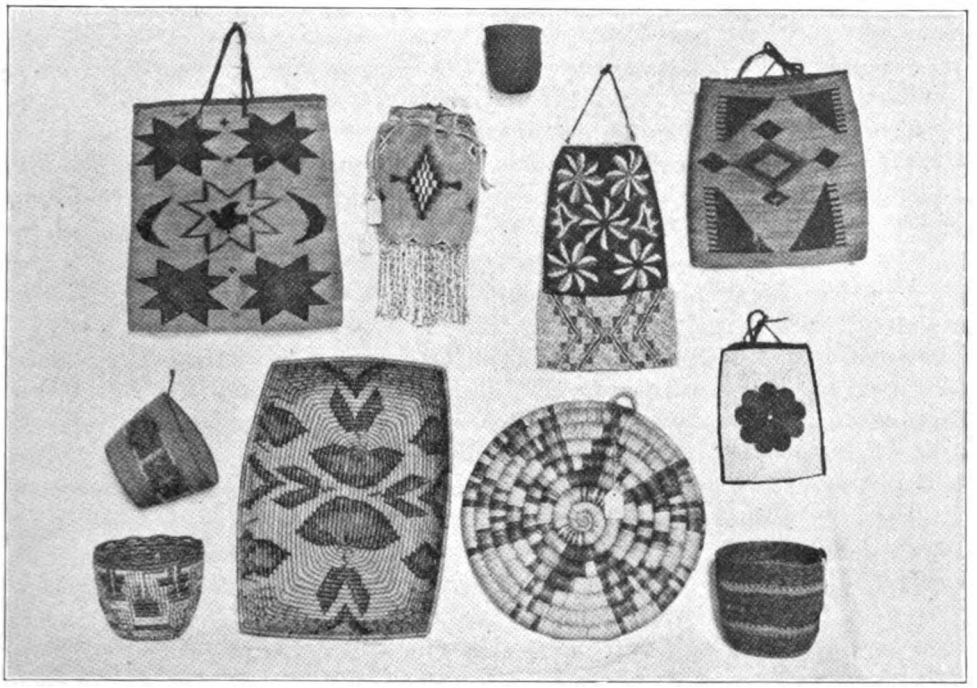
The journal then describes the finding of the whale. "The animal had

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[14] The ground plan of Fort Clatsop was shown in Scribner's Magazine, June, 1904, as found by Thwaites in Captain Clark's papers. It was located about two hundred yards from the river, and was built of logs, fifty feet square, with two small cabins and palisades, the whole forming an enclosure in which was the parade ground.

[15] Hosmer Edition, Vol. II, p. 112. The quotations from the journals in this chapter are from that volume unless otherwise noted.

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INDIAN BASKETS

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been placed between two Killamuck villages, and such had been their industry that there now remained nothing more than the skeleton which we found to be one hundred and five feet in length. Captain Clark then returned to the village of five huts on the creek to which he gave the name of Ecola, or Whale Creek." The journal constantly speaks of the disposition of the natives to pilfer, and also of their filthy habits.

It will be of interest to recount, by way of contrast, another visit of Captain Clark to the beach as illustrating the hospitality, amiability, culture and cleanliness of some of the other inhabitants at that time. It is recorded in the journal as follows: "Captain Clark was received with much attention. As soon as he entered clean mats were spread, and fish, berries and roots were placed before him on small platters made of rushes. After he had eaten, the men of the other houses came and smoked with him. They all appeared much neater in their persons and diet than indians generally are, and frequently washed their hands and faces, a ceremony by no means frequent elsewhere. * * * Towards evening it began to rain and blow very violently from the southwest, and Captain Clark therefore determined to remain during the night. When they thought his appetite had returned, an old woman presented him in a bowl made of a light-colored horn, a kind of sirup, pleasant to the taste, and made from a species of berry common in the country, about the size of a cherry, and called by the indians shelwell (salal); of these berries a bread is also prepared, which being boiled with roots forms a soup, which was served in neat wooden trenchers; and this with cockles was his repast."

The Clatsop indians, their neighbors during this winter, proved themselves friendly. This disposition was manifested in many ways but more especially by the fact that although the hunters of the expedition killed many elk and deer during the season, which animals were looked upon by the indians as their tribal property, nevertheless the Clatsops made no objection, neither did they demand any return. It is related that the life of one of the white men had been saved from intended robbery and murder by a Tillamook indian by the timely revelation of a woman of the Clatsop tribe. The chief of the Clatsops always maintained that he, through his influence, frustrated the design of the Klaskanies or Clatskanies, to attack the stockade of Lewis and Clark.

The Clatsops were peaceful and industrious, never engaging in war with their neighbors as far as the Americans could learn. They were mentally alert and far more cheerful than any of the interior tribes with whom the party had come in contact. These interior tribes were prone to sullenness and moroseness, a disposition that was likewise noticed in those met by Captain Clark on the lower Willamette on the return journey. The chief, Kobaiway or Coboway of the Clatsops, whose name the Americans incorrectly rendered as Comowool, was a particular favorite with all the party and showed his friendship for the white men in many ways. When the beginning of the return trip was made, the stockade and buildings were given to him.

The scribe of the party refers to the Clatsop indians in the following terms: "The Clatsops and other nations at the mouth of the Columbia have visited us with great freedom, and we have endeavored to cultivate their intimacy. * * * We found them inquisitive and loquacious, with understandings by no means deficient in acuteness and with very retentive memories and though fond of feasts, and generally cheerful, never gay. Everything they observe excites their attention and inquiries. * * * To all our inquiries they

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answer with great intelligence, and the conversation rarely slackens since there in a constant discussion of the events and trade and politics in the little but active circle of the Killamucks, Clatsops, Cathlamahs, Wahkiacums and Chinooks." As to the abstemiousness of these indians the journal says: "We have not observed any liquor of an intoxicating quality used among these or any indians west of the Rocky Mountains, the universal beverage being pure water." But they were excessively prone to the use of tobacco and were fond of gambling.

The winter had been an excessively rainy one even for this region noted for its precipitation, the journal mentioning only six clear days and but twelve on which rain did not fall. The men had suffered from rheumatism and influenza. By the month of March the game began to desert their usual feeding grounds for the hills and this rendered the task of procuring a sufficient food supply more difficult. It had been the intention of Lewis and Clark to remain in their encampment until April when it was expected that the trading ships would begin to arrive, but the considerations just mentioned induced them to break camp March 23, 1806, and start on their return journey.

Before leaving, several written documents were distributed among the more trustworthy of the natives and one was posted up in the fort, with the expectation that at least one of them might fall into the hands of the traders whose arrival by sea ere long was expected. The writings contained this language: "The object of this last 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 the way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the 14th day of November, 1805, and departed the 23rd day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States, by the same route by which they had come out."

Of these written lists and memoranda, which were left with the Clatsops, one copy did eventually reach the United States. In the summer of 1806, Captain Hill of the brig Lydia entered the Columbia to trade. A copy of the document quoted above, with a rough sketch or drawing of the outward route by which they intended to return home, was given by one of the natives to Captain Hill who took it with him on his voyage to Canton, whence it reached the United States. Another copy was shown to Alexander Henry by the Clatsop chief, Coniah, at Astoria, in May, 1814.[16]

The eastward journey of the Lewis and Clark expedition was as replete with interest as that to the coast but only those features of it can be described here which immediately relate to the Oregon Country. It was fraught with even more hardship than the westward journey. Upon leaving Fort Clatsop the party found their supply of merchandise suitable for use in trading with the indians very much depleted and they had to rely almost exclusively upon the prowess of the hunters for food, which at times was difficult to obtain. The voyage up the Columbia against the strong spring freshets seemed much longer than that down stream.

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[16] Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. II, p. 216. (Hosmer's Edition, 1902.) Henry-Thompson Journals (Coues Edition, 1897), Vol. II, p. 913.

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The most important event of the return journey as far as Oregon history is concerned was the discovery and partial exploration of the Willamette River. As already mentioned, this very considerable stream had not been observed on the voyage down the Columbia. This was because the boats had followed the north bank and because the islands at the mouth of the Willamette concealed its entrance from view. On the return journey again the party failed to observe it, but by mere chance while they were encamped at a point opposite the upper entrance of the Sandy River they were informed by indians from the country contiguous to the Willamette of the existence of this stream. It had been thought at first that the whole region on the left bank of the Columbia from the Cascades down was drained by the Sandy River but now it was learned that this stream was of minor importance and that some other river served this function. This news fired the leaders with the desire to investigate the accuracy of the report and it was decided that Captain Clark should turn back long enough to undertake this side trip.

The indians who conveyed this information visited the camp of the Americans and told them that they dwelt upon the banks of a large river which flowed into the Columbia not far below where they were then camped. Their tribe, they said, lived near a waterfall of considerable proportions, undoubtedly the Oregon City Falls. They made all this clear by drawing with a coal upon a skin a map of the region in question. It may be mentioned, that throughout the entire overland journey the indians everywhere seemed to be proficient in the art of map drawing. Captain Clark offered one of the indians a burning glass as an inducement to accompany him as guide upon his quest of the new river.

Setting out with six of his men and the indian guide in a large canoe Captain Clark proceeded along the south bank of the Columbia. He found a small village that he had not seen when descending or ascending the river, as it lay behind an island. He landed at another village that he had observed when going down the river in November previous, but now the grass houses, twenty-four in number, had disappeared and there was but one large double wooden house, which was still occupied. In this vicinity his curiosity was attracted to a number, perhaps a hundred, of canoes of very small size that were piled up or scattered in different directions in the woods, and he ascertained that these were the property of natives living in the vicinity of the Cascades who used them occasionally in getting the wappato at this place. The shallow lakes along the bottom land afforded an abundance of the edible roots of this plant, which constituted a staple article of diet and were even made use of by the local natives in trade for other articles procured from the tribes more distant. The roots were detached from the mud of the lake beds by the women, who were adept at getting them, and who often used their feet for the purpose when they could not get them with their hands; and the small canoes which would not sustain the weight of more than one person were principally used to hold the wappatos as they were gathered. Captain Clark entered one of the rooms of the large house and offered several articles to the natives in exchange for wappatos. He says they were sulky and refused to sell. His narrative which follows serves to show the ready resourcefulness of the man. He says in the Journal:

"I had a piece of port fire match in my pocket, off which I cut a piece one inch in length, and put it in the fire, and took out my pocket compass

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and set myself down on a mat on one side of the fire, and (also showed) a magnet which was on top of my ink-stand. The port fire caught and burned vehemently, which changed the color of the fire. With the magnet I turned the needle of the compass about very briskly, which astonished and alarmed these natives. And they laid several parcels of wappato at my feet and begged of me to take out the bad fire. To this I consented. At this moment the match being exhausted was of course extinguished, and I put up the magnet, &c. This measure alarmed them so much that the women and children took shelter in their beds, and behind the men, all this time a very old man was speaking with great vehemence, apparently imploring his god. I lit my pipe and gave them smoke and gave the women the full amount (value) of the roots which they had put at my feet. They appeared somewhat pacified and I left them and proceeded on."

Clark soon passed on down the Columbia, observing that what the expedition had called Image Canoe Island was in reality two islands. They are now jointly called Hayden's Island, and now the Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway's bridge and the Interstate bridge for vehicle and pedestrian travel between Portland and Vancouver rest their piers partly on them in crossing the Columbia River. At thirteen miles from the last indian village he found the mouth of the great tributary stream which he was seeking and he says:

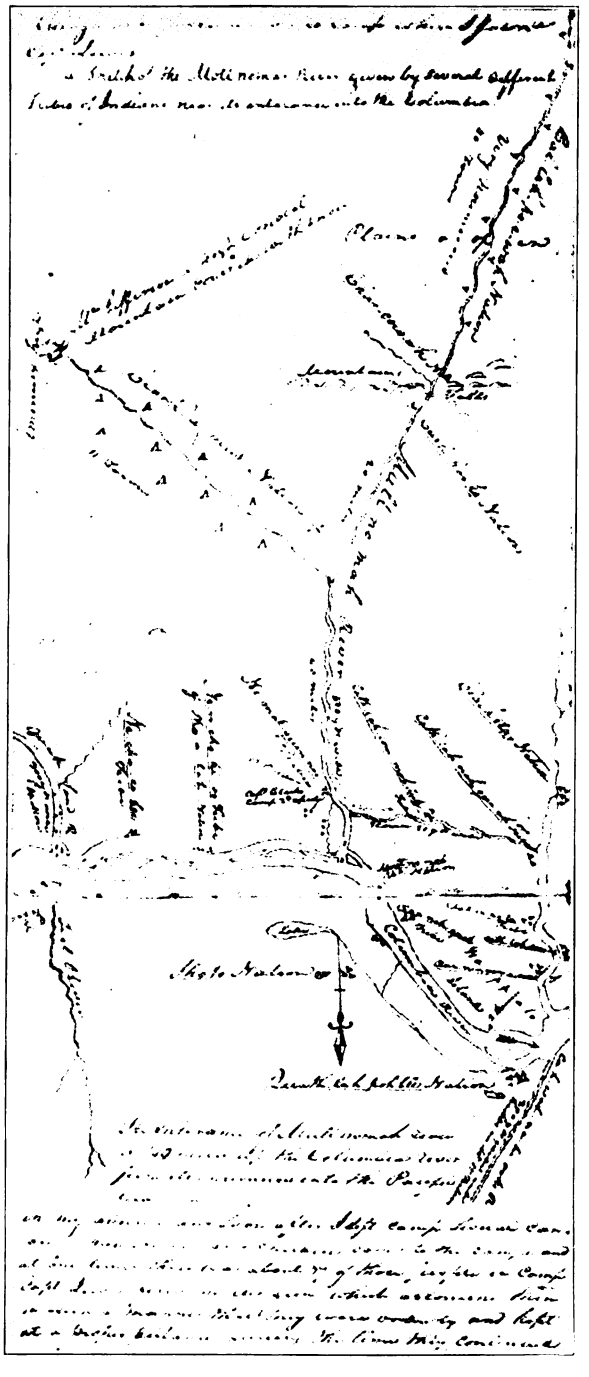
"I entered this river which the natives had informed us of, called Multnomah River, so called by the natives from a nation who reside on Wappato Island, a little below the entrance of this river."[17]

It was noted that it was one-fourth the size of the Columbia at this point and was 500 yards wide and sufficiently deep for a man-of-war or a ship of any burden and also that it had recently fallen eighteen inches from its greatest annual height. He saw and named Mount Jefferson, and could plainly see the three other great snow covered mountains, Mount Hood, Mount Adams and Mount St. Helens. In the Journal the spelling of Multnomah sometimes appears as Moltnomar, but the former spelling is used on the map made at this time, not only to designate the stream but also to indicate the location of the village of the "Multnomah Nations" on Wappato, or the modern Sauvie's Island. From the size of the stream it was surmised that it might head as far south as thirty-seven degrees north, in California, and it was believed to water the vast tract of country between the mountain ranges now known as the Cascades and the Coast Range. It is no doubt from the opinion thus formed by Captain Clark of the length of the river that the geographers' maps of the years following delineated this stream as of much greater length than subsequent investigation justified. On the map published in 1814, for example, that accompanied the first London edition of the Lewis and Clark Journals, the stream is shown as heading near Great Salt Lake in Utah, while other maps, some of them official maps of the United States, had its source in California.

Captain Clark spent the night of April 2, 1806, in a camp on the river. At ten miles from the mouth he stopped at a large house that was vacant at the time, on the east side of the river, where he intended to sleep, but he found the building so infested with fleas that it was decided to spend the

[17] Original Journals of Lewis and Clark, edited by Thwaites, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 238.

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SKETCH MAP, BY WILLIAM CLARK OF MULTNOMAH, OR AS IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED, WILLAMETTE RIVER

The top of the map is south. The island marked Wappato at the bottom is the present Sauvie's island. The Multnomah Nation or tribe is shown as located on that island near the mouth of the river which was given its name by Lewis and Clark.

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night in the open. Within this native dwelling he found that the indians had left many of their valuables such as canoes, mats, bowls and trenchers, "a proof indeed of the mutual respect for the property of each other, though we have had very conclusive evidence that the property of white men is not deemed equally sacred."

Early the next day, April 3, a point near the present City of Portland was reached. Just where this spot was is uncertain, but the best opinion seems to be that it is where Columbia University is now situated.[18] The following is Captain Clark's account of this part of his journey: "Early the next morning Captain Clark proceeded up the river, which during the night had fallen about five inches. At the distance of two miles he came to the center of a bend under the highlands on the right side, from which its course, as far as could be discerned, was to the east of southeast. At this place the Multnomah is 500 yards wide, and for half that distance across a cord of five fathoms would not reach the bottom. It appears to be washing away its banks, and has more sand bars and willow points than the Columbia. Its regular, gentle current, the depth, smoothness and uniformity with which it rolls its vast body of water, prove that its supplies are at once distant and regular; nor, judging from its appearance and courses, is it rash to believe that the Multnomah and its tributary streams water the vast extent of country between the western mountains and those of the sea coast, as far, perhaps, as the Gulf of California." On returning the same day to the camp at the mouth of the Sandy River a stop was again made at the villages, and at the one where his indian guide lived an old indian gave the names of the various tribes of the Willamette Valley and assisted Captain Clark in the preparation of a sketch map on which these tribes are marked. The map itself shows, however, that it was "given by several different tribes of indians," and doubtless was the result of much inquiry on his part. It is the first map on which the Multnomah or Willamette River is shown. The numerous tribes on Wappato Island and along the course of the river are named, but no tribe having the name Willamette is indicated, nor do the Journals reveal any knowledge on the part of Lewis and Clark of any tribe of that name.

The return trip of the expedition through the valley of the Columbia and over the Bitter Root Mountains was greatly assisted by the Nez Percés who again proved themselves to be faithful friends. It was at all times the policy of Lewis and Clark to cultivate the friendship of the indian nations through whose territory they passed and not only the Nez Percés were thus won over, but also the Mandans, Sioux, Shoshones, Walla Wallas, Wascos, Chinooks, Tillamooks and Clatsops. It is a noteworthy fact that in all the contacts of this expedition with the red men there was but one instance of the killing of an indian, and that seemed to be almost unavoidable. The incident is elsewhere referred to in this narrative. While in the Blackfeet country Lewis and three of his men having became separated from the rest of the party were attacked and their horses stolen. In order to recover their stolen horses which were at the time invaluable to them, and upon which, in fact, their very lives depended, it was necessary to kill two of the thieves.

To give full details of the long and arduous homeward journey would lead

[18] See however a different opinion, Lewis and Clark Original Journals, Thwaites, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 240, note.

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to no purpose here. September 20, 1806, settlers on the Missouri just above St. Louis were surprised to see passing down the river thirty ragged men with faces bronzed to the color of the indians. When they learned who the voyageurs were, the banks rang with cheers of welcome. On the 23rd the expedition landed quietly at St. Louis, and thus the most important exploring expedition ever undertaken by the United States Government was completed.

Captain Lewis was later appointed governor of Louisiana Territory. He died in Tennessee while en route to visit the capital city.[19] Clark was made a brigadier general of the Louisiana militia and indian agent for the territory. Later he became governor of Missouri. He died in 1838 at the age of sixty-nine.[20] Neither of these men received the recognition from their fellow countrymen that their services merited and it is doubtful if even at the present time the importance of their achievement is sufficiently appreciated.

Upon this arduous enterprise, day by day, careful and minute records were kept, as Jefferson had expressly directed. The leaders were to keep such journals and the men were also to be encouraged to make notes. Besides the journals and field notes kept by Lewis and Clark, four sergeants and at least one private, members of their party, kept journals. The originals of most of the Lewis and Clark records are preserved, but although Jefferson urged their early publication, they were not printed entire until a century after they were written, although important portions, more or less incorrect, were printed in various editions.

Of these famous journals the editor of the sumptuous complete reprint has said: "The pages of the journals are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving consideration that each of the two leaders felt for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis, officially the leader, in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move without the latter's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and

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[19] Jefferson had been anxious to have the journals printed as soon as possible. Arrangements were made with a Philadelphia firm for the publication of the work, and a prospectus was circulated asking subscriptions. Lewis was on his way on horseback from St. Louis to Washington and Philadelphia, where he was to edit the journals. He died at a settler's house where he stopped for the night some sixty miles from Nashville, Tenn., and a report that he had committed suicide was believed by Jefferson and generally accepted, but there is reason to believe he was murdered for money. See Thwaites, supra, and also in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 30.

[20] Gen. William Clark's appointment as superintendent of indian affairs and brigadier general for the Territory of Louisiana (1807) is thus commented upon by Dr. R. G. Thwaites: "In this dual part he was eminently successful. Governor Lewis had been succeeded in that office by Benjamin Howard, and the following year (1810) the name of the Territory was changed to Missouri. July 1, 1813, Clark was appointed by President Madison as Governor of Missouri Territory, being several times commissioned as such—in 1816, 1817, and 1820. In the last named year Missouri entered the Union, and Clark was a candidate for the first state governor, but was defeated in the election of Alexander McNair. In 1820 President Monroe appointed him to the newly created office of federal Superintendent of Indian Affairs; two years later he was commissioned Surveyor-General for the states of Illinois and Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas. He died at St. Louis, September 1, 1838, in his sixty-ninth year, and was given an impressive funeral, in which the entire community took part." (Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. I, Part I, p. liv, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites.)

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in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who wrote in brief pointed phrases, and, less educated of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically and occasionally slipped in his grammar—all these and more, are evident on every page, causing the reader deeply to admire the men and to follow them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and anticipation."[21]

[21] Rueben Gold Thwaites, in the introduction to the Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition, published by Dodd Mead & Company.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE WINSHIP AND ASTOR EXPEDITIONS

One of the purposes in sending out the Lewis and Clark expedition was to pave the way for the diversion of the fur trade to the United States.

Manuel Lisa, an indian trader, of St. Louis, seems to have been the first to take advantage of the information brought back by Lewis and Clark, for in the spring of 1807, he went by boat upon an adventurous and successful trading expedition up the Missouri and the Yellowstone to the mouth of Bighorn River, returning to St. Louis in the following spring. Of his expedition and his subsequent relations with Astor's overland expedition to Oregon, as well as the enterprise of the Missouri Fur Company in which he was interested, an account will be given in a subsequent chapter. In the same year two military escorts set out up the river, one under the command of Lieut. Joseph Kimball, and the other under Ensign Nathaniel Pryor, who had been a sergeant in the Lewis and Clark expedition. These escort parties set out together and some traders took advantage of the protection thus afforded and went up the river at the same time. Pryor's party was entrusted with the responsible duty of accompanying to his tribe, the Mandan Chief Shakaka, or Gros Blanc, Big White. This chief had been induced by Lewis and Clark to go to visit President Jefferson and was now returning to his people. The escort party under Lieutenant Kimball had a similar duty to perform with reference to a party of eighteen men and women and six children of the Sioux tribe, a deputation that had visited St. Louis. It will be convenient to consider these expeditions in more detail in the chapter relating to American Fur Trading and Mountain Men. None of these early expeditions reached the Oregon Country, but their penetration of the indian country along the Missouri and its tributaries was the beginning that led the way.

But it is to the enterprise of the North West Company, a Canadian company, and particularly to the adventurous David Thompson of that organization, that the earliest fixed establishments were set up west of the Rocky Mountains and upon the Columbia and its tributaries.[1] The first was called Kootenae House, built in 1807, at the outlet of the lakes that form the beginning of the great river. The site is near where Tobey Creek flows into the Columbia, a mile below Lake Windemere, in what is now East Kootenay district in British Columbia. This was followed by a temporary post set up in 1808-9 under Thompson's directions by his clerk, Finan McDonald, on the north bank of Kootenay River, just above Kootenay Falls. The site has been located and found nearly opposite the present Town of Libby, in Lincoln County, Montana. McDonald was joined here by James McMillan and the two traded with the indians during the winter of 1808-9, being the first commercial transactions of this kind within the Oregon Country.

[1] Captain Lewis in returning sent a preliminary report to Jefferson, from St. Louis in September, 1806, particularly describing the opportunities for the fur trade and indicating the probability that the North West Company would seek the Lower Columbia for the sake of the China market. (Thwaites, Original Journals, VII, p. 334.)

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The indefatigable Thompson again went east of the Rocky Mountains for trading goods, and on his return established still another post, known as Kullyspell House on Lake Pend d'Oreille, September 10, 1809. The location is near the present Town of Hope, Idaho, but no trace of it can now be found. This was followed again by Saleesh House, on the prairie known as Thompson's Prairie on the Clark's Fork River in Montana; and then, in 1810, he had another post established by Finan McDonald and Jaques Raphael Finley, or one of them, called Spokane House, at the junction of the Spokane (then called Skeetshow River), and Little Spokane River, where the indians were accustomed to come every summer to catch and dry their fish. This location is nine or ten miles northwest of the present City of Spokane. At all of these Canadian trading places active business with the indians was carried on with success.[2]

Then there was an unsuccessful attempt of the Winship brothers, of Boston, Massachusetts. This firm had long carried on a very lucrative trade with the coast of China and incidentally with the northwest coast of North America. They now conceived the idea of establishing a post on the banks of the Columbia River which they deemed essential for the successful prosecution of trade in that region as establishing a permanent base of supplies and for the cultivation of more cordial relations with the indian tribes. Accordingly it was decided to enlarge the scope of the company, send a ship to the Columbia, and then, proceeding some distance up that river, to find a suitable spot for the construction of a permanent post and there establish a settlement.

An old ship, the Albatross, was fitted out and placed under the command of Capt. Nathan Winship. This vessel sailed in July, 1809, and reached the Sandwich or Hawaiian islands the next April. There she took on a cargo consisting partly of live stock, and proceeded to the mouth of the Columbia River which was reached in May, 1810. Having crossed the bar safely she at once drew up the river, not without difficulty, following the tortuous north channel until she came to a point some forty-five miles from the mouth. There upon a beautiful and apparently fertile expanse of low land on the south bank, the expedition decided to establish the settlement. Work was immediately begun upon the fort and seeds were planted. Negligently disregarding the high water marks of the river, the adventurers failed to observe that the site chosen by them was subject to annual inundation, and soon the rise of the stream flooded their building site. A somewhat higher situation was then chosen and the logs which had been hewn and put in place were removed to the new location.

In the meantime the indians who had at first seemed friendly enough began to show signs of hostility, causing the members of the party great anxiety. Captain Winship deemed it wise to call their chief men into a conference on board the Albatross, and on this being arranged the natives expressed themselves quite freely, and it was learned that they were decidedly averse to having the American establishment at that particular point because they felt that such a settlement would interfere with their own trade with the indians further up the Columbia. It was clearly demonstrated to the businesslike Captain Win-

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[2] The fur trade in the Columbia River Basin prior to 1810, T. C. Elliott, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 241. Simon Fraser had established a trading station in 1805, called Fort McLeod, in latitude 55°, north, for the North West Company. This was at the time Lewis and Clark were at the mouth of the Columbia. Fort McLeod was on Lake McLeod. The next year he founded Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, and Fort Fraser on Fraser Lake. Further details as to the North West Company's activities are given in Chapter XVIII, infra.

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ship that to establish the post would incur the hostility of all the indians of that region and, furthermore, that without their friendship no successful trade could be carried on. He decided therefore to give up his undertaking. The other members of the party were disappointed at this outcome. They expressed themselves very bitterly toward the indians, and made threats, but fortunately did not have an opportunity to carry these into execution. And so the Albatross sailed out of the Columbia River and returned to Boston, having accomplished nothing. The Winship brothers afterward made some plans to renew their attempt and to send a second ship to the Columbia, but on hearing of the proposed Astor expedition which was on a much more elaborate scale than any that they could undertake, they finally gave up the purpose.[3] The Astor plan was to send out one party by ship and another by the overland route.

We come, then, chronologically, to the best known of this series of American failures, that of the great merchant prince John Jacob Astor. He was at this time in the noonday of his powers conducting a great business with headquarters in New York City. Astor was born in Germany in the small town of Waldorf. When but a boy in years, working in his father's butcher shop, he ran away to London, where he set himself up in business, meeting with rather indifferent success. Shortly after the War of the American Revolution, however, having heard that an older brother had gone to America, he decided that the United States would offer him a more lucrative field for his ventures and he took a small stock of goods and sailed for Baltimore. Here a chance suggestion—which was to go to New York and to exchange his goods for furs, influenced his life. This he did, and then he took his furs to the London market where he sold them at good profit. This successful venture was the beginning of what grew into a great business. He soon decided that not Canada, but the United States was the logical center for this trade and he planned to make New York rather than Montreal the great continental fur market. His operations gradually extended, and he had already made a great fortune when he undertook to exploit the Pacific Northwest. A large portion of the fur-bearing regions lay within the boundaries of the United States, especially if the Pacific Northwest were included, and at that time the Americans had at least as good a claim to this region as the British. Astor realized that the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were working to disadvantage in sending men and supplies overland toward the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, and then drawing back to Montreal and Hudson Bay the furs of the West, and that a more natural plan would be to bring the traffic to the mouth of the Columbia where a main post could be established, using the river as a route to and from the mountain region. On this coast the British traders were handicapped because of the fact already mentioned that the China trade was still the monopoly of the British East India Company, thus excluding the independents. The Russians, it is true, had established themselves on the coast, but it would not be difficult to maintain trade relations with them, and as a matter of fact, such relations had already been clandestinely established.[4] Astor

[3] They traded in the Sandwich or Hawaiian islands for several years.

[4] "In the spring of 1808 the Russian government opened a correspondence with the government of the United States in relation to what Russia was pleased to term the illicit traffic of American traders with the natives inhabiting Russian territories. It appeared in the course of the correspondence that Russia claimed the coast at this time as far south as the Columbia River. The right to make settlements, or at least to establish trading posts,

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JOHN JACOB ASTOR
(From oil painting)

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had also conceived the scheme of obtaining possession of some island in the Pacific which would become the emporium of a great mid-ocean traffic and thus constitute the focal point to all this vast ramification of world-wide trade. Moreover, in point of time and distance, New York had the decided advantage over any of the Canadian trade centers as a point of departure for the trading ships. Astor would have the additional advantages of an already well established Chinese trade. The United States was in control of the route to the West by way of the Missouri and thence over the Rockies and this route Astor planned to make use of as an auxiliary to that by sea. His plan was to establish a chain of posts similar to those of the Hudson's Bay Company in the north and thus keep open a line of communication across the continent, using this line for more rapid communication while he sent his heavier freight by the water route. He believed that by these means he might confine the operations of his Canadian rivals to the region adjacent to Hudson Bay and draw away to the United States the great bulk of this lucrative business.

The keynote of the whole scheme was the establishment of a Pacific coast emporium at the mouth of the Columbia River which he hoped would some day occupy the same position on the Pacific coast that New York did on the Atlantic. He seems to have envisaged the ultimate establishment upon the Pacific coast of a great American state and to have anticipated the extinction of the fur trade which would necessarily follow the advance of civilization. Regarding this possibility, Jefferson wrote to Astor in 1812, after difficulties arose to interfere with the success of the enterprise: "I considered as a great public acquisition the commencement of a settlement on that point of the western coast of America, and looked forward with great gratification to the time when its descendants should have spread themselves through the whole length of that coast, covering it with free, independent Americans, unconnected with us except by the ties of blood and interest and enjoying like us the rights of self-government." Jefferson, and perhaps Astor also, seems to have had in mind a separate, although friendly, state on the coast.[5]

As the result of all the intricate and carefully wrought plans of John Jacob Astor we have left on the Pacific coast little but the one name "Astoria," but in spite of the apparent failure, other men followed undaunted in the footsteps of the merchant prince, and Astor's expeditions had profound influence

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it seems she did not confine even to this southern limit, for in 1816 a Russian post was established as far south as latitude 38 degrees in Northern California. In this later and more aggressive policy of extending her claims southward Russia is thought to have been influenced by the publication in Paris in 1808 of Humboldt's 'Political Essay on New Spain' in which such a destiny for Russia had been hinted at. However this may have been, it is certain that the accounts of Humboldt's travels were eagerly read by the Russian emperor, and an increased boldness and aggressiveness are observable in Russian policy after the publication of this work." Joseph R. Wilson, "The Oregon Question." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. I, p. 128.) Before Astor launched his expedition to Oregon he took the precaution to get permission from the Russian government to trade with their posts in Alaska.

[5] Jefferson, Writings, Vol. XI, p. 244; see also Albert Gallatin's statement of the "full approbation and best wishes" for success given by the government to Astor's project. (Letter to John Jacob Astor in Appendix to Irving's Astoria, p. 379.) Frederick V. Holman suggests that if President Madison had had the foresight, political sagacity and courage of Jefferson, the present boundary of the Pacific Northwest would probably be much farther north, as the protection of Astor's settlement would have insured American rights. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 209.)

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upon the history of Oregon. His company was called the Pacific Fur Company, and was organized by himself and four others, the latter representing themselves and such others as might become associated. It was modeled rather closely after the great Canadian trading companies. Astor himself was the real head of the company, holding fifty shares of the stock, and the remaining fifty shares to be divided among the associates or partners as they were called. Astor was to have the entire control at all times in his own hands. He was to furnish goods, vessels, arms and ammunition, but was not to be required to advance more than the sum of $400,000.00 for this purpose. He was also to bear all losses. He chose his men principally from the North West Company as that was the only available source of supply for experienced help. There seems to have been an almost feudal gradation of partners, clerks, mechanics and voyageurs, in the descending scale indicated. All beneath the grade of partner were hired at what now seems almost nothing per year, but as if to compensate for their small pecuniary remuneration there was held out to them all the hope of rising to a higher position in the employ of the company, as a reward for faithful service. The partners were mostly of highland Scotch extraction. The clerks were either Scotch or French-Canadian. The voyageurs were French-Canadians or half-breeds. It was the intention of Astor eventually to absorb the North West Company and to make it a component part of his own; in fact, overtures were made by him but were rejected by the Northwesters, who at that time were planning a similar consolidation with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although the personnel of the force to be sent out was largely of foreign extraction, the supervision was strictly American. The man chosen to command the ship which would take the party to the Pacific coast was an American naval officer who had distinguished himself in the war with the Barbary pirates. He was a lieutenant in the navy on leave of absence, and it may be, as sometimes asserted, that he was loaned by the United States Government for the purpose because it was deemed good policy to give to the expedition a quasi-governmental character in view of the possibility of controversy with Russia or with Great Britain. Moreover Astor required that all his employes who were of alien birth take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government before setting out. This they did, but two of the Scotch partners went straightway to the British minister at New York and told him as much of Astor's plans as they knew, and from him they had assurance that they were not in danger of getting into difficulties with the British government by joining the enterprise.

As finally constituted the company consisted of the following partners in addition to Astor himself: Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, Alexander McKay and David Stuart, and his nephew Robert Stuart, all Scotchmen, and also Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, who was to be agent at the principal establishment on the northwest coast for a period of five years. Hunt was later chosen to lead the overland party. Alexander McKay was deemed a specially valuable acquisition, as he had been with Sir Alexander Mackenzie in the two enterprising expeditions to the northwest coast of America in 1789 and 1793. The clerks were, Gabriel Franchere, Alexander Ross, William Matthews, James Lefevre, Russell Farnham, Thomas McKay, Donald McGillis, Ovide de Montigny, Francis B. Pillet, Donald McKennan and William Wallace. The mechanics were Stephen Weekes, armorer; William Cannon, millwright; the three Lepen-

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sees and the two Bellaux, Jacques La Fontaine, Benjamin Roussel, Michel La Framboise and Giles Le Clerc. Besides these persons, the ship that was provided for the party that was to go by sea, carried a crew of thirty-one men.

A more heterogeneous assortment of men or one requiring more skill to command, it would be difficult to imagine. Washington Irving, who was a friendly critic of Astor's undertaking, calls them "a variegated band of adventurers." And yet the man chosen to command the ship was perhaps as unfitted by temperament and qualities of leadership as any that could have been found. Capt. Jonathan Thorn was his name, and he had earned an excellent reputation as a naval officer, but as the commander of this polyglot assortment of Scotch Highlanders, gentlemen's sons just out of school, and rough Canadian voyageurs, he proved himself to be a complete failure. He was honest, but suspicious of the motives of others, and was a morose martinet. His selection proved unfortunate for himself and all others concerned.

The vessel destined to take the expedition around the Horn to the Pacific coast was the Tonquin, a ship of 290 tons burden, carrying ten guns. She sailed from New York on September 8, 1810, convoyed for some distance by the old United States frigate, Constitution, because it was feared that she would be searched by a British war ship for the purpose of the impressment of the British and Canadians on board. No sooner had the Constitution departed and the Tonquin was left to travel alone the long and tedious voyage, than Captain Thorn began to show his domineering character. He insisted upon acting as though he were in command of a man-of-war, tried to enforce petty and irritating discipline, and even insisted on treating the partners as though they were common seamen.

An incident which occurred at the Falkland Islands, where it was necessary to land for the purpose of renewing their supply of fresh water, well illustrates the utter unfitness of Thorn to command such an expedition. He had made repeated threats to leave some of the members of the party behind for alleged breaches of his strict orders. He now actually tried to carry his threat into execution. Two of the partners had been hunting, and failing to notice his signal for the men to return to the ship were not at the landing on time, whereupon Thorn hoisted anchor and set out without them. Hurrying back to the appointed place they were frantic at seeing their plight, and seizing a small boat rowed for dear life after the ship. Franchere says that the men on board were extremely indignant at Thorn for this unwarranted procedure and that young Stuart drew a gun and threatened Thorn with death if he did not bring the ship around, and take the partners on board. Thorn, in writing to Astor afterward, indicated that he really intended to desert them. The wind fortunately dropping just at that time allowed the men to overtake the Tonquin and get on board.

Thorn frequently took occasion to criticise in his letters and reports the conduct of the clerks and partners. On one occasion he wrote: "They were determined to have it said that they had been in Africa, and therefore insisted on my stopping at the Cape de Verdes. Next they said the ship must stop on the coast of Patagonia, for they must see the large and uncommon inhabitants of that place. Then they must go to the island where Robinson Crusoe had so long lived. And lastly they were determined to see the handsome inhabitants of Easter Island." All of which shows that Thorn was quite devoid of a sense of humor. Of the really wise diplomacy of the partners in

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their dealings with the Hawaiians, Captain Thorn wrote: "It would be difficult to imagine the frantic gambols that are daily played off here; sometimes dressed in red coats, and otherwise very fantastically, and collecting a number of ignorant natives around them, and telling them that they are the great *earis* of the Northwest, and making arrangements for sending three or four vessels yearly to them from the coast with spars, etc.; while those very natives cannot furnish even a hog to the ship. Then dressing in Highland plaids and kilts, and making similar arrangements, with presents of rum, wine or anything that is at hand. Then taking a number of clerks and men on shore to the very spot on which Captain Cook was killed, and each fetching off a piece of the rock or tree that was touched by the shot. Then sitting down with some white man or some native who can be a little understood, and collecting the history of those islands, of Tahmaahmaah's war, the curiosities of the islands, etc., preparatory to the histories of their voyages; and the collection is indeed ridiculously contemptible. To enumerate the thousand instances of ignorance, filth, etc., or to particularize all the frantic gambols that are daily practiced would require volumes."[6]

In this criticism Thorn shows not only his prejudice, but his ignorance. King Kameahmeah had through his own abilities risen to his commanding position, and far from being the untutored savage that the American captain would have him appear he had conducted himself as king most cleverly and wisely. He had acquired a fleet of twenty schooners with which he traded not only with the nearby islands but even as far as Canton. There he had found harbor tolls, and he had adopted this annoying usage for his own ports. It was to secure freedom from these dues, as well as to obtain the king's promise of supplies for the Tonquin, that the proposed arrangements so much ridiculed by Thorn were discussed by the partners. Moreover the islands' supply of hogs was a monopoly of the king and it required diplomacy to outfit the Astor ship with these and other supplies. McDougal, who had conducted the negotiations with the Hawaiians, was a man skilled in dealing with inferior peoples; he was furthermore Astor's personal representative in all such matters and it was not Thorn's part to criticise him or interfere with any arrangement he might endeavor to make. But he did interfere, and made himself as disagreeable as possible; in fact the captain's conduct from this time on seems to be tinged with a shade of insanity.

Upon leaving the Hawaiian Islands he left one of his crew marooned there for some infraction of discipline. The clerk, Franchere, who was busy with the business of seeing that the water casks were properly filled, was nearly left behind also. It can be well imagined that the voyage from the islands to the Oregon coast was not a pleasant one. Thorn's ill temper progressively increased, and the cold and the inclemency of the weather in the more northerly clime contrasted with what had been experienced in the tropics. Arriving off the Columbia bar March 22, 1811, Thorn found the weather conditions very unfavorable; and it is due largely to his experiences here as subsequently related by the historian, Irving, that the Columbia River entrance thus early gained an unfavorable reputation. Whatever bad opinion of it had been expressed by Vancouver in his narrative now was doubly confirmed.

A skillful pilot upon seeing the unfavorable conditions on the bar and being

[6] Irving's Astoria, p. 63. The quotations in this chapter are from that source.

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unfamiliar with the channel would have stood off and awaited more favorable weather before attempting an entrance. Instead of pursuing this course, Captain Thorn sailed in toward the breakers and, like Vancouver on a similar occasion, ordered a whaleboat to be launched and to sound a channel. The boat was put in charge of the first mate, Mr. Fox, with the assistance of John Martin, an old seaman, and several of the voyageurs who were not accustomed to rough weather conditions in such a place. Fox protested against the folly of this proceeding, but was answered by taunts of cowardice by the captain, and after seeking sympathy of the partners he set out with protests and a feeling that he was going to certain death. The whaleboat was soon engulfed and its occupants were never seen again.

The Tonquin kept her position near the bar till nightfall and then stood off shore and in the morning it was seen that she had drifted dangerously near the north shore. The pinnace manned by two of the partners, David Stuart and McKay, was then sent out in order to find if possible some trace of the victims of the previous day, but they met with no success and returned to the ship. A more favorable wind then arose and another attempt was made to cross the bar. When the Tonquin was nearing the unbroken chain of breakers the pinnace was again launched, this time with Mumford, the second mate, in charge. He was unable to accomplish his purpose and returned to the ship with great difficulty. Aiken, an able seaman, was then put in charge of the pinnace, and still another attempt was made to sound the channel. Aiken was accompanied by John Coles, the sailmaker, Stephen Weekes, the armorer, and two kanakas who had been shipped at the Hawaiian Islands. The plan was for the pinnace to precede the ship and to make soundings while the latter followed slowly. This was an entirely unnecessary proceeding, and very hazardous under existing conditions, seeing which the captain gave the signal for the boat to return, but when it was within pistol shot of the Tonquin the strong ebb tide caught it and carried it into the breakers and out of sight. Just at that moment the ship herself was entering the breakers and it was impossible for any of her horror stricken crew to render aid. The vessel passed through in safety and the next morning two of the men, Weekes, the armorer, and one of the Hawaiians, were found alive upon the north shore. They had managed to work their way through the surf to the beach in the pinnace, having righted it when it capsized on the bar. Aiken and Coles were not seen after, and the other Hawaiian died before reaching land. As Washington Irving concludes his account of this affair, "Thus eight men were lost on the first approach to the coast, a commencement that cast a gloom over the spirits of the whole party, and was regarded by some of the superstitious as an omen that boded no good to the enterprise." The Tonquin had come to a rather unsafe anchorage within the estuary, but a little later managed to work into the shelter of Baker's Bay on the north shore.

The loss of eight men was but a beginning, for a worse catastrophe was to follow, and Captain Thorn himself lost his life through his obstinacy and mismanagement. The first day in the Oregon Country closed with a pathetic scene thus described by Washington Irving:

"Toward night the Sandwich Islanders went on shore to bury the body of their unfortunate countryman who had perished in the boat. On arriving at the place where it had been left they dug a grave in the sand in which they deposited the corpse, with a biscuit under one of his arms, some lard under

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the chin, and a small quantity of tobacco, as provisions for its journey in the land of spirits. Having covered the body with sand and flints, they knelt along the grave in a double row, with their faces turned to the east, while one who officiated as a priest sprinkled them with water from a hat. In so doing he recited a kind of prayer or invocation, to which at intervals the others made responses. Such were the simple rites performed by these poor savages at the grave of their comrade on the shores of a strange land."

The settlement at Astoria was begun at once, while in the meantime the overland party was making a toilsome way across the continent. The fortunes, or rather the misfortunes of the two parties will be described.

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CHAPTER XVIII

ASTORIA

The story of the first settlement in the Oregon Country is full of romantic interest. Astoria will always have a prestige as the first and oldest town, but besides this the rights asserted by the United States to the Oregon Country, and which became for many years the subject of a great diplomatic struggle with Great Britain, depended in no slight degree upon the foothold gained here. If the possession when taken had continued without interruption, and especially without voluntary surrender, the problem of sovereignty of the country would have been greatly simplified. But Astor's plans were frustrated, and his fur trading post at the mouth of the Columbia was turned over to a rival British company almost immediately after it was set up.

The experiences of those who built the fort were at first agreeable enough. No sooner had the Tonquin come to a safe anchorage within the shelter of Baker's Bay than McDougal undertook a systematic exploration of the land adjacent to the mouth of the river in search of the spot most advantageous for the establishment of the projected post. He finally settled upon a place midway between Tongue Point and Point George as best suited to a permanent establishment. In this choice he showed excellent judgment, for the location was sheltered from the force of the southwesterly gales of winter by the hills, heavily forest-clad, which rose in its rear, and moreover it was situated in a bight of the river, and so was less subject to the boisterous waves that at times lashed the more exposed shore. It seemed also a convenient place for trading purposes.

The weather at the time of this reconnaissance was delightful. The banks of the river were vividly green with the verdure of spring, multicolored flowers pleased the eye, and the birds were singing gaily. The natives, too, who swarmed in their canoes around the ship seemed friendly enough. Old Chief Concomly, the friend of Lewis and Clark, and much depended upon, seemed well pleased to have the Bostons locate here. This friendly chief is described as "the richest and most powerful on the river; he is a short, elderly man, blind of one eye; he has three wives, and many children. His eldest son, Casacas, is a strong, well-made man, about five feet six inches high; he succeeds his father in the government of the Chinooks; he is no friend to white men; he styles himself Prince of Wales. Selechel is the next son; styles himself Duke of York; he is a small man, and well disposed toward the whites." Besides the sons there were some handsome daughters.

The first steps in developing the establishment at Astoria seemed slow, especially to Captain Thorn. After the site for the fort had been selected, the Tonquin was brought to anchor nearby and the work of unloading the supplies

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was begun. Captain Thorn accomplished this task in record time as he was in a great hurry to get rid of his unwelcome passengers and be on his way. But he was much irritated at what he thought was the unnecessary delay on shore. On June first he was reported ready to sail, and on the fifth the Tonquin passed out over the bar without accident, and this was the last seen of him or his ship.

The weather proved so fine that rapid progress was made in the construction of the fort, and ground was cleared for the planting of a garden. The spot chosen was named Astoria in honor of Mr. Astor. But here we must leave for the time being the members of this first American settlement on the Pacific coast to their not uncongenial labors, while we follow the career of the Tonquin to its tragic conclusion.

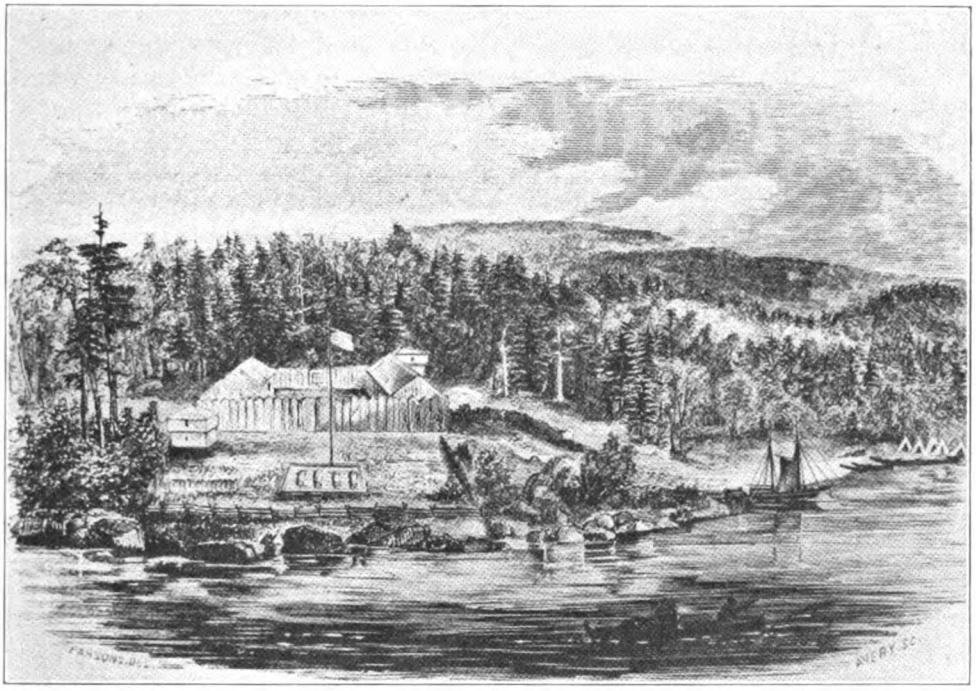
Upon passing out of the Columbia the Tonquin proceeded northward for the purpose of trading with the natives. A native was picked up who had learned some English from contact with other ships. The commodious harbor of Clayoquot was reached on the western shore of Vancouver Island. As to the details of the disaster that happened to the ship and her crew while in this port there is much uncertainty, but of one thing we may be sure, and that is that the tragedy was due to the obstinacy, inexperience and folly of Captain Thorn. The Astoria men set down in their diaries the story as they heard it. The indian interpreter who went with the ship was the only survivor, and through him the indians along the coast heard of the tragedy soon after it happened. Rumors of it soon reached Astoria and the interpreter's story was obtained, but the exact facts will never be known.

As soon as the ship had cast anchor the natives swarmed about in great numbers. One of the partners, McKay, who accompanied Thorn on this voyage, protested against allowing them so near, or allowing many of them at one time to come on board, this being contrary to instructions and contrary to safe practice. But when McKay was ashore with the interpreter one day, Thorn allowed large numbers of the indians to come aboard to trade, and he brought out bales of goods for display. He soon got into a state of bad temper, being unable to understand or to make himself understood. Then he refused to trade at all. His anger was especially aroused by a chief who followed him about the deck thrusting an otter skin in his face. The indians became more and more insolent, and the harassed and short-tempered captain could restrain himself no longer, and thought he would show them that he was master upon his own ship. The story is that he seized the chief and his pelt, striking and pushing the chief from the deck, and driving the indians to their canoes.

Captain Thorn seems to have taken the protests and warnings of McKay and the interpreter, on their return to the ship, with all the contempt that he usually displayed toward the advice and suggestions of others. He cared nothing for the savages. What could they do against an armed ship? He refused to take any precautions and refused to depart as he was urged to do. The indians, however, although the whole tribe deeply resented the insult, were crafty enough to pretend otherwise, and to wait until they could strike an effective blow.

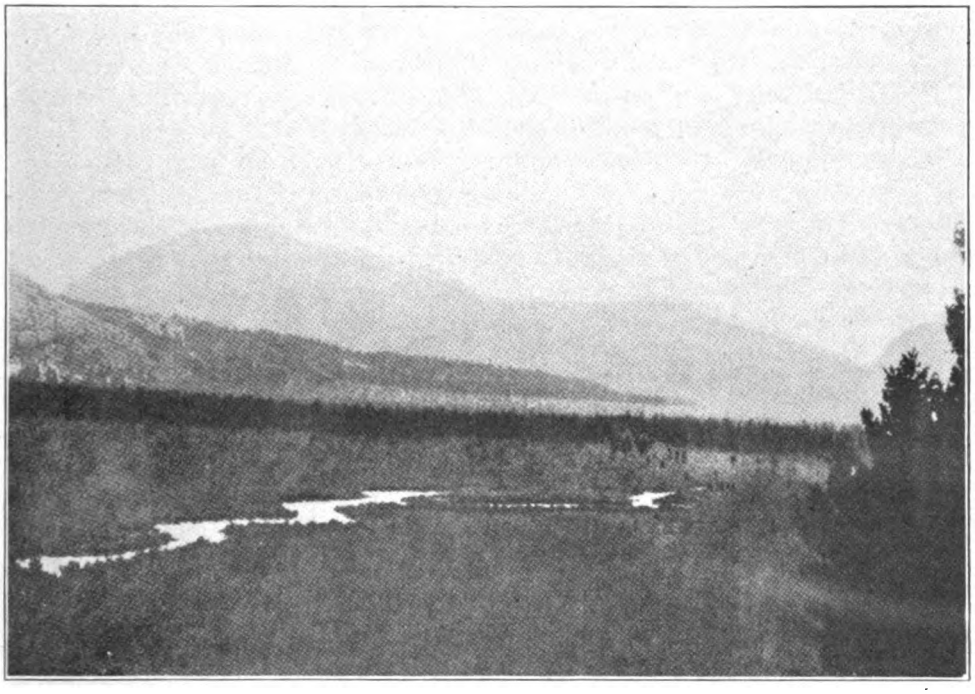
Early one morning, before Thorn was on deck and while the most of the crew were still asleep, the indians in small numbers began to come on board. They made signs of friendship and seemed to be unarmed. As the numbers increased the officer of the deck became anxious and sent for the captain. When Thorn came on deck he affected to see no cause for alarm, and rejected McKay's

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(From Franchere's Narrative)

FORT ASTORIA IN 1813



THE SOURCE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER—VIEW LOOKING ACROSS THE PORTAGE TO KOOTENAY RIVER

From Oregon Historical Quarterly (Reproduction of a photograph taken by H. Reis and T. C. Elliott)

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urgent requests that the ship leave the harbor as quickly as possible. The trade became active, the indians appearing inoffensive, although they had left the squaws in the canoes. They seemed to prefer to take knives for their peltries, and when they got blankets or other merchandise tossed these to the canoes, at the same time concealing the knives about their persons. As the indians overwhelmed the decks and far outnumbered the whites, even Captain Thorn began to see that there was danger, and at last he gave orders to unfurl the sails and to hoist the anchor. The indians were so dispersed about the deck that every white man was surrounded. Suddenly by preconcerted signal there was a wild yell and the indians began the murderous attack with their knives upon their unarmed victims and the unequal fight was soon over. Captain Thorn defended himself with powerful strength, and though he had but a clasp knife, he killed more than one of his assailants before he was overpowered by superior numbers. McKay was stabbed and thrown overboard, where the women in the canoes finished him. The interpreter leaped into the sea and was taken up by one of the canoes and was afterward treated with kindness. Lewis, the clerk, was badly hurt but managed to get to the cabin.

In the meantime seven sailors who were in the rigging when the assault began now tried to get down and to get into the hold. Three were killed, but four succeeded in joining Lewis in the cabin. These barricaded themselves and from this place of vantage they poured a fusillade of shots among the murderous savages until they drove them to their canoes and forced them to abandon the ship. When night fell the indians had retreated but the men on board were too few in number to navigate the ship. The four who were unhurt decided that they would take a small boat and put out to sea with the hope of reaching the Columbia River, while the fifth, who was perhaps unable to go because of his injuries, planned to sell his life as dearly as possible.

He is supposed to have prepared to blow up the ship. In the morning when the indians came they saw but one white man on board. He appeared to be badly wounded, but made friendly signals. They approached cautiously and on venturing on board saw no one, as he had gone below. They were soon followed by others, and it was not long before the ship was surrounded by canoes and the decks were swarming with indians. Bales of blankets and merchandise, with the furs brought on board the day before, were scattered about, and the ship itself was a rich prize.

But the white man's hour of revenge was at hand. Suddenly, at the very height of their triumph, a terrible explosion such as they had never known before, blew up the decks and split the ship apart. The Tonquin was a mass of wreckage, and the bay was strewn with bodies of the dead. The tribe lost over a hundred warriors and chiefs, and of the squaws left in the canoes few escaped the disaster. The day of mourning was there, and it may be supposed that few families of the tribe entirely escaped the havoc.

The four sailors who had attempted to get out of the bay with the boat were soon caught, and they suffered the terrible fate of victims of indian cruelty. They had found it impossible to stem the tide and concealing themselves as best they could at the shore, were asleep when they were discovered, No word from them ever reached their friends, but indian rumor reported that they were made a sacrifice after prolonged torture. Such rumors first reached the Astorians through indians from the Strait of Juan de Fuca, but later the interpreter returned to the Columbia River with more particulars, and it was reported that

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he escaped the fate of the others by being on shore when the ship was blown up.[1]

Terrible as this disaster was it benefited the whites in one way. The indians of the Nootka district thereafter associated in some way the death of their fellows with the evil spirit which they imagined existed in the interior of the Boston men's ships, and thereafter they had a wholesome dread of entering any portion save the deck, and this fear saved the Americans much annoyance.

The loss of the Tonquin and the massacre of its crew was due primarily to the folly of Captain Thorn, and yet he was not the only incompetent in the expedition; we see the leader of the forces at Astoria committing another folly which in its consequences was of far more serious import. When McDougal heard of the disaster to the company's ship he feared that the indians in the neighborhood of the fort might be emboldened by the success of the natives in the north and by the apparent weakness of the forces stationed at Astoria, to attack that post. Accordingly in order to inspire fear in them he summoned a conference of the chief men of the surrounding country and showed them a small vial in which he said was contained a very powerful "medicine" which if released would cause an epidemic of smallpox to break out among the natives. On account of their willing faith in the efficacy of medicine in general the indians readily believed, and earnestly begged McDougal not to remove the cork from the bottle. This he promised on condition that they would always remain faithful to the whites. The whole procedure was unnecessary and was foolish, as the Chinooks and Clatsops were at that time, and had always been, very friendly to the whites; and as has been related, Chief Concomly had on more than one occasion given evidence of his good will. The evil result of this deception was that whenever thereafter there was an outbreak of smallpox, measles or malaria the indians immediately attributed it to the evil medicine of the whites and sought revenge against them on that account.

While the colony at Astoria was busy with planting their garden seeds and erecting their buildings and stockade of logs, the Northwesters were losing no time in perfecting their rival plans. These plans may have been hastened to some extent by the news of the extensive designs of Astor, but for several years the North West Company had been striving to extend its operations westward and along the course of the Columbia River to the sea. Some of its men had already begun trading on the Fraser[2] and the Upper Columbia, although as to the latter stream its roundabout route to the Pacific was not then known.

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[1] The accounts of the Tonquin disaster are derived from the Missouri Gazette, May 15, 1813, reprinted by Chittenden in his History of the American Fur Trade, and from the narratives of Ross and Franchere. There is some variation, but they agree in the main, and all seem to depend upon the story of the indian interpreter. Franchere says the loss to the expedition of Alexander McKay was irreparable, and the company would have been dissolved in consequence by the remaining partners but for the arrival of the energetic Mr. Hunt. The interpreter is said to have been an indian from Gray's Harbor, a place where Captain Gray had difficulties with the natives upon his discovery of the bay. And the indians at Clayoquot had been found treacherous on his wintering at that place. (Boit's Journal, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 1.) Just where the indian from Gray's Harbor had gained a knowledge of English sufficient to enable him to act as interpreter is not explained in any of the narratives.

[2] The North West Company sent its first expedition to establish trading posts on the Tacoutche-Tesse in 1805. Some of these were located in 1806. Fraser's exploration of that river was in 1808, and he called the region New Caledonia, and the river was afterward known as the Fraser River. Thompson, as already stated, had established Kootenae House, at Tobey Creek, below Lake Windermere on the Columbia in 1807. (See Chapter XVII, supra, and T. C. Elliott, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 242.)

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In the summer of 1810 the North West Company's partners at Montreal made definite plans to send David Thompson to the Columbia, having decided that they would not accept Mr. Astor's proposal to unite with him. Thompson met his partners at Rainy Lakes, near Lake Superior, in July of that year, and on the 6th of September was on the head waters of the Saskatchewan ready to cross the divide to return to the west. The Piegan indians being hostile at this time he could not follow the route over the range that had been used in previous years. Owing to lack of food, extreme cold weather and dissatisfaction among his men he had a hard time getting through on a new route, and so did not succeed in accomplishing more than to reach a permanent camp on the upper Columbia at Canoe River in January, where he remained until spring. This was at the most northerly bend of the Columbia, where the trail from Athabaska Pass comes in, and in April he took a canoe and went up the Columbia to its source. Later he visited Spokane House, a trading post already established by the Northwesters under his direction at the junction of the Little Spokane and the main Spokane River, and then from the portage on the Columbia at the place now known as Kettle Falls, Idaho, where he built a cedar canoe for the purpose, he began a descent of the river on July 3, 1811. He kept elaborate journals of his travels always, and the journal of this trip opens with the title "Voyage to the mouth of the Columbia, By the Grace of God, By D. Thompson and seven men on the part of the N. W. Company." He arrived at Astoria, July 15, 1811, and made this entry in his journal: "At 1 p. m. thank God for our safe arrival, we came to the House of Mr. Astor's company, Messrs. McDougal, Stuart and Stuart, who received me in the most polite manner, and here we hope to stay a few days to refresh ourselves." He was the first to explore the great river from source to mouth, for the remaining part of the stream between Kettle Falls and his camp at Canoe River was covered by him during the same summer, after his return from Astoria. His object was not only to open up a trade route for his company, but also to learn of the prospect of getting furs and food in the section of country drained by the Columbia.

In the vicinity of the present town of Pasco he posted a notice July 9, 1811, at the junction of the Snake (which he called the Shawpatin) and Columbia rivers: "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 for this people inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a factory in this place for commerce of the country around. D. Thompson. Junction of the Shawpatin River with the Columbia. July 9th, 1811." The factory that was so inconvenient was the Northwesters' factory at Spokane House, and Thompson's intention was to forestall the Astor people from securing the desirable location where he posted his notice. If he had not been delayed in the preceding winter, and had therefore been able to reach the mouth of the river before the post of Astoria was located, he doubtless would have put up a similar notice near the ocean, and would have likewise claimed possession there. But his arrival there was two months late. Nevertheless it is a fair field for speculation as to what would have been the effect upon the sovereignty of the country had there been no such delay. As it was, the ultimate locating of the international boundary line many years later, so far north of the early British posts at Spokane House and at Vancouver, drew forth letters recalling these events of 1811, letters to the British Government by Thompson in his old age, telling of his services and of the importance of the Columbia

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Val'ey and protesting against establishing the boundary north of the Columbia River.

Thompson was entertained at Astoria seven days, while the Canadian voyageurs no doubt put in a happy time with those of their kind at the American depot, and the period of rest must have been welcome after the long and rapid journey by canoe. McDougal and the two Stuarts knew Thompson well, for they had been associated with him in the North West Company. Though they were now his rivals in trade, the warm friendships that had been formed in the great forests and upon the swift streams of the far north were too deep to be disturbed by new business competition. They had shared dangers and could talk the language of their craft. Alexander Ross, one of the clerks, says of Thompson's reception: "McDougal received him like a brother; nothing was too good for Mr. Thompson; he had access everywhere; saw and examined everything; and whatever he asked for he got, as if he had been one of ourselves."[3]

McDougal therefore gave Thompson ample supplies for the return trip to the upper Columbia with the same generous hospitality that always characterized the fur traders and explorers of the West, although it must be added that the Stuarts rather doubted the wisdom of this policy, deeming it probable that if the outfit were refused, Thompson and his men would either have to join the Astor party or take ship for home when an opportunity would present itself.[4]

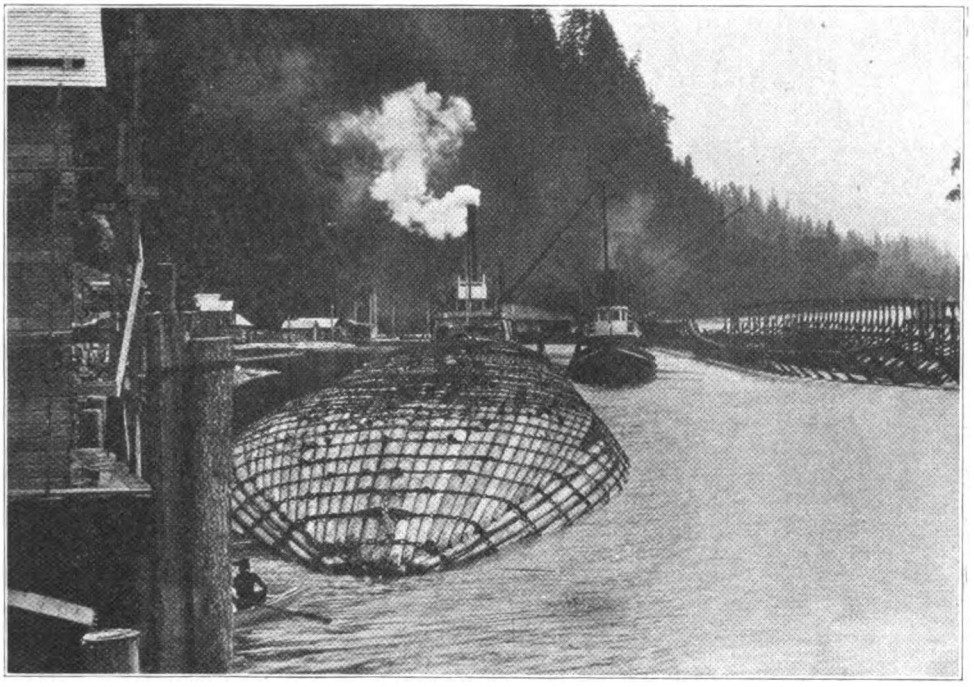
The first news that the Northwesters had begun trading west of the Rockies came by accidental means to Astoria, before Thompson's arrival. Two Iroquois indian messengers[5] came with a letter addressed to a Northwester named John Stuart on the Fraser, signed by a clerk in the service of that company at Spokane House. The messengers had heard of white men at the mouth of the Columbia, and supposed that the man for whom the letter was intended would probably be found among them. It was but a few days after this that Thompson and his canoemen came, and the Astorians got at first hand more definite news of the activities of the Northwesters. But what they had learned from the indians led them to consider sending an expedition at once to get suitable locations for posts in the interior, and, when Thompson arrived, this plan was about ready

[3] Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River, Alexander Ross, p. 85.

[4] David Thompson's journey from Kettle Falls, Idaho, to Astoria and return in 1811 from his journals has been published under the critical direction of Mr. T. C. Elliott, who compared the copy with the original manuscript at Toronto and examined the points on the Columbia mentioned in the narrative and identified them by comparison with recent official maps and surveys. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV.) The part of the journal relating to Idaho is printed by the same editor in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI. Both of these periodicals contain a number of important articles relating to Thompson and his activities. See also David Thompson's Narrative, edited by J. B. Tyrrell, annotated by T. C. Elliott, reviewed by E. S. Meany in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 322. An earlier publication was edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, Henry-Thompson Journals, but is incomplete. Ross says of Thompson: "His own visit had evidently no other object but to discourage us—a manœuvre of the North West policy to extend their own trade at the expense of ours; but he failed. The dangers and difficulties, which he took great pains to paint in their worst colours, did not deter us. He forgot that in speaking to us he was speaking to Northwesters—men as experienced and as cunning as himself." (Ross, Adventures, 85.)

[5] Various references to these interpreters in the early narratives indicate that they were female messengers, one or both masquerading as males. Thompson recognized them when he reached Astoria. Franchere and Ross say that they assumed the character of man and wife. (Ross, Adventures, 85; Franchere, Narrative, 122.)

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LOG RAFT AT ASTORIA, READY FOR TOWING AT SEA



FIFTEEN-FOOT DIAMETER CEDAR TREE IN TILLAMOOK COUNTY

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for execution, so that it was then decided to send David Stuart on this important mission.

The two rival parties started out together July 22, 1811. Stuart had with him the clerks, Ovide de Montigney, Francis Pillette, Donald McLennan and Alexander Ross, three Canadian voyageurs and two Hawaiian islanders. The newly arrived clerks who were members of this party, after the long voyage by sea looked forward with pleasure to this excursion. Most of them, however, were unskilled in the management of canoes, and were having their first view of real indians at Astoria. They took pamphlets and newspapers for amusement, one carried an umbrella, and as Ross says in his narrative, being all more or less ambitious they overlooked in the prospect of success both difficulty and danger. Thompson had his Canadians and the two Iroquois indians.

The Stuart party reached the banks of the Okanogan on August 31st, and there a building was put up for the Pacific Fur Company's post, the first American settlement in what is now the State of Washington. This afterwards became an important establishment of the North West Company, new buildings and improvements being added, but the location was slightly changed later, and the post then was protected with strong palisades fifteen feet high flanked with two bastions, with brass four-pounder guns, and loopholes for the use of musketry. This post was at the gateway of the northern country designated as New Caledonia, and the point of delivery for the furs of that section destined for shipment through the mouth of the Columbia.

In passing up and down the Columbia these early expeditions had not only to reckon with the natural difficulties, such as the rapids and portages, but also the difficulty of passing the indians located on both sides of the Columbia in the Cascade Mountains. Particular reference to some of the experiences with these indians will find place in the narrative from time to time, but a few words of more general description may here be given. The river itself is over twelve hundred miles in length, but owing to its winding course and the obstructions to navigation it has not often been traveled from source to mouth, as was done by Thompson and yet it has formed the great highway for most of the intercourse between the sea coast and the interior. Lewis and Clark called the Cascades "The Shutes," but the name "Cascades" seems to have been already in use in 1811, at the time now under consideration. The obstruction at the Big Eddy at the foot of the dalles, and continuously for ten miles, including the Falls at Celilo, is even more formidable. Other rapids that are frequently mentioned in the fur traders' accounts are Rapids du Pretre or Priest Rapids, Isle de Piere or Rock Island Rapid, Les Chaudiere or Kettle Falls, and in British Columbia (originally New Caledonia), there is Les Dalles des Morts or Death Rapids.

At the dangerous portage around the swift waters near Celilo was a native village on the north side called Wisham, where from times immemorial the indians have been accustomed to assemble in the salmon fishing season, for here the spearing of the salmon from the rocks or dipping them up by means of long handled dip-nets was a sport requiring rare skill. Gambling was a sport of another kind, much in favor at this place. But these indians soon earned a bad reputation with the white men, which every expedition justified by its experiences. In the fishing season they numbered perhaps three thousand, comprising not only Klickitats, who lived here permanently, but numerous representatives from different tribes throughout the country. They not only ex-

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acted tribute in the form of liberal presents, but they stole whenever they could, and the white men were in constant danger of their lives, so that large companies, carefully guarded and always on the alert for trouble, were found a necessity to make the passage. It was August second in this year of 1811, that the Astors passed this place with Stuart in command, bearing the first shipment of supplies and traders' goods, the first freight to be carried upon the Columbia, the beginning of the busy trade on that river. Thompson's canoe being light had outdistanced the Stuart party. The latter had two canoes, which were of the dug-out pattern, and laden, as they were, with all the stock intended for their proposed trading posts, put up in bales or packs of convenient size for carrying upon the back where necessary, the task of getting all carried and set afloat again in safety, surrounded day and night with the menacing indians, was a severe test for some of the young clerks just out from New York. Ross says of this: "The length of this dry and sandy footage is nine miles; and when it is taken into consideration that we had to go and come all the distance four times in one day, without a drop of water to refresh ourselves, loaded as we were, and under a burning sun, it will be admitted that it was no ordinary task. Under any other circumstances but a struggle between life and death, it could never be performed; but it was too much; the effort was almost beyond human strength, and I may venture to say, all circumstances considered, it will never be again."

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CHAPTER XIX

ASTOR'S OVERLANDERS

Astor's mistakes in the selection of the leaders of his expedition to the Columbia River may have been due to his lack of actual personal experience in the fur country as much as to bad judgment. His shrewdness, shown in the managing of his own business at home, did not serve to secure the right men to make a success of his great plan. If Thorn was a failure in handling the Tonquin, the one chosen to lead the overland party was not less deficient in the qualities of leadership. This party suffered far greater hardships than did Lewis and Clark and their men, and had a much more difficult and dangerous journey, but the story of their loyalty, their courage and their persistence will ever be told with history's thrilling tales of heroism.

The auxiliary expedition was placed under the direction of Wilson Price Hunt, the one of the partners who was a native born American. He had had no such training as would qualify him for this adventurous undertaking, for although he had traded with the indians at St. Louis, he knew nothing of wilderness life. He proved faithful and honest when others of the partners were treacherous and faithless, but his judgment was at fault more than once in critical times. On entering the service he first went to Montreal in July, 1810, where he hoped to recruit a crew of rivermen. He found, however, that in spite of his liberal offers, it was difficult to get the best men, as the influence of the Northwesters was against him there. However, he secured a well constructed Canadian canoe, large enough to carry a cargo of four tons, and yet so light as to be capable of transportation around the portages upon the shoulders of the men. He succeeded at last in getting enough men to paddle the canoe, and a cargo of supplies put up in bundles of ninety pounds each, a convenient size to be packed on a man's back when necessary. He was joined at Montreal by one of the partners who had been detailed to go with him, Donald McKenzie, a Scot who had been with the Northwesters.

The route followed was up the Ottawa River, and through the Great Lakes to the head of Lake Huron, where at the settlement at Mackinaw, Michigan, then called Michilimackinac, a stop was made to secure the additional boatmen and trappers that were wanted. At this place Ramsay Crooks joined the party, fortunately for them, although unfortunately for himself as it afterward turned out. He had served with the North West Company, and knew the indians of the upper Missouri region where he had traded for furs after Lewis and Clark's return.

Hunt heard that the Sioux and Blackfeet tribes were hostile to the white men and might try to prevent his going through their section. He therefore decided that he would pick up thirty additional men at St. Louis, to strengthen his party. He did not reach St. Louis, however, until the third of September, 1810, having traveled by boats through the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and

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down the Mississippi. With the added delays at that place the season was gone, and it was too late to proceed.[1]

Hunt was wise enough to avoid trying to winter sixty men or more at St. Louis under the circumstances, and although he knew he could not go far up the Missouri before the ice and snow would obstruct progress, he drew up the river as far as the mouth of the Nodaway, a point not far from the present city of St. Joseph. Here he went into permanent camp before November, when the river was closed by the ice. It was at this camp that Ramsay Crooks' old partner joined the expedition, Robert McLellan, an excellent shot whose extraordinary ability in that respect when sometimes exhibited never failed to impress the natives. A young American also came in, John Day, whose name is now perpetuated in Oregon as the name of the John Day River near the mouth of the Columbia and the John Day River in Eastern Oregon, also emptying into the Columbia. He had been in the service of Crooks and other traders. But Hunt lost some of his riflemen, for the Missouri Fur Company of St. Louis was getting up an expedition of its own to go up the Missouri for trade and to search for a missing partner, Andrew Henry, who had been driven by the Blackfeet from a fur trading station that had been established at Three Forks, Montana.

An interpreter was engaged, Pierre Dorion, a half-breed, the son of that Dorion that had served in similar capacity for the Lewis and Clark expedition. Dorion brought his Sioux wife, and two children, much to the surprise of Hunt, who had not bargained for this addition to his responsibilities. But Dorion was a real necessity, familiar as he was with the language of the Sioux tribe through whose country the expedition must pass, and Hunt could not afford to let him go. The husband and wife had their differences, now and then, as the party went forward, and at times the expedition might have wished the encumbrances had been left behind, but in the end the fortitude and steadfastness of this native woman came to be recognized, and like Sacajawea of the Lewis and Clark expedition, her heroism gained for her the respect and good will of the party.[2]

The ice in the river broke up earlier than usual owing to a freshet from some of its southern tributaries and the expedition got under way in April, 1811. There were four boats, the largest of which mounted two howitzers and a swivel gun. The progress was slow and toilsome, and the route to be followed would lead them into the country of hostile savages.[3] Dorion was half French and half Sioux, and, as already stated, his wife belonged to this tribe, which was then upon the warpath. A numerous tribe, it was considered both treach-

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[1] During Hunt's visit at St. Louis orders came from Astor vesting the sole command in Hunt, although prior to this it was intrusted to him jointly with McKenzie, who was experienced and reliable. This gave umbrage to the other Canadian partners and added difficulties to Hunt's position. (Alexander Ross, Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River, London (1849), p. 178.)

[2] It was a coincidence that Sacajawea, with her husband, Touissant Charboneau, and the little son born on the Lewis and Clark expedition, returning to the land of the Shoshones from a visit to civilization, passed up the Missouri with the Missouri Fur Company's party, and thus the two brave women who first dared the overland journey came in contact with each other.

[3] Passing a point called LaCharette, now at Marthasville, Mo., Daniel Boone, then a very old man, was on the bank of the river. Had he been younger he would have joined the expedition.

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erous and fierce, and Dorion did not profess to be able to insure a safe journey through their country. To add to the anxiety from this source the news of conditions farther north and west where the savage Blackfeet were treasuring bitter animosity against Americans arising from the time when Captain Lewis had found it necessary to kill two of their tribe, was far from encouraging.

However, the beautiful country through which the expedition was passing in May, where the prairies were decked with flowers and groves diversified the landscape and lent a charm to the winding river, kept those of the party who had begun to lose faith from being wholly discouraged, although two of the riflemen made an excuse and turned back. This was more than offset, however, by the addition of three experienced recruits, under circumstances quite unexpected. They were Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Rezner, all Kentucky hunters, who were perceived one morning sweeping down stream at a great pace in two canoes. They had been in the service of the Missouri Company with Alexander Henry in the preceding year in establishing his trading post on one of the branches of the Columbia River. They had actually crossed the divide, therefore, and Hunt was eager to avail himself of their knowledge. They were headed for home, when they thus met the Hunt party, but were easily persuaded to join. They were much impressed by the grand scale of the expedition, its numbers and its equipment, and caught the spirit of enthusiasm of the leaders. But it was due to their advice and the stories they brought of the indian dangers, that Hunt decided to give up his original plan of following the Lewis and Clark route, and he determined upon a southerly detour that would avoid the Blackfeet country.[4] This, it was said, would take them to the sources of the Platte and Yellowstone rivers and across the mountains through an easier pass than that found by Lewis and Clark, and through a section abounding in game. The latter consideration seemed important, as the requirements of some sixty persons in the caravan, for daily meals, were far beyond the possibility of being supplied by the stores carried with the outfit.

One morning two indians were seen at a bluff opposite the camp and they seemed to be haranguing the party from a distance too great to be understood. Dorion went to them and found them to be scouts of a large war party of Sioux, already numbering some six hundred warriors and expecting reinforcements from other branches of their nation, who were assembling for the purpose of opposing the progress of the white men up the river. It was found that the indians were in warlike array, painted and decorated for battle, and the outlook was serious enough. Hunt had a conference with one of the scouts, while the other made off over the hills on horseback to carry the news of the coming of the white men. The whites were so greatly outnumbered that to turn back seemed to be the only safe course, for to attempt to continue up the stream where the banks afforded every opportunity for the concealment of bands of savages, who could pick off the party without appearing in sight, seemed foolhardy. The only alternative that offered hope of success seemed to be in a decisive battle with the whole force, in which case the superior arms of the white men might perhaps serve to secure a victory that would clear the way. The party was put in readiness for a fight, and the boats proceeded up

[4] This proved to be a serious mistake, for while the large party could have successfully forced its way through on the Lewis and Clark route, the abandonment of the boats and the resort to horses for transportation overland involved difficulties in procuring food, besides uncertainty as to the proper route to destination before cold weather would begin.

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stream. Presently the indians in full force were seen, and to give them some sense of respect for the white men's guns, the swivel and the howitzers were fired without shot, the tremendous reverberation echoing like thunder. Just as Hunt's men were within rifle shot of the indians and were ready to shoot, Dorion cried out to them not to fire, and it was seen that the indians were holding up their buffalo robes with both hands above their heads and then spreading them on the ground, in token of friendship. After some doubt, the chief men of the Hunt party, experienced in indian ways, landed and went forward. The indian chiefs were seated on the bank of the river in a semi-circle, and did not rise, but remained in silence. The others of the red men lined the banks above, whence they could see the proceedings and from which position they could take advantage of any indication of treachery upon the part of the whites, while of the latter, those who remained on the boats were equally prepared for action. However, the pipe of peace was produced, and the ceremonies, impressive and significant, established good will and amity, especially when Hunt produced presents of tobacco and corn and gave assurances that his purpose was to turn to the westward and not to go to the northern tribes for trade or to interfere with plans of the Sioux by selling ammunition to their enemies. The indians professed that they had had no unfriendly intentions, and while this statement may have been founded upon the appearance of preparedness on the part of the white men, and may have been due to the ready rifles and the big howitzers and the boom of the swivel gun, it was accepted in good part by the whites.

The Missouri Fur Company's boat with Manual Lisa and twenty-four others overtook Hunt's party before they arrived at the Arikara indian villages, and a plan was made to proceed together for a time, although some of Hunt's best men hated Lisa for grievances of the past, with such vindictive hatred that a union seemed out of the question at first. The arrangement had not held for more than two days, when there was an outbreak and a violent scene, and Hunt had difficulty in preventing bloodshed by acting as peacemaker and using his authority. But Hunt himself became involved with Lisa before a settlement was reached. Then there was to have been a duel between these two leaders, and when this was avoided through the intervention of others, the two expeditions proceeded but without interchange of courtesies until as they reached the indian settlement a semblance of unity was arranged as a matter of policy, lest the natives should learn of their differences. The Arikaras were at the mouth of Grand River in the present state of South Dakota. At this point Hunt intended to turn from the river and follow his proposed route through the district inhabited by the Crow indians, and leading to the Rockies by way of the Bighorn Range, a route entirely unknown.

Lisa was no doubt glad to see this plan of his rivals carried out. He aided in procuring horses from the indians, and he even gave some of his own that had been held for him among the Mandans, taking Hunt's good boats in exchange and planning to use them to advantage in carrying furs down to St. Louis. He anticipated the satisfaction when he reached home of telling of this excellent stroke of business, and of the foolhardy plans of his competitors.

It was July 18, 1811, when the overland party set out from the Arikara villages. They had eighty-two horses. Some of the party were on foot, but Hunt and his partners and some others rode. The pack horses were heavily loaded, for the stores and supplies, including goods intended for use in barter,

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made a brave show. An interpreter, Edward Rose, a white man who had lived among the Crows, was procured. Father and mother Dorion walked, while they led a pack horse carrying their outfit and their two small children.

It will not be necessary for the present purpose to follow the journey in detail through the Black Hills and across the Bighorn Mountains and through the country of the Crow indians. Generally game was sufficient for the needs of the large party and there was no real hardship upon this part of the route. A small party of Shoshones was met with, who showed the way toward Wind River, leading as they said to a pass through the mountains to the south fork of the Columbia. If Hunt had followed this direction, and had taken the advice of the men of his party who had been across the divide, his way would have been comparatively easy. But after journeying up the Wind River some eighty miles, game being scarce, he abandoned the beaten trail and turned south. To the west the party descried snow-capped mountains, the Three Tetons, which pointed out the true route, where by crossing a single ridge the way would have been down the watershed of the Columbia.

On the contrary, the route selected carried them on a southerly detour upon the headwaters of Green River, the north fork of the Colorado. This, however, gave them another opportunity to hunt buffaloes and to lay up a supply of meat. Then they crossed the Gros Ventre range to a small stream recognized by Hoback as one on which he had trapped beaver the year previous. It still bears his name. It flows into the Snake, and so to the Columbia, and the party, on reaching the Snake after a hard struggle through the steep passes, rejoiced in the belief that their troubles were at end. The voyageurs began the construction of canoes, and every one was happy, feeling sure that they could now float down stream in comfort.

They were soon disillusioned, for those sent ahead by Hunt to examine the river returned with the report that it was not to be navigated. Four of the men left the party here, and began trapping, as it had been intended when the waters of the Columbia would be reached. They were Carson, St. Michel, Detayé and Delaunay. They were furnished with traps, guns and ammunition, horses and food supplies, and were to trap on the upper part of Mad River and other streams in this locality.

Robinson, Hoback and Rezner now urged upon Mr. Hunt the advisability of going direct to Henry's post, established by that trader during the previous year, on being driven by the hostilities of the Blackfeet indians to leave the upper Missouri region. These men had been with Mr. Henry, and they recognized landmarks that led them to believe the fort was not far distant. At this juncture two Snake indians appeared at the camp, and not only confirmed the statement that the Snake could not be navigated with canoes, but offered to act as guides to Henry's post. The whole party therefore forded the river and followed an indian trail through Teton Pass and on the 8th of October, 1811, succeeded in reaching this place, after some hard traveling.[5] They found the buildings deserted, for the fact was, although they did not know it, that Henry had joined Lisa while the latter was still at the Arikara villages on the Missouri, and shortly after the departure from that place of Mr. Hunt and his party.

[5] Fort Henry is said to be the first structure, though temporary in character, reared by white men within the Oregon Country. It was either opposite Elgin, Idaho, or a short distance below St. Anthony, Idaho, on the North or Henry Fork of Snake River.

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Here Hoback and his two companions decided to locate for the winter to trap and hunt, and in this they were joined by Cass and Miller. The latter although one of the partners, and entitled to expect something more than the meager pay and the hard life of one of the trappers, had become discouraged and dissatisfied, and was unwilling to go further.

It was October 19, 1811, that the Overlanders again took up the toilsome journey to the ocean. It was already getting cold, and game was scarce. They had at this time no conception of the difficulties and hardships they were to meet in the weeks to follow. They left their horses in charge of the Shoshones, who promised to take care of them, and having built fifteen canoes anticipated a pleasant and easy voyage down stream to the sea. The Canadians were happy in forsaking the horses and again grasping their paddles. And the first day's journey met their happy expectations, for they easily made thirty miles with the swift current. But they were soon to learn that a serious mistake had been made when they abandoned their horses.

The next day was not quite so easy, for they met rapids, and portages had to be made, one around Idaho Falls, and sometimes the canoes were let down with tow-lines. Twenty miles brought them to a camping place for the night, but after that difficulties multiplied. They had entered the Snake at least six hundred miles above where Lewis and Clark had begun their voyage on that river in 1805, and most of the intervening distance was impassable. However, they covered two hundred and fifty miles of arduous travel before they reached the Shoshone Falls. The canyon above and below this place was, after examination, reported unnavigable. They had already lost four canoes and their valuable contents, and it was estimated that they had no more than five days' food on hand. This was at Cauldron Linn, which may have been opposite the present town of Milner, Idaho, in the vicinity of Twin Falls and Shoshone Falls.

Now begins the anabasis of peril and hardship rarely surpassed in western travel. With no horses and with heavy packs that ought not be abandoned, with no maps or reliable information of the nature of the country, with starvation near at hand, with winter coming on, and with a numerous party already much discouraged by failure to reach the objective within the estimated time, the outlook was bad enough, but the imagination fortunately could not depict the gravity of the situation in its worst aspect. The party was now divided into four groups, to increase the opportunities for getting game.

McKenzie led one group of four men and turned northward, seeking navigable water that might be found on the Columbia if it could be reached. His party succeeded in reaching Astoria in three months' time after much hardship, but in advance of any of the others. Two parties headed by Reed and McLellan, respectively, followed down the Snake on opposite sides. Crooks took six men and turned back to try to find help and food among the Shoshones, or failing in this, to try to reach Henry's post and return with the horses to overtake the main party, which would remain at the canyon with Hunt.[6]

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[6] As there has been much uncertainty as to the route followed by these men, the following quotation from the unpublished Journal of Robert Stuart will be of interest to students: "From the accounts of Messrs. Mackenzie and McClellan this kind of country [mountainous] continues for near 300 miles by the meanders of the River which is very crooked. Their track last winter was as near the bank as possible, but were often compelled to leave it by the intervention of impervious masses of Rock. They were in all twelve

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Hunt's men cached the goods, and caught a few beaver to help out the larder.[7] In three days Crooks and his men returned to camp, having given up their attempt, realizing the impossibility of carrying it out in the face of oncoming winter.

It was decided that to follow McKenzie northward, without water, would not be practicable and the plan adopted therefore was to follow down both sides of the river, dividing the men into two groups of eighteen, led by Hunt on one side of the stream, and a like number with Crooks on the other. Dorion and his little family followed Hunt. It was now well into November. Each person, including Dorion's wife, carried a pack, and she had also during part of the time to carry her two year old child, while the four year old trudged along beside her. She was at this time nearing her birth of a third little one, but with uncomplaining courage she kept the trail with the party. If this was an example of courage to the white men, they had another evidence of native worth on the third day out from camp when they reached a camp of Shoshones who, although miserably poor, shared their little with the strangers, allowing them to purchase two dogs for much needed food. How Hunt and his party managed to subsist during the month that followed is a painful story. The storms of wind and rain and snow added to the discomforts of hunger. Several times they met Shoshones and procured a dog or two or a few horses, but there was no game.[8]

It was December 6, 1811, that they saw Crooks and his men returning up stream on the opposite side of the river canyon, they having turned back after going sixty miles below and finding it impossible further to penetrate the rugged country, where walls of rock and high ridges and deep chasms

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persons, took 21 days to the Mulpat River (?) and subsisted during that time on an allowance by no means proportionate to the bodily labor they daily underwent. Messrs. Hunt and Crooks with 39 men subsequently attempted a passage through these narrows in December, but the snow was too deep, and the country being entirely destitute of Game they were compelled to relinquish their undertaking after the former having penetrated 120 miles and the latter (with 18 men) 30 farther." (Entry of August 12, 1812, made on Stuart's return overland journey.)

[7] Most of these goods were afterward taken by a band of Snake indians, the place of concealment having been revealed by Turcotte, LaChapelle and Landry, who had left Mr. Crooks in February and had passed the winter with these indians. The caches are supposed to have been on the north side of the river, opposite Milner. Robert Stuart returning eastward the following year passed this place August 29, 1812, and made the following entry in his journal: "Anxious to know in what state the property was, I proceeded with others to the spot soon after stopping. Found six of them open, and except a few books, which lay scattered by the wind in every direction, the whole of the contents had vanished. From appearances they must have been taken some time in the summer, and wolves were undoubtedly the beginners, these attracted no doubt by the skins they contained, had paths beat everywhere 'round, which there is reason to believe was what directed the indians to the place." He succeeded in finding some dry goods, traps and ammunition, but nothing else of value. (Journal of a Voyage Across the Continent of North America from Astoria, the Pacific Fur Company's principal establishment on the Columbia to the City of New York. Mss. copy in N. Y. Pub. Lib.)

[8] All of the early expeditions to Oregon became familiar with the taste of dog meat and horse meat. The Astorians preferred dogs and rather thought themselves fortunate when they could have one to vary the common diet of horse. Cox insists that the latter has the better flavor, and denies that dog tastes like mutton. "We generally had it roasted, but the Canadians preferred it boiled, and the majority of them seemed to think it superior to horse flesh." (Cox, Columbia River, Vol. I, p. 222.)

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blocked their way, and where the river pushed swiftly between cliffs that rose from the turbulent water. The deep snow in the mountains made a detour from the stream impracticable. Emaciated and hungry these men had even eaten the soles of old moccasins.

Hunt returned to camp, where a horse had been slaughtered for food, and making a boat of the skin, ferried some of this food over the turbulent stream to the starving men and brought Crooks and LeClerc across. But the boat was lost in the swift water before it could be used again, and there was no way to bring the other men over or to share the remainder of the horse meat with them. Crooks was sick and LeClerc was too weak to walk farther, while few of the others were fit to travel. Yet there was nothing to do but to retrace the way. All were footsore, but the two parties proceeded slowly, leaving Hunt and five of his men behind with Crooks and LeClerc.

Dorion had somehow managed to hold possession of an old horse which he was using to carry his family. He steadfastly refused to give it up for slaughter, though starvation faced the party. But in this distress, a Shoshone camp was found, and a horse was taken and killed. The men on the other side of the river, by the insistence of Crooks who had regained Hunt's party, were given a share by means of a boat made from the hide, but at the expense of losing a Canadian by drowning and of losing the boat in the swift stream after a small supply had been taken over. Ten days they had kept up their weary march without tasting food.

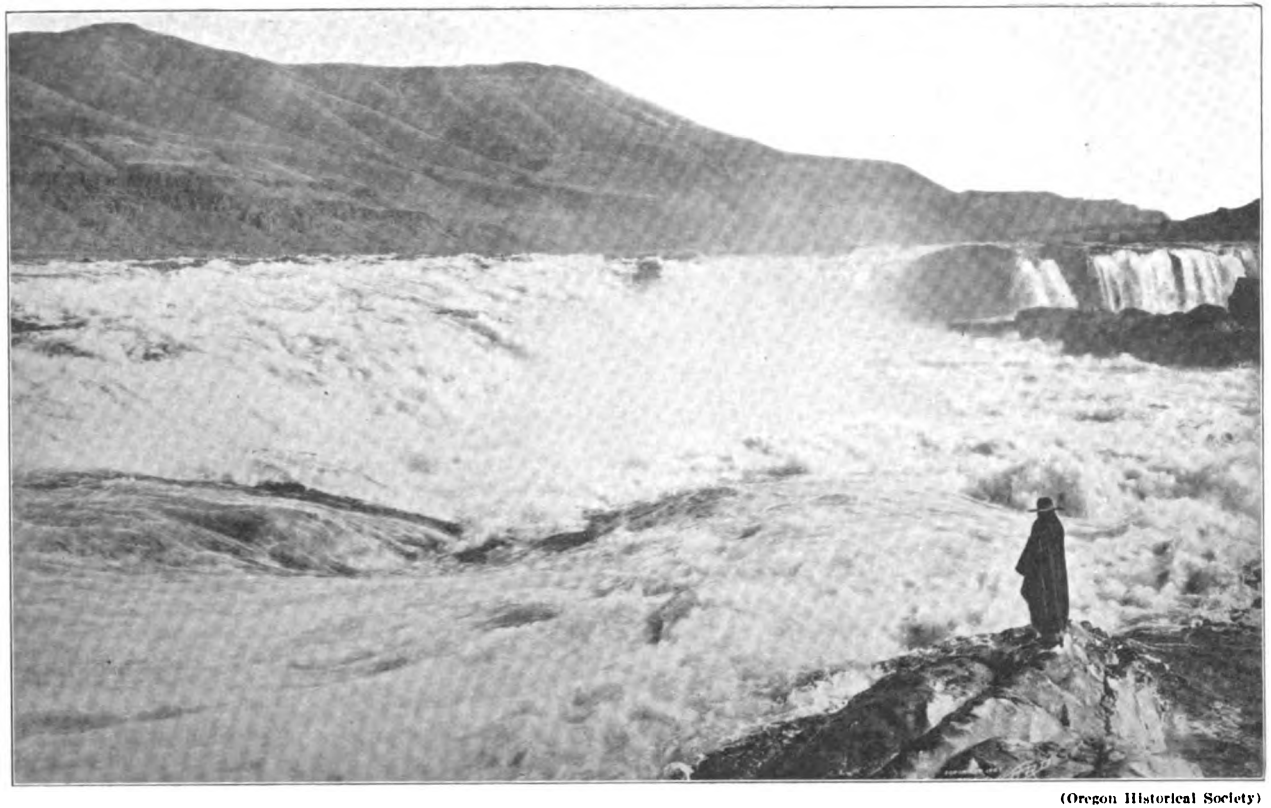
At this point Hunt went forward with the main party, leaving Crooks, Day and Dubreuil. Day had given out and could not proceed, and Crooks, who was now in better condition, would not leave an old friend and employee in this plight. Fortunately some horses were procured at this place, and two were left with this small party, besides some meat.

The December weather was severe upon the under-fed men, but the main body made a brave effort to go on. There were frequent snowstorms, and ice was running in the Snake. The two parties, retracing their course, after three weeks were united when Hunt succeeded in crossing the Snake River in a canoe made of the skins of two horses, near the Payette or the Weiser, about where the City of Weiser, Idaho, now stands. Here three voyageurs asked permission to remain among the Shoshones, being unable to continue. The remainder now consisted of thirty-two men, besides Dorion and his family. They were fortunate enough to secure an indian guide, with two of his companions who went with him part way. These undertook to lead them by a feasible route. December 24, 1811, the caravan turned westward up Woodville Creek or modern Burnt River, away from the turbulent and canyon-bound Snake River, only to find other obstacles in their way.

The progress was slow and full of discomfort. They had five horses, but the men were wet with rain and snow and often had to ford streams of icy water. One meal a day was all that could be spared from the scanty store. On the third day one of the Canadians gave up in despair and lay upon the ground unable to rise. He was put upon a horse almost as weak as himself. The toilsome climb through the snow taxed the strength and courage of the best of the men.

Matters were at a serious pass when on the 30th of December at a place which is believed to be near the site of the present village of North Powder,

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(Oregon Historical Society)

THE DALLES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER, LOOKING WEST FROM NEAR THE HEAD OF FIVE MILE RAPIDS

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Mrs. Dorion was taken with the pains of labor.[9] Her husband had steadfastly led the miserable indian horse that so far had served for her and for the little children that were hung beside her, as well as for their bundle of belongings. Dorion now insisted that he would be able to do what was necessary and that there was no reason for delay of the party. Hunt left them in the snow, camped among the trees, and hastened on with his men, powerless to aid and finding it useless to sacrifice all by lingering. Here the little family faced with courage the hour of peril for woman and child, and on that bleak day near the close of the year 1811 a little human being came into the strange world.

Meantime another one of the Canadians with the main party collapsed and was put upon a horse, Hunt carrying the man's pack upon his own shoulders. But it was not long before they came to a place among the snow-clad hills from which they obtained sight of an open valley. This was the Grande Ronde valley as it was afterward called, and here the famished men were delighted to find a Shoshone camp, where the indians were friendly and hospitable. The sun shone, there was little snow, there was food and good cheer. And here, on the 31st, came the imperturbable Dorion with his wife on the old horse, holding in her arms a new baby while the two year old child wrapped in a blanket was slung at her side, the third child no doubt trudging along beside the father. The mother seemed unconcerned and none the worse for her experience. But it may be added here that a week afterward while on the march the infant died.[10]

The stay at the Shoshone camp was for two days thoroughly enjoyed by the men. The New Year's Day they celebrated, particularly did the Canadians, with song and dance, and after their hardships the rest was welcome, while sundry horses and dogs and indian roots furnished the sumptuous repast. Still, the end of the trail had not been reached, and the men could scarcely keep up during the journey over the Blue Moutains where the snow was waist deep. By bending every effort the head of the straggling caravan came in the course of a week to a large indian village with well constructed and comfortable huts made of mats. The indians there were as well clad as the generality of the wild hunter tribes, having buffalo and deer skin robes and deer skin leggings and shirts. They had many utensils and implements of metal showing that they had been with tribes that knew the white men of the coast. They were evidently of a different tribe from the poor and half starved Snake River indians.

The travellers were grateful to learn that the Columbia could be reached

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[9] Rev. J. Neilson Barry in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 164, has carefully identified the principal points on the route followed by Hunt in this section, and has demonstrated that the route was not through Wallowa Country as indicated on a Government map and as assumed by many previous writers.

[10] Madam Dorion and her two children are last seen among the Walla Walla indians April 4, 1813, when the last of the Astor expedition was passing up the Columbia en route to St. Louis. The husband and others had been killed by indians while trapping on the Snake River during January of that year. With her children she had fled from the murderous savages, taking LeClerc who was alive but wounded and who died during the flight. She camped in a wild and secluded ravine, subsisting upon the flesh of her horses. She managed to reach the Walla Walla tribe in March, by a long tramp over the mountains, bringing her children through in spite of cold, hunger and fatigue. The Walla Wallas received her hospitably, and the helpless little ones who had seen so many adventures in their short lives were safe with the courageous woman, whose mother-love had never failed them. On the date just mentioned she called to the Overlanders as they were swiftly paddling up the Columbia, and it was from her that the first news of this massacre was received.

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by two days of journey. They had just one horse left, besides that one that Dorion had refused to surrender. But now the hunger of all was satisfied and the caravan remained here in comfort, until all were refreshed and ready for the final effort. This site was upon the Umatilla River where beaver were plenty, and the indians agreed to collect skins ready for the white men's trade that was to be opened in the near future. These indians had heard that a number of white men had gone down the Columbia, and Hunt decided that it was probably McKenzie and McLellan's party. The route now led to the Columbia, where a crossing was made and the trail down the north bank was followed. More tidings of the white men that had passed down stream were obtained and also the first word of the settlement at the mouth of the river. On the last day of January, 1812, Hunt arrived at the Celilo Falls and obtained canoes for the last part of his long journey to Astoria, where he arrived February 15, 1812. Thus was ended eleven months of continuous travel. As the canoes rounded the peninsula and came in sight of the fort they were greeted by the Astorians and also by McKenzie, McLellan, Reed and their men, who had arrived some time before. These had come together in the mountains near the Snake and had travelled by way of the Seven Devils and the Craig Mountains on the route that Crooks and Hunt had abandoned as impossible. After extraordinary feats of endurance they had overcome every obstacle and had reached navigable water upon the Snake, and thence by way of the Columbia had reached their destination January 10, 1812.

Crooks and Day and the three Canadians were still to be heard from. They were supposed to have perished, but Alexander Ross gives a graphic account of how Crooks and Day were found by Mr. Stuart on the banks of the Columbia near the mouth of the Umatilla River early in the following May, standing like two spectres, so changed and emaciated that they were at first not recognized as white men.[11] Their story is a tale of starvation and sickness, and cold and danger, incredible endurance and tenacity of life, but it is lightened by the kindness of poor and half starved indians with whom they chanced to come into contact and by whom their lives were saved on more than one occasion. The good Samaritan of all was found when they reached the Columbia. He was an old gray-headed indian called Yeck-a-tap-am, who treated them like a father, and hospitably entertained them while they rested for two days. Their adventures did not end there, however, for proceeding down stream they fell in with the thieving indians at the Falls who robbed them and stripped them naked, and would have put them to death but for the intervention of three old men of the tribe. How the white-men managed to get back to their friend Yeck-a-tap-am without arms or clothing, and the desperate straits they were reduced to in their search for food, and the kindly welcome in the humble indian home at last, is a story in itself. This generous and kindly old man found them hungry and he fed them and found them naked and he clothed them as best he could. He even had a horse killed and the meat dried for them and put up in packages, and they were on the point of turning their faces eastward, with the intention of endeavoring to reach St. Louis again, when the rivermen in Mr. Stuart's canoes, sweeping down the Columbia, heard the loud and unexpected call in English, "Come on shore," and discovered these two noted and especially skilful and experienced westerners, now garbed in skins, poorer than

[11] Alexander Ross, Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River, p. 187.

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the natives whose bounty they had been glad to accept. Stuart presented a complete outfit of clothing to the old indian, and the white men were soon in the canoes and on their way to Astoria. The three Canadians already mentioned had left them in the winter, preferring to take their chances with the Shoshones, whose uniform kindness to the destitute white men during this winter of misfortune was always to be relied upon.

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CHAPTER XX

ASTORIA BECOMES FORT GEORGE

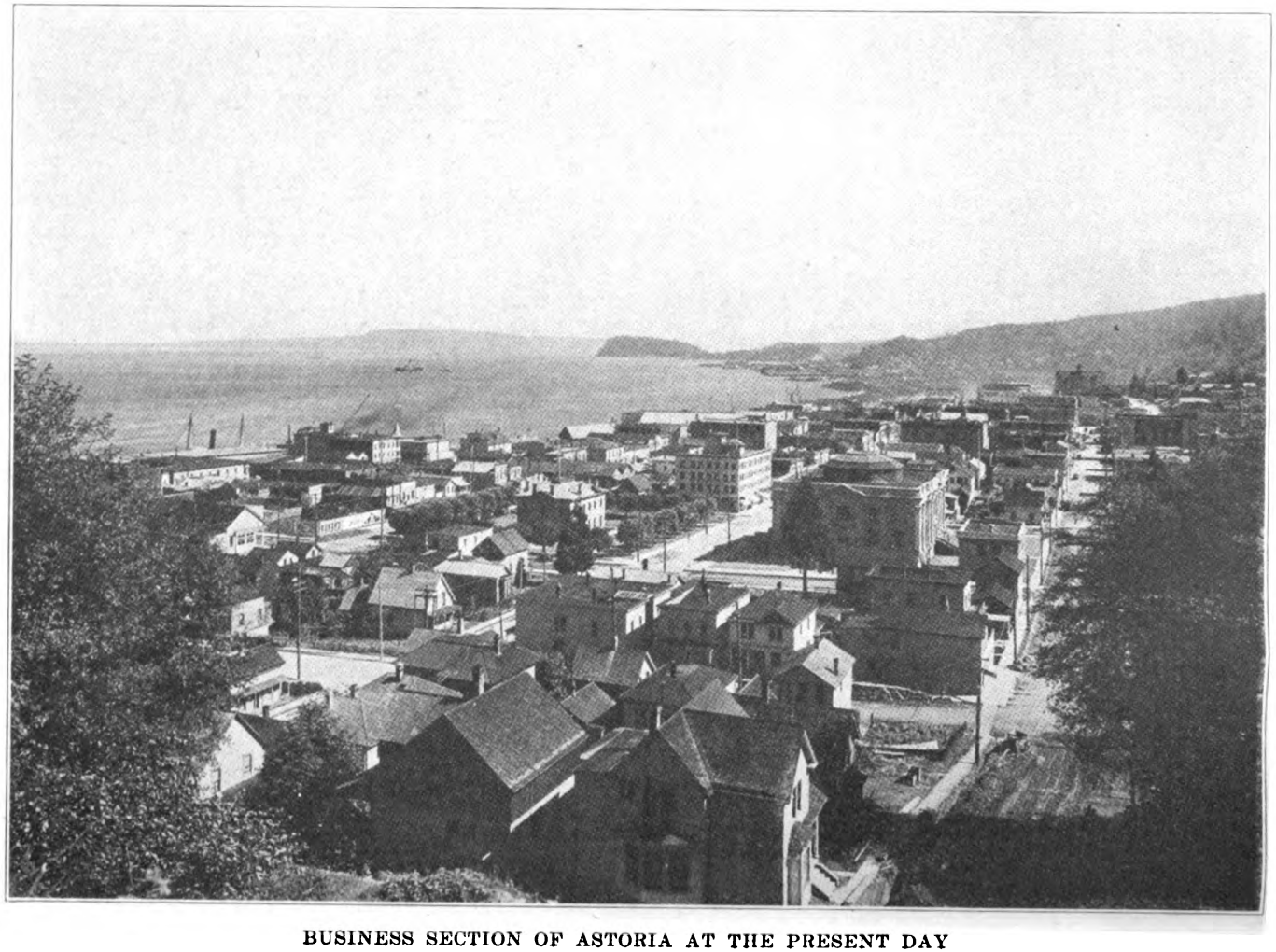
On reaching Astoria after his long and arduous journey, Hunt was gratified to find the affairs of the post in a flourishing condition. The small schooner Dolly had been built and launched. This was the first vessel built on the Columbia River, and the name was given in honor of Mrs. Astor. It began trading up and down the river and was for a time put to good use, but it proved not well designed for the purpose and was soon laid up. The tribes along the lower Columbia River with whom the Astor party came most closely in contact, such as the Chinooks, Clatsops, Wahkiacums and Cathlamets, were friendly. The outlook for profitable business was good and although the constant trouble experienced with the indians at Celilo made the passage to the upper Columbia disagreeable and even dangerous, it was possible by organizing large enough expeditions to overcome this difficulty. The indians of the interior, such as the Walla Wallas, Cayuses, Nez Percés, Shoshones, Okanogans and Kalispels, were not unfriendly, and experience showed them to be honest in the main and quite willing to have the strangers locate among them.

Early in May, 1812, the Astor ship Beaver arrived at Astoria after a voyage of 212 days from New York, and this event seemed to assure the success of the whole plan, which involved not only the establishing of trading posts at advantageous points, but also presupposed an ample supply of provisions and trading supplies always to be kept on hand at the principal station at Astoria. These were to come by sea. The Beaver had on board a cargo similar to that brought by the Tonquin, consisting of a great variety of articles attractive to the indians, besides food, clothing and miscellaneous articles for the use and comfort of the white men. It also brought one of the partners, John Clarke, several clerks, and a number of natives of the Hawaiian Islands, engaged as helpers. Among the clerks was Ross Cox, a young man of intelligence, whose narrative of his experiences was published in readable form some years after.[1]

The commander of the Beaver was a cautious man who did not relish the duty of braving the bar. On his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia he stood on and off for two days firing signal guns, much in doubt whether an establishment had been located or whether, if it had been, it was not already destroyed by the savages. He ordered out the cutter with the perilous duty of sounding the channel in the same manner that Vancouver and Thorn before him had sought to enter the river. Fortunately, however, the weather was fair and the bar was not difficult, although the ship did manage to strike twice in entering. The people at Astoria had already learned from the indians of

[1] Ross Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River (London, 1831). This narrative with those of two others of the clerks, Gabriel Franchere and Alexander Ross, together with the Alexander Henry journals, supplement Irving's account. Together they constitute an unusually complete and interesting description of the Astor enterprise and the stirring events of this period of Oregon history.

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BUSINESS SECTION OF ASTORIA AT THE PRESENT DAY

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the approach of the ship and Duncan McDougal and Donald McLellan not only answered with signal guns but went down to Cape Disappointment, where they put up a flag and set fire to several trees to serve in lieu of a lighthouse. The ship was met at the bar by these representatives of the company in a barge, preceded by old Chief Concomly in a canoe with six indians, whom Cox describes as "the most repulsive looking beings that ever disgraced the fair form of humanity."

McLellan took charge of the ship as pilot and she was soon anchored in Baker's Bay. The recruits for the Pacific Fur Company's service went at once to Fort Astoria where they found five proprietors, nine clerks and ninety artisans and canoe men or voyageurs. The new party added thirty-six persons, including the islanders.

The description of the fort as it appeared to the new arrivals is of interest. It was located about three miles below Tongue Point. "The buildings consisted of apartments for the proprietors or clerks, with a capacious dining hall for both, extensive warehouses for its trading goods and furs, a provision store and trading shop, smith's forge, carpenter's workshop, etc., the whole surrounded by stockades forming a square and reaching about fifteen feet from the ground. A gallery ran around the stockades in which loopholes were placed sufficiently large for musketry. Two strong bastions built of logs commanded the four sides of the square. Each bastion had two stories in which a number of chosen men slept every night. A six pounder was placed in the lower story and they were both well provided with small arms. Immediately in front of the fort was a gentle declivity sloping down to the river side which had been turned into an excellent kitchen garden and a few hundred yards to the left a tolerable wharf had been run out by which bateaux and boats were enabled at low water to land their cargoes without sustaining any damage. An impenetrable forest of gigantic pine rose in the rear and the ground was covered with thick underwood of brier and huckleberry intermingled with fern and honeysuckle. Numbers of natives crowded in and about the fort.[2]

Soon after the arrival of the Beaver the Astorians held a meeting of the partners to plan out the campaign for the occupation of the territory. They decided to establish a fort on Spokane River, to be under the management of Clarke, and to be near the already located post of the North West Company. There was also to be a fort established on Flathead or Clark's Fork, and another on Kootenay River. Besides this group, the post at Okanogan, under David Stuart, assisted by Alexander Ross, was to be supported by another post still farther north in the district called She Whaps, where the modern town of Kamloops now stands. A third region, up the Snake River, was to have a post to be under the management of Donald McKenzie. These forts and trading posts were duly established and bid fair to be prosperous, with the exception of McKenzie's post on the Snake River, which failed to develop a business of profit, on account of which McKenzie returned to Astoria by January, 1813.

McKenzie failed in another duty that had been assigned to him. He had been instructed to proceed up the Snake River to recover the goods that had been left by the Hunt party on its overland trip, but he ascertained that the cache had already been despoiled by the indians, and so did not go to the place.

[2] Cox, The Columbia River, Vol. I, p. 110.

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It will be seen that the Astorians made their arrangements to spread their organization to strategic positions from the Rocky Mountain divide to the ocean, and from the Willamette Valley to the Fraser River. It is apparent that had these posts been held it would have been difficult for competitors to have gained a permanent footing in the Oregon Country.

The spirits of the Astorians therefore were cheerful enough after the arrival of the Beaver in May, 1812, with the new recruits and with ample supplies. It was then thought that, through the securing and holding of these good locations, the threatened competition of the Northwesters could be much curtailed, especially since they had no arrangements at the mouth of the river and would have to depend upon the longer route through Canada for supplies and shipment of furs. The Astor plans, it will be recollected, contemplated the establishing of traffic with the Russians, who would furnish cargoes for the Astor ships to supplement the furs obtained on the Columbia, and who would take supplies brought from New York in exchange. It was the intention, therefore, to have the Beaver followed by other ships at frequent intervals. But Astor did not foresee the war nor did he anticipate repeated loss of vessels. Much less did he expect the cowardice or treachery of his partners and business associates.

The whole enterprise, however, seems to have been doomed beforehand to mistakes and misfortunes. One error was made that proved serious. Hunt, who was loyal to his duty and loyal to his flag, and who might have prevented the utter disaster that followed soon after, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the Beaver to get in personal touch with the Russian trade. Accordingly he sailed with the vessel to New Archangel. He intended, of course, to return after a short absence, but upon reaching the Alaskan coast he was delayed by various causes, not the least of which was the peculiarity of the Russian potentate Baranoff, with whom he found it necessary to deal. He survived the ordeal of heavy drinking and lived through the novel experiences at the feudal stronghold of that personage. The lavish and yet primitive hospitality dispensed in the capital of the north was pressed upon him, although he was not always able to drink all that was expected of him by his hard drinking host. After many provoking delays he found that in order to get the expected cargo of furs it would be necessary to go to distant islands. He did not arrive there until the end of October, 1812, when he should already have been back at Astoria. To make matters worse, the Beaver, by stress of weather, suffered damage which seemed to require repairing at the Hawaiian Islands, and on this account it was decided to go there direct, after which Hunt expected to return by some other vessel to Astoria, leaving the Beaver to go on to the Canton market.[3] Hunt allowed the ship to sail away therefore, while he settled himself down to wait, employing his leisure in collecting food supplies such as he knew would be welcome at Astoria.

This might have been well enough in ordinary times, for he had every reason to expect that the annual ship from Mr. Astor would soon touch at the islands, but after waiting until June, 1813, he found that the delay in its ar-

[3] Arrived at Canton, Captain Sowles of the Beaver held his cargo for a higher price than offered and then found that the price fell until he could not sell to advantage. Then hearing of the war, he feared capture if he returned to Astoria as directed. He therefore decided to remain in the harbor at Canton, where he borrowed money at 18% on Astor's credit for expenses. The voyage was a complete failure.

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rival was caused by the war of the United States with Great Britain, which he now heard of for the first time through the captain of the Albatross, a ship that came in from China.[4] It must have been provoking to find that this ship flying the American flag could venture on the seas and return to the islands while the Beaver's captain still hugged safety at Canton. But Hunt's increasing anxiety to reach his post at Astoria led him, on getting the news of the war, to decide at once to charter the Albatross for his voyage to the Columbia, taking with him the food supplies which he had collected at the islands.

In the meantime, John George M'Tavish, a member of the North West Company, coming to that company's post at Spokane House in January, 1813, direct from Montreal, brought the news that war had been begun between the United States and Great Britain. According to his story, the Northwesters expected the immediate arrival in the Columbia River of a British ship, the Isaac Todd. No doubt M'Tavish made the most of his story for he intimated that this vessel was to be armed and furnished with letters of marque, and that Canadians trading under the American flag would find themselves in difficulty with the British authorities on its arrival. McKenzie, who was a Canadian before he was an Astorian, on hearing the story at once brought it to Astoria, where Donald M'Dougal in the absence of Hunt was in charge of the fort. Influenced by their fears, or perhaps by other motives, it was decided at once by the two partners that the Astor interests would have to be given up. M'Tavish himself descended the river not long after McKenzie's arrival at Astoria, and there he was hospitably entertained by the two partners at the fort, while he gave them to understand that he was awaiting the arrival of the expected ship. However, as the winter and spring passed without its appearance, M'Tavish's position at the fort became somewhat embarrassing and he withdrew up the river, but the Astoria partners nevertheless adhered to their view that the enterprise would have to be discontinued. It was determined that the summer should be taken advantage of for an overland return of the party to the east. By direction of M'Dougal, three messengers, McKenzie, Reed and Seaton, went up the river to the various forts on the Okanogan, Spokane and Pend d'Oreille to direct the partners at these posts to bring all of their furs to Astoria. They were told to trade their remaining goods for horses, which were to be assembled at Walla Walla and there left in charge of the tribe of that name, who were to keep them in readiness for the eastward trip with the entire stock of furs. In response to this call both Clarke and Stuart came down to Astoria from their stations in June, 1813, but both promptly objected to the abandonment of the posts. They had had good success, and this gave them assurance of profits. They could see no danger from a vessel, since, as they argued, it would be easy to remove and conceal the stores and furs that were at Astoria.

The North West Company had long been urging the British government to assert its exclusive sovereignty and to oust the Americans from the Columbia River Country. Up to the time the war began this had been refused, but upon the declaration of war the company renewed its appeals with more success, urging not only its own interests but the importance of the country and the national advantage in driving out the Astor fur traders before the American

[4] The Albatross is the same old but staunch vessel of that name that was used in the Winship effort to locate an establishment on the Columbia.

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enterprise developed into an actual settlement and occupation. The North West ship Isaac Todd, mounting twenty guns, was about to be sent by this company with a full complement of men and equipment for the establishing of a permanent base on the Columbia, and specific request was made for a convoy of armed vessels. This was granted and three men-of-war were furnished, under command of Commodore Hillyer. They were the frigate Phoebe, and the sloops of war Cherub and Raccoon. The Isaac Todd sailed from London in March, 1813, and was to meet the convoy at Juan Fernandez, but being delayed failed to appear at the time appointed, and the war vessels proceeded to the Pacific Ocean. The Phoebe and Cherub under the direct command of Hillyer found and engaged the American frigate Essex under Captain Porter at Valparaiso, and after a fierce battle captured her. In the meantime the Raccoon had been sent on to the Columbia to carry out the Admiralty orders "to take Fort Astoria and destroy the settlement."

On the other hand, Astor had been urging the government at Washington for assistance for his enterprise. He heard of the decision of the North West Company to send its armed vessels, and suspected, if he did not actually know, that a convoy would be furnished by the British government. Being unsuccessful in his appeals for naval protection he was full of apprehension for the fate of his establishment.

On his arrival at Astoria, on the Albatross, August 4, 1813, exactly a year after he had left that place, Hunt was greeted with the disconcerting news that his partners were seriously considering selling out the posts to the Northwesters. It is to Hunt's credit that he earnestly and vigorously opposed this, but finding that he made little or no impression upon M'Dougal and McKenzie he decided to return at once to the islands on the Albatross.[5] His plan was to secure another ship with which he could carry away the valuable stock of furs which would by that time be assembled at Astoria, and at the same time he could carry out the pledge to the islanders who were in the employ of the company to return them to their homes. These employees were some twenty-five in number, many of them at this time at the interior posts. He might have succeeded in this plan but for another stroke of bad fortune. Although Hunt did not know it at the time, Astor had succeeded in spite of war perils, and notwithstanding the government's refusal of naval convoy, in sending to the Pacific a third vessel, the Lark. But with the usual ill luck that followed the Astor venture she was wrecked at the islands and never reached the Columbia River.[6] Hunt, therefore, did not succeed in getting the hoped for Astor ship, but after persistent effort he did succeed in chartering the American brig Pedlar. With this vessel, taking the survivors of the crew of the Lark, he finally reached the Columbia River in February, 1814. But he was too late. This indefatigable man had now wandered about the Pacific during eighteen months of delay, disappointment and discouragement. This was time lost when his presence at Astoria was necessary; nevertheless he had displayed the same steadfastness and the same determination of character that

[5] The Albatross was bound for the Marquesas and could not be chartered by Hunt for a direct voyage to the Sandwich Islands.

[6] The Lark capsized in a storm, and after many days of peril and starvation on the floating and overturned hull the captain and crew reached the islands where they were found by Hunt, in distress.

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had marked his conduct during the eleven months of his hard journey across the continent. Long before his arrival with the Pedlar, however, the partners had sold out all of the holdings in the Pacific Fur Company, including the stock of furs he had taken such extraordinary pains to save. The Astor enterprise was at an end, and Astoria had been rechristened as Fort George. The Union Jack was flying in the place of the Stars and Stripes. The managing partner, M'Dougal, who had been left in charge, was now Chief Factor in the employ of the rival North West Company. This had been consummated October 16, 1813, and many of the partners and clerks, like M'Dougal himself, had accepted employment with the competitor. That company had succeeded in making a good bargain. It had become the owner of the factory at Astoria and of the stock of furs and the supplies at that place, and also of all of the other posts and property.

Hunt was soon told the unpalatable details. It seems that a few weeks after his departure on the Albatross (the exact date was October 7, 1813) John George M'Tavish had returned to Fort Astoria from the interior with a number of canoes and with a force of some seventy-five men, who proceeded to camp near the factory and who sat down to await the arrival of their ship. This time, as before, M'Tavish was compelled to wait longer than he had expected, and this time he and his party were again actually dependent upon the Astorians for necessary food. The position of the Canadians became more and more awkward, as they were looked upon with suspicion by the indians. Franchere, who was stationed at the Astoria fort at the time, says in his narrative:

"Weary at length with applying to us incessantly for food (which we furnished with a sparing hand), unable either to retrace their steps through the wilderness or to remain in their present position, they came to the conclusion of proposing to buy of us the whole establishment.

"Placed as we were in the situation of expecting day by day the arrival of an English ship of war to seize upon all we possessed, we listened to their propositions. Several meetings and discussions took place. The negotiations were protracted by the hope of one party that the long expected armed force would arrive to render the purchase unnecessary and were urged forward by the other in order to conclude the offer before that occurrence should intervene; at length, the price of the goods and furs in the factory was agreed upon and the bargain was signed by both parties on the 23rd of October.

"The agent of the North West Company took possession of Astoria, agreeing to pay the servants of the Pacific Fur Company (the name which had been chosen by Mr. Astor) the arrears of their wages, to be deducted from the price of the goods which were delivered, to supply them with provisions and to give a free passage to those who wished to return to Canada overland. The American colors were hauled down from the factory and the British run up to the no small chagrin and mortification of those who were American citizens.

"It was thus that after having passed the seas and suffered all sorts of fatigue and privations, I lost in a moment all my hopes of fortune. I could not help remarking that we had no right to expect such treatment on the part of the British government after the assurance we had received from Mr. Jackson, His Majesty's charge d'affaires, previous to our departure from New York, but, as I have just intimated, the agents of the North West Company

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had exaggerated the importance of the factory in the eyes of the British ministry, for if the latter had known what it really was—a mere trading post—and that nothing but the rivalry of the fur traders of the North West Company was interested in its destruction, they would never have taken umbrage at it or at least would never have sent a maritime expedition to destroy it."[7]

It was on October 29, 1813, after the sale was consummated, that a large party set out for the upper river to make a transfer of the posts in the interior and to inventory and turn over the property there. Before this was concluded Alexander Stuart and Alexander Henry, important men among the Northwesters, arrived at Fort Astoria. On the last day of that month, also, the expected British warship entered the river. It proved to be the sloop of war Raccoon, of twenty-six guns, under the command of Capt. W. Black. The latter was greatly disappointed to learn of the sale and transfer of the post, as he had hoped to capture the goods with the fort. It was on December 12 or 13, 1813, that the American flag was hauled down and the British flag was displayed in its place.[8] Captain Black's comment on seeing the little fort was: "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!"[9] Captain Black's report to the British Admiralty was laconic, simply saying regarding the sale that had forestalled him that he "found party of North West Company here who had made arrangements with the American party before my arrival." He added that he had renamed the place Fort George and had left the country and fort in possession and charge of the North West Company. He said, "Enemy's party quite broke up. They have no settlement whatever on this river or coast."[10] This indeed was true. The American settlement had come to naught and the Americans had abandoned the country by voluntary decision, a fact, which had it remained so would have deprived the nation of one of its most potent if not its principal claim in the historic controversy of future years upon the rights of sovereignty to this valuable domain. For had Captain Black, finding the fort already in the hands of his countrymen by right of private purchase, refrained from assuming rights for his government, the restoration clause inserted a year afterward in the treaty of Ghent at the close of the war would not have applied. That clause came to be inserted therein at the instance of President Madison, who, although he had no actual knowledge at that time of the private transfer of the fort, remembered Astor's urgent pleas for protection during the war, and therefore had issued his instructions to the American plenipotentiaries with wise foresight. He had said, "Should a treaty be concluded with Great Britain and a reciprocal restoration of territory be agreed on, you will have in mind that the United States had in their possession at the

[7] Franchere, Narrative, p. 193. The sale of the various posts and Astor's pelts and supplies was for $40,000 although it is believed they were then worth over $100,000. In a letter to John Quincy Adams Astor estimated the whole property to be worth nearer $200,000 than $40,000, the amount he received in bills on Montreal. (Letter January 4, 1823, in Greenhow, Hist. Or. and Cal., p. 439.) Franchere gives the date of the sale as October 23, while Irving has it October 16, 1813.

[8] Franchere gives this date as December 12 while Alexander Henry gives it as December 13, 1813.

[9] This is Franchere's version, which differs very little from the versions of Cox, Ross and Irving.

[10] Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 147.

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commencement of the war a post at the mouth of the river Columbia which commanded the river which ought to be embraced in the stipulations should the possession have been wrested from us during the war." The very first article of the treaty signed December 24, 1814, provided, therefore, as follows:[11] "All territory, places and possession whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting * * * shall be restored without delay. * * * "

By virtue of this provision the fort was later restored to American possession and the continuity of settlement and occupancy so much relied upon by the United States in after years to establish its title to the Oregon Country was thus in effect re-established by international agreement.[12] The secretary of state on July 18, 1815, notified the British government that the President intended immediately to occupy the post at Astoria, Mr. Astor being desirous at that time to renew his plan, but as it turned out the latter did nothing further toward returning to the field of operations in Oregon, and it was three years later before the United States actually regained possession.[13]

To recur to the situation at Astoria, or Fort George as it was now to be called, Alexander Henry's journals give additional details of the sale. He tells of the altercations that arose with Hunt respecting the accounts and the method of payment. He says also that Hunt was not allowed to take more than four of the Sandwich islanders, the Northwesters insisting upon keeping the others although they "wished much to see their own homes." The Pedlar,

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[11] Greenhow, Hist. of Or. and Calif., p. 307.

[12] Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 142. F. V. Holman, Oregon Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 211. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 306.

[13] For the correspondence and an appendix or statement compiled at the British foreign office, see Katherine B. Judson "The British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XX, pp. 243 and 305.)

In September, 1817, the United States sloop of war, Ontario, under command of Capt. James Biddle, United States Navy, with whom was associated special commissioner, J. B. Provost, was ordered to the Columbia River with instructions "to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the adjacent country, and especially to reoccupy Astoria or Fort George." On receiving information of this, the British government notified the North West Company that "due facility should be given to the reoccupation by the officers of the United States" but this was "without, however, admitting the rights of that government to the possession in question." The Ontario arrived in the river in August, 1818, although Provost who was detained in Chile on other Government business was not to arrive until later. Without waiting for him Captain Biddle raised the American flag over the fort August 19, 1818. Soon after, the British frigate Blossom arrived, and Mr. Provost was on board, besides whom James Keith, a partner of the North West Company, was a passenger. A formal writing was then drawn up, signed by Capt. F. Hickey of the Blossom and Mr. Keith, dated October 6, 1818, and delivered to Mr. Provost purporting to restore to the United States Government "the settlement of Fort George on the Columbia River." The surrender was intended as a surrender of the settlement or fort, and did not purport to restore or release sovereignty of the country. But this was not stated to the American representative at the time or claimed by the British government in its diplomatic correspondence with the United States until after the event. Captain Biddle, before the arrival of Provost and the Blossom, had already posted some sort of a notice upon the river bank making claim apparently to more than the mere property in question. The fort had been changed and enlarged. There were twenty-three white men there at the time, besides twenty-six Kanakas, twenty Canadian half-breeds and a number of women and children. (Greenhow, Hist. Or. and Calif., p. 308. Wilkes, Hist. of Oregon, New York, 1845, reprinted in Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 74. Hist. Pac. Northwest, edited by Elwood Evans, Vol. I, p. 87.)

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on which Hunt had arrived, sailed away with him on board, April 2, 1814. It was not until April 22 following that the long looked for North West Company's Isaac Todd arrived in the river, with several passengers including two more members of the M'Tavish name. Of the latter, one of them, Donald M'Tavish, arrived with authority to act as governor for the North West Company. He brought with him a handsome flaxen haired young woman, a former barmaid, Jane Burns or Barnes by name, who is said to have been the first white woman on the Columbia River. Her superior personal charms, and also her numerous wonderful dresses, both of which she was fond of displaying at Fort George, excited the envy of the native women and the admiration of some of the males as well. Besides having a proposal from one of the Chief Concomly's sons, she succeeded in making herself the subject of a jealous quarrel between Governor M'Tavish and Alexander Henry. The little schooner Dolly was rechristened "Jane" in her honor.[14]

It seems that the natives did not like the change of ownership and could not understand the tame surrender to the King George men. Old Chief Concomly is reported to have offered his braves in support of the Americans if they would fight, and it is said that then and there he lost all respect for his son-in-law, M'Dougal.[15] M'Dougal soon found himself in bad favor with all concerned. He was taken into the North West Company but his associates looked upon him as a cheat and the Americans thought him a traitor. It was perhaps due to the arrival of Mr. Hunt, after the sale had been effected, as already related, that Astor's interests received any consideration. He succeeded with some effort in getting the settlement put in final form and then he wrote a full report for Mr. Astor. Before he left he expressed to his Canadian partners his opinion of their perfidy in no uncertain terms and in vigorous language he denounced the whole transaction, pointing out the ruinous sacrifice of values at the prices for which the furs and merchandise were sold to the competitor.

Before dismissing the account of the Astoria enterprise, some reference may be made to an overland party that returning to the east followed a new route which became important in the later settlement of the country. When the Beaver arrived in the river in May, 1812, at the general conference of the partners it was agreed that besides establishing interior posts as already described, it was advisable to send dispatches to Mr. Astor. As it was not practicable to send them by sea, the long journey overland was entrusted to young Robert Stuart. Several parties destined to the various interior points, and Stuart and his companions, set out together from Astoria, June 29, 1812, under the command of Mr. Clarke, numbering sixty-two persons. There was the usual trouble and delay at Celilo but, while the indians were troublesome and hostile, the entire party arrived safely at Walla Walla by July 29, where they were to separate for their various stations. At this place Stuart procured horses from the indians and at once set off for the long journey to St. Louis. His party consisted of Benjamin Jones, André Valler, Francis LeClerc, be-

[14] May 22 following, Alexander Henry and Donald M'Tavish and five sailors were drowned in attempting to cross the Columbia to reach the Isaac Todd in rough weather. (The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, etc., edited by Coues, Vol. II, p. 916.) Concerning the woman, see the same volume at p. 896, and The Columbia River, Ross Cox, Vol. I, p. 287. She soon left and was last heard of at Canton.

[15] Cox, Columbia River, Vol. I, p. 267, and see Greenhow, Hist. Or. and Calif., appendix G (3).

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sides two returning partners, Crooks and M'Lellan. John Day also began the journey with them. The party fell in with Miller and also with Hoback, Robinson and Rezner, the beaver trappers that had been furnished an outfit by Hunt. These men having been robbed by the indians now sought permission to rejoin the Astor party but they soon changed their minds and they were given a new and full equipment by Stuart at Cauldron Linn and were again left to follow their trapping in the mountains. Miller, however, remained with the Stuart party. John Day began to show new signs of his former mental malady soon after leaving Astoria, and it became necessary to turn him over to some passing indians, who undertook to carry him back to that fort. The strain of his experiences began to exhibit itself. These experiences on the very same general route that Stuart and his party were now to travel, apparently resulted in a mild form of insanity in which the sufferings upon the trail were ever present in his mind.[16]

Stuart's party struck off southward and across the Blue Mountains but became confused and lost after leaving the Snake River country so that they suffered every hardship imaginable, being followed by a party of hostile Crows who stampeded their horses and left them to make their way as best they could on foot. Nearly starving, they reached such straits at last as to bring forth a suggestion of cannibalism from LeClerc, who urged this as the only alternative as against the death of all. The winter was passed in temporary quarters. Stuart and his six men finally reached St. Louis, April 30, 1813, after nine months upon the arduous way, having traveled a course southerly from that of the Hunt party on their journey toward the Snake River country, thus leading to the Platte River and thence to the Missouri. This, in the after years, was substantially the Oregon Trail, although not precisely.[17] The course thus

[16] There is some uncertainty in the old narratives about John Day. See the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, etc., Vol. II, p. 856, for a note on the subject by Elliott Coues, also an article by T. C. Elliott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 373, with copy of his will and statement that he died on the Columbia River, February 16, 1820.

[17] "The route pursued on the return journey was with three exceptions the Oregon Trail of later years. Stuart's party kept south of the Snake River instead of crossing and following the line of the Boisé. They also missed the line from Bear river to the Devil's Gate, although near it a good deal of the way. From Grand island to the mouth of the Kansas they followed the rivers, instead of crossing the angle between them as the Trail did afterward. All of these variations from the true route would have been avoided on another journey. The two Astor expeditions therefore are entitled to the credit of having practically opened up the Oregon Trail from the Missouri river at the mouth of the Kansas to the mouth of the Columbia river." (Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. I, p. 214.) That this route was announced as feasible for wagons as soon as the Stuart party reached St. Louis will be seen from the following quotation from an article appearing in the Missouri Gazette in June, 1813, and afterward printed as Appendix III in Bradbury's Travels. (London, 1818.) After describing the journey of the Stuart party, it is said: "By information received from these gentlemen, it appears that the journey across the continent of North America may be performed with wagons there being no obstruction in the whole route that any person would dare to call a mountain, in addition to its being much the most direct and short one to go from this place to the mouth of the Columbia river." The Astor party went through the South Pass but farther south than the Oregon Trail. Fitzpatrick was the first to go through the South Pass on the route of the Trail. Lyman says Ashley and Greene "found the South Pass" in 1824. (Lyman, History of Oregon, Vol. III, p. 56.) Marshall ascribes the discovery to Stuart's party. (Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 67-68); see also Holman, Results from Astor Expeditions (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 215); Did the Returning Astorians Use the South Pass? (Id., Vol. XVII, p. 47.) The last mentioned article,

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followed by them led them through the South Pass but rather to the south of the route generally followed by settlers thirty years later when the Stuart Trail, with slight exceptions, became the familiar route for ox teams and white covered wagons. Stuart's report to Astor on the condition of the posts and the prospects for trade upon the Columbia dealt with conditions, of course, as they existed before the war and before the serious disasters other than the loss of the Tonquin. In spite of the hardships and difficulties experienced by the expedition in entering the Oregon Country there was enough to encourage Astor and to stimulate his hopes.

An Astor party went into the Willamette Valley in the spring of 1812 in charge of McKenzie. His journey carried him far to the south for purposes of exploration rather than for procuring furs. The valley was described as the Garden of the Columbia, but it was not considered as good for beaver as some other sections, such as on the Cowlitz, and at She Whaps, and in the Blue Mountains. Wallace and Halsey also traded in the Willamette Valley with good success. They took fourteen men from Astoria, November 23, 1812, to establish a post on the Willamette. The next year another party, fitted out by M'Dougal, went still farther south. At the falls of the Willamette, as Ross says in his narrative, the indians of the surrounding country were accustomed to gather in the spring to catch salmon, as also to gamble and gormandize for months together. His descriptions of the Willamette Valley at this period show that it was "the frequented haunts of innumerable herds of elk and deer." It was to this fertile region that the Astorians turned for food supplies when by failure of the arrival of the expected ships their supply of provisions grew scarce.

After the Northwesters took possession of the business and enterprise that had cost so much in human life and human suffering, they were not altogether satisfied. Alexander Henry, writing in his journal under date of May 5, 1813, complains of the liberality shown by the Americans to the indians in making gifts, and he criticises the price given for sea otter skins, thereby raising expectations too high, and then adds: "In short, the coasting trade is now of little value and will yield small profits if any unless something can be done with the Russians either on commission for them or by exchanging goods for fur seals." The Northwesters were therefore beginning to see that the success of Astor's project in large measure depended upon that part of his plan which contemplated dealings with the Russians and trading in the Orient by his own vessels. Nevertheless the transfer was a commercial triumph for the Canadian company, while it brought ruin to the Pacific Fur Company, which never recovered from the disaster.

So ended in failure the attempt of John Jacob Astor to establish a post and to plant the American flag at the mouth of the Columbia River. The chief reason for the failure, of the many that contributed to the result, was the unforeseen war between the United States and Great Britain. Notwithstanding the failure of the enterprise as a business, a first settlement was thus made in Oregon and it was made by Americans, and this was the logical sequel to the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray and to the first penetration

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by Harrison C. Dale, reprints a letter from Ramsay Crooks, dated June 28, 1856, who says the Stuart party "came through the celebrated South Pass." The itinerary is not in doubt for it is clearly shown by Stuart's Mss. Journal, unpublished, referred to in this chapter.

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of the country by the expedition of Lewis and Clark. The discovery of the transcontinental route by way of the Black Hills, Wind River Mountains and the Three Tetons; the demonstration of the impracticability of the Snake River route; and finally the finding of a new road across the plains which afterward became the trail for settlers and later the overland route for railway lines—these were the important results of the Astor expedition.[18]

The immediate effect, of the failure of the Astor expedition was to add greatly to the strength of the British claims to the country, especially so as many of the employees and some of the partners of the Astor company joined with their rivals. The restoration left the controversy as to sovereignty unsettled. The Astor enterprise made its permanent impress in several well-known place names, such as Astoria, the John Day River in Clatsop County, and that of the same name flowing to the Columbia from Central Oregon, the McKenzie Fork of the Willamette, the town of Halsey in Linn County and Gervais in Marion County. It will not be out of place in closing this account of the ill-fated adventure to add that some years afterward Mr. Astor gave his own story of the expedition, with becoming dignity and restraint, in a letter that he wrote to John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, dated January 4, 1823.[19] He afterward joined with partners, including Ramsay Crooks, in another fur trading enterprise which operated principally upon the Great Lakes, and in the Missouri River valley, but he never returned to the Oregon Country in his fur trading operations.

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[18] The first permanent residents of Oregon were members of the Astor party who settled in the Willamette Valley. Some of these later threw their influence in favor of the United States rather than in favor of Great Britain when the question of a temporary government of the Oregon Country hung in the balance. These were Alexander Carson, William Cannon (both Americans), Joseph Gervais, Etienne Lucier, Lewis Labonte, DuBruil (all Canadians). It may be added that J. W. Nesmith in an address before the Oregon Pioneer Association (Proceedings, 1876) gave from recollection, names of persons known to him who were in Oregon prior to his arrival in 1843, including DeLoar (evidently a mistake), Thomas McKay and William Cannon. He does not mention Gervais, who participated in the settlers' meeting held in that year. (See also Lyman, Hist. Oregon, Vol. II, p. 296.) This author however, in Vol. III, p. 252, in giving a list of early residents, includes the following: 1805, DeLoar or Philip Degie, came with Lewis and Clark, in 1805; lived near Champoeg, 1811, Thomas McKay, owned farm at Scappoose; arrived on Tonquin. Michael LaFramboise, farmer on the Willamette; arrived on the Tonquin. 1812, Joseph Gervais, farmer at Chamayway; arrived with Wilson P. Hunt. Louis LaConta, farmer at Chamayway; arrived with Wilson P. Hunt. Etienne Lacier, farmer at Chewawa; arrived with Wilson P. Hunt. William Cannon, millwright, at French Prairie. Antoine Revoir (?), farmer, on French Prairie. DuBruil, farmer on French Prairie. Many of these names are misspelled.

[19] Greenhow, Hist. Or. and Cal., Appendix G (1), p. 439.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE BRITISH FUR COMPANIES

It will not be practicable to review in detail the history of the great fur companies, British and American, or to chronicle the stirring adventures of the men in their service who were the explorers and the pathfinders of the Far West. But there is a period of Oregon history so closely connected with the fortunes of some of them that in order to trace the beginnings of settlement and government a preliminary survey of these companies becomes essential.

The St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes formed a natural route through which, and over a short portage at the western end of Lake Superior, the waterways to the westward and northward were readily reached. Montreal, therefore, from the first was the headquarters for the indian trade, and thus it was that the traders, following the numerous streams and lakes in Canada, were already far west with their operations when the dealers and trappers of the United States first became active in the Rocky Mountain region and beyond, and discovery and exploration in Canadian western territory was far advanced before the district farther south became known to the civilized world. The American Revolution operated to delay development, exploration and fur trading from the American colonies, both because of the hostility of the Mississippi Valley indians at that period and the activity of the British military forces. During the war, moreover, Great Britain secured a firm foothold upon the northern frontier, and even after the treaty of peace was signed British military forces continued for a considerable time to maintain forts upon the Great Lakes, contrary to the provisions of that instrument.

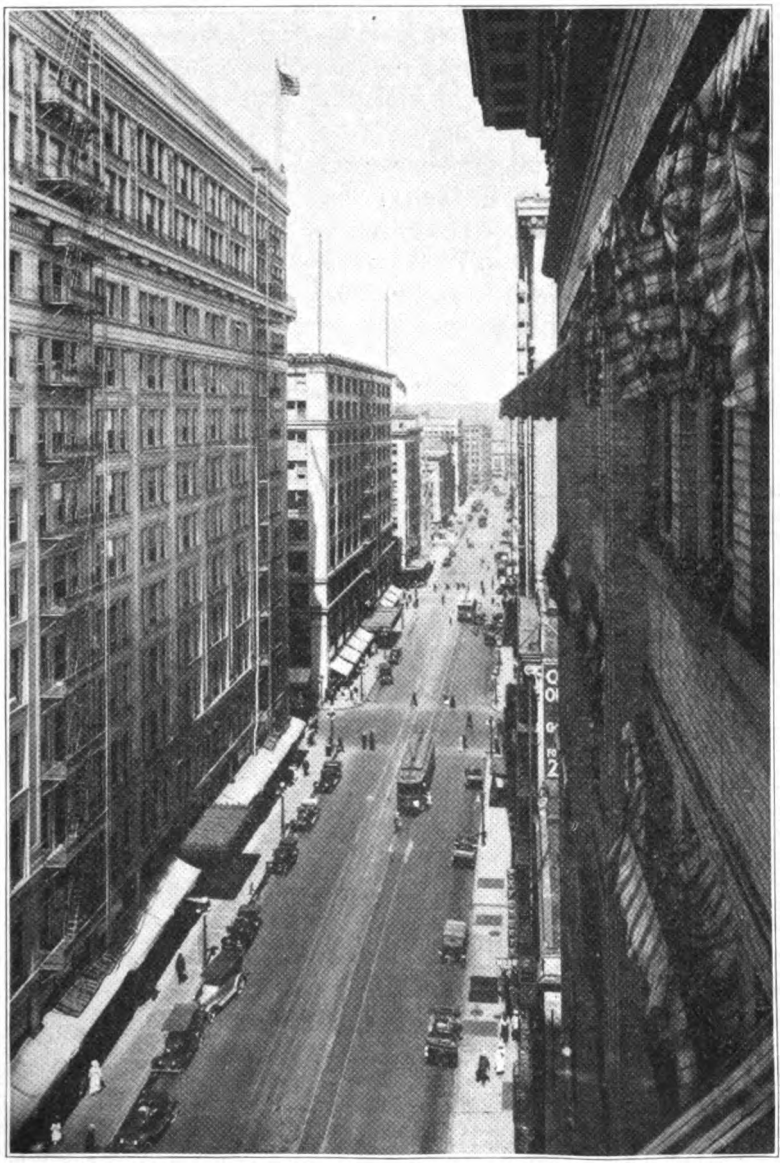
The French-Canadian trappers had long kept an intimate contact with the Northwestern tribes. Having a certain sympathy for the indian point of view and adapting themselves readily to indian methods, they not infrequently took to themselves indian wives and lived according to customs of the tribes, learning the language and allowing their children to grow up as indians. This trait or adaptability had given the Frenchman a familiar influence that was not easily counteracted by the Scotch and English traders, who indeed did not venture as far as the French-Canadian forts upon the Saskatchewan before 1771.

The fur trade, however, was already being prosecuted with great vigor and success by the British interests in the Canadian Northwest before Lewis and Clark made their historic journey to the mouth of the Columbia; and as already shown in these pages the news that reached Jefferson of the British activities had a direct effect in hastening that expedition.[1]

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[1] When Lewis and Clark returned from Oregon to the upper Missouri they met hunters named Dickson and Hancock who had been hunting on the Yellowstone, and who spent the previous winter with the Tetons in company with a Mr. Ceautoin. Two of the traders of the North West Company had been killed by indians, who were lying in wait for Mackenzie of that company. This was August 1, 1805. (Hosmer Edition, Vol. II, p. 426.)

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LOOKING NORTH ON FIFTH STREET FROM MORRISON STREET, PORTLAND

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Turning now for the moment to the Oregon Country, the history of the Astorians has already been related. They were followed by their successor by purchase, the North West Company; and then came the long period of the occupancy of the greatest of all the fur trading concerns, the Hudson's Bay Company. The Splendid Wayfaring, as it has been called, of several American trading companies and independent men of enterprise, also contributed to Oregon development by making possible the subsequent migration of settlers upon feasible routes for wagon trains across the plains and mountains from Missouri to Oregon. By 1807, American fur traders of St. Louis had extended their trade up the Mississippi and Missouri where they came into contact with the North West Company, whose operations then extended into the region south of the present international boundary. The Americans also traded extensively on the Osage and Kansas rivers, and toward the Arkansas, and were already reaching out to Santa Fe. The expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific and of Pike to the Southwest attracted American attention to the western part of the continent and stimulated interest in the valley of the Columbia.

It has already been mentioned that the original charter of the Hudson's Bay Company was granted by Charles II of England, May 2, 1670. It will be noted that this was a century before the war with France that resulted in English domination of Canada. Until this change of sovereignty, the English company confined its operations to British territory in the vicinity of Hudson Bay, north of the French-Canadian provinces, a district then known as Rupert's Land. Broad powers of an exclusive character were conferred by the royal charter, not only as respects trade and exploration but also in the government of its servants and of the inhabitants of the country to which the grant applied.[2] In fact, legislative, judicial and executive governmental powers were vested in the company in the vast district that was vaguely described in the charter, with "the whole and entire" trade and traffic to and from "all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes and seas into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits, or places" described in the charter. As the monopoly of the East India Company in Asia, and that of the South Sea Company upon the Pacific, hampered independent traders along the recently rediscovered west coast of North America, and interfered with the exchange of furs for Chinese commodities, so likewise the grant to the Hudson's Bay Company interfered with inland trade by reason of its monopolistic provisions. This grant, broad as were its provisions, did not in express words

[2] The charter authorized the members of the company to hold court, "to make, ordain and constitute such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances" as should seem necessary and convenient for the good government "of the said company, and of all governors of colonies, forts and plantations, factors, masters, mariners and other officers employed or to be employed in any of the territories and lands aforesaid, and any of their voyages;" and also to revoke or alter them. It provided furthermore that they "shall and may lawfully impose, ordain, limit and provide such pains, penalties and punishments upon all offenders, contrary to such laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, or any of them," and levy and impose fines and amercements. There was also granted the right to send ships of war, men or ammunitions, to choose commanders and officers over them, and to give them power and authority to continue or make peace or war, "with any prince or people whatsoever that are not Christians," and to make reprisals, build defenses, and to man and equip them. The charter is printed in Appendix A, in the Hudson's Bay Territories and Vancouver Island, by R. M. Martin. (London, 1849.)

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embrace the regions of the Rocky Mountains or the Pacific West, that country being unknown at the time the royal charter was given, but apparently it applied to the region watered by streams flowing into Hudson Bay rather than to more remote territory, which might likewise be inferred from the title of the company. Rival traders began therefore to dispute the monopoly in the West, and thus, before the close of the eighteenth century, the profits of the fur trade having by this time became attractive, men of independence and enterprise who traded in and out of Montreal not only were pressing by canoe and paddle toward the western side of the continent but they even turned to the North and East and dared to intrude into the particular province of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. Till this time, the big company had been sluggish and inert, but now competition and trespass upon its preserves incited it to reach out into new fields in the West.

The history of the North West Company was altogether different. Unlike the Hudson's Bay Company it was purely a Canadian enterprise, growing out of earlier independent fur trading organizations. In its original form nine of the principal trading interests of Canada entered into an agreement in 1779 to divide territory and business, and this plan proved so successful after a one-year trial that the arrangement was renewed in 1780 for a further period of three years. Success was impaired, however, by failure of some of the parties to keep the agreement in good faith, and the plan was therefore abandoned at the end of two years. Nevertheless, as the soundness of the principle was recognized in spite of failure, a third attempt at consolidation was made in 1783-4, largely through the influence of merchants at Montreal, who much preferred to have the fur business pass through their hands rather than to have it controlled at Hudson Bay. This time the effort was a success, and the real beginning of the North West Company resulted. It was not an incorporated company, but it gathered under the direction of responsible partners most of the enterprising and adventurous men of the trade. Nevertheless, it did not succeed in associating all of the independents, and its operations were sometimes opposed by active rivals with force and violence.[3] This North West Company has a place in the Oregon history of the early years of the nineteenth century, not only because of its acquisition of the Astor interests, but also by reason of the far-reaching effect which its competition had upon the methods and policies of the old Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently upon the whole fur trade and the fate of the region wherein that trade was plied.

Prior to the advent of the North West Company, the "gentlemen adventurers" of the Hudson's Bay Company had their trading posts as far west as Fort Cumberland on the Saskatchewan River, as established by Samuel Hearne in 1774.[4] David Thompson, then one of the active men of the latter company,

[3] For example, John Ross, one of the partners, was murdered in 1786, and this was reported to have occurred in a scuffle with the followers of Peter Pond, a dissatisfied independent who believed the North West Company had not treated him fairly. Pond himself was an adventurer of no mean attainments and a factor to be reckoned within all the subsequent affairs of the pioneer traders. His early travels and maps, and the theory he formulated as to the Athabasca drainage system in all probability influenced Alexander Mackenzie in setting out on his overland journey to the Pacific coast. Pond is reported to have wearied of the contest in 1790 and to have sold out his shares for £800. He retired to the United States leaving a deep impress on the fur trade of the West.

[4] This great Hudson's Bay Company explorer already had found the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of Coppermine River, in 1771, and had discovered Great Slave Lake. Hendry,

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spent the winter of 1787-8 at Manchester House, and the following winter at Hudson's House, posts of the company on the Saskatchewan and its tributaries.

Traffic with the Mandans and the Gros Ventres on the Missouri was established about the year 1793. The Hudson's Bay Company suffered the disadvantage of nonresident ownership, but, nevertheless, it was stimulated to greater endeavors by the increasing competition. It had the great advantage of ample capital and of chartered privilege, but this was offset by the daring and enterprise of the rival company. The Hudson's Bay factories were located at convenient stations, generally near the mouths of streams, where it would be easy for the indians to come with their peltries for sale, but the plan of the Northwesters was rather to carry trade to the very lodges and the hunting grounds of the natives.

The North West Company was again reorganized in 1787, with new partners and a different distribution of shares, and some of the retiring partners projected still another new company, the New North West Company, which came to be known as the X. Y. Company. Alexander Mackenzie's arrangement with the old Northwesters expiring in 1799, that great explorer and leader journeyed to England in that year, being succeeded in his former place by Roderick McKenzie, and soon after his arrival at London he published an account of his explorations and was honored with knighthood. His book awakened widespread interest among the people of the parent country and its success emboldened Mackenzie to launch an ambitious scheme for combining fur trade and fishing interests, a venture which, however, he did not succeed in organizing.[5] But he did place himself at the head of the New North West Company (the X. Y. Company), and so succeeded in making himself a formidable rival for a time to the concern with which he had been allied.

The war between the companies became intense. Resort was had to every questionable method known to a wild country. Intoxicating liquor, the disastrous effects of which on the aboriginal population had been foreseen by the early organizers, was now again introduced among the indians as a means of currying favor with them.[6] The Hudson's Bay Company's legal jurisdiction was openly defied, and, attempts being made by that company to assert rights independent of the Canadian courts, it was discovered that its powers had

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an earlier Hudson's Bay explorer, had made the first authenticated visit of a white man to Lake Winnipeg from Hudson Bay in 1754-5 and had gone as far as Red Deer River, in the present province of Alberta.

[5] The Columbia River figured in these plans. Davidson says of Mackenzie: "His 'Preliminaries' suggested the formation of a supreme civil and military establishment at Nootka, with one subordinate station on the Columbia River and another in Sea Otter Harbor, in latitude 55°. It was proposed that those acts be repealed which granted to the South Sea and East India Companies the exclusive right of fishery, trade, and navigation in the Pacific Ocean and on the west coast of North America, or else that irrevocable and unlimited licenses be obtained from those companies to trade and fish and establish factories and agents in Canton or elsewhere for the sale or barter of their exports or imports." This was more than a decade before the Northwesters carried the plan into effect, fortune favoring them, which resulted in their acquisition of the Astor interests.

[6] The keenness of the opposition is shown by the quantity of liquor used. It was estimated that in 1800 there were consumed 10,098 gallons. In 1803 the North West Company used 16,299 gallons, and the traders opposing them used 5,000 gallons,—in all 21,299 gallons. The average consumption in the years 1806 to 1810 inclusive was 9,700 gallons.—Cited by Davidson, who notes that the information was obtained from sources favorable to the North West Company.

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been as yet but imperfectly determined, and were of doubtful character. A compromise between the two North West companies was effected in July, 1804, leaving unsettled, however, the war upon the Hudson's Bay Company. In the autumn of that year development of the trade with the tribes on the Missouri was begun by the Northwesters, and a party sent out from the Assiniboine River station, seeking a new locality in which it might trade without contravening its arrangement as to competitive territory, quietly stole away to the southward and passed the winter in the Mandan villages, which were reached in November, 1804. The Lewis and Clark expedition was already there, but the Canadian leader, Larocque,[7] did not question the claim of the Americans that the region formed part of the territory of Louisiana, which had been purchased in the preceding year by the United States. This Canadian party was none too successful in trade, and it was found that the tribes in this section were prosperous and independent, and moreover were too nearly self-sustaining to hunt beaver for the advantage of the whites.

David Thompson, whose arrival at the Astor factory at the mouth of the Columbia in 1812 as the advance knight-errant of the Northwesters has already been recounted, was a born explorer. He had left the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1799 because of a disagreement, it having been intimated to him that he was expected to perform other services than those of surveyor and explorer. Then he joined that company's great rival, and there he seems to have been in his element. His journals are mines of information of the geography of the country and the history of the Northwesters and their operations at this period. A map which alone would make his fame secure was made in 1813 and 1814 for the North West Company "from actual survey during the years 1792 to 1812." It records or locates seventy-eight posts of that company, which shows how trade had been stimulated by competition.[8] To justify its right, the North West Company claimed to be the legitimate successor of the French trappers, but recognizing the insecurity of its position as long as the Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive chartered privileges were asserted, it began as early as 1808 to attempt to procure for itself from the British authorities a definite charter, which would not only warrant its making the necessary outlays to establish a chain of posts with transportation facilities which it contemplated establishing from the Canadian settlements westward to the mouth of the Columbia, but also grant it exclusive privileges in the western territory. In addressing the British Board of Trade by petition for this purpose it represented that an irrevocable and unlimited license from the Hudson's Bay Company was, if that company had the legal right to grant or refuse such a license, a necessity for its proposed plan, and also similar licenses and trading privileges from the East India and South Sea companies to barter goods in China direct. The petitioners took note of the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and the political aspect of the venture was urged in the petition in a statement that unless the British interests acted promptly there was likelihood that the

[7] Francois Antoine Larocque was the commander of the expedition sent out from the Assiniboine River post.

[8] The files of the State Department at Washington contain a letter from Thompson to Secretary Buchanan, June 3, 1845, offering to sell his map of the western country. His keen interest in his old age in the settlement of the Oregon Boundary, which he claimed should be the Columbia, is shown by a letter upon the subject to Secretary Upshur, November 29, 1843, in the same files.

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Americans would claim the country from the Spanish boundary northward as far as latitude fifty degrees by right of occupation. The "Columbia or Oregan" River is mentioned in these documents.[9] Nothing came of this effort, but in 1811 a charter of incorporation was sought from the crown, to run for a period of twenty-one years and to include the grant of exclusive privileges of trade in the vast region on the Pacific slope. The British Board of Trade in the negotiations agreed that the issue was important to national interests but suggested certain modifications of the proposed charter, among others a provision that it should be revocable on three years' notice. Answering this in 1812, the company pointed out the hazards of the enterprise, which could hardly hope to establish itself in a single season, or without great outlay, and which would be unlikely to recompense its owners immediately, and proposed as an alternative that the charter be made terminable at the end of five, instead of three, years. There are references to the opposition of the American company already on the ground, and allusion to the political value of the move. But the war between the United States and Great Britain caused delay again in these negotiations and while they were still pending the events at Astoria, recounted in a previous chapter, resulted in acquisition by the Northwesters of the Astor interests.

Now a new force made itself felt,—the colonization scheme devised by the altruist Lord Selkirk, which, though it had its locus in the valley of the Red River of the North, illustrates the far-reaching effects of remote events on history, for from the clash of interests growing out of the attempt at permanent settlement of that section, there arose such a state of affairs that even Parliament began to appreciate the necessity of a definition of the rights of the fur trading companies, and in the end the Hudson's Bay Company succeeded the Northwesters in Oregon. Selkirk first fortified himself with advice of eminent counsel that the Hudson's Bay Company had the right to sell portions of its territory for the purpose of settlement, and then proceeded to obtain control of sufficient stock of that company to insure the sale to him of the land he desired. So successful was he that the Hudson's Bay shareholders voted overwhelmingly in May, 1811, in favor of the sale of a tract of some 110,000 square miles, lying across the present boundary line between Canada and the United States. The Northwesters, regarding this as a blow at their fur trade, and scenting perhaps a plan to erect an agricultural barrier against their expansion, and, moreover, sharing in large measure the traditional contempt of the free adventurer for the plodding husbandman, were openly hostile from the beginning, but settlers began to arrive late in 1812. By January, 1814, we find the governor of the colony issuing a proclamation prohibiting exports of food from the colony except by special license, and otherwise denying provisions to the western posts of the North West Company. The retaliatory scheme of the Northwesters seems to have been to coax away as many as possible of the colonists, and then to make it so disagreeable for the remainder that they would be glad to escape from the country. Pitched battles were fought, in one of which, at Seven Oaks, on June 19, 1816, the Scotch settlers were defeated, twenty of their number, including Governor Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company, being killed. Selkirk reinforced himself by adding a number of discharged soldiers to his party of settlers and he boldly assumed

[9] Davidson, The North West Company, pp. 122-4.

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control. A prolonged series of charges and counter charges followed, and the courts were appealed to by both parties; but jurisdictional questions had not yet been settled in that formative period, and the trials, civil and criminal, came to little. In some instances defendants were acquitted and in others sentences were imposed never to be executed.

Notwithstanding these and other disturbances which need not be recounted here since they bear only indirectly on the history of the region with which we are dealing, the fur trade on the whole was profitable. However, there were far-sighted individuals among officials of both the Northwesters and the Hudson's Bay Company who realized that competition would in time become ruinous, if it had not already reached that stage. The practice of furnishing the indians with intoxicants and of taking fur-bearing animals without regard to sex, and also of tolerating, if not encouraging, summer trapping, seemed likely to strip the country of its most valuable resource. The North West Company's term was approaching an end, but the partners were resolved to renew the agreement among themselves for another period, from 1822 until 1832. While this arrangement was pending, however, negotiations were entered into in London by Simon McGillivray, one of the North West partners, seemingly without official authority from the other partners, for a union with the Hudson's Bay Company. "Some of the partners," says Davidson, "who were not consulted, and others who could not attend, sent two of their number to London as delegates. These were seemingly Dr. McLaughlin [10] and Angus Bethune. The dubious claim is made that they were the persons responsible for the union of the Hudson's Bay and the North West Company." The outcome of the negotiations was an agreement to unite the concerns, under date of March 26, 1821. The colonial office and parliament had been stirred by public reports of conditions in North America, and an act of Parliament was passed July 2, 1821, by which, after a long preamble in which these evils were set forth and lamented, it was provided that the two companies should be united as the Hudson's Bay Company. The license was for a period of twenty-one years and, while preserving all monopolistic and exclusive chartered rights and jurisdiction of the latter company, it expressly conferred exclusive privilege of trading in all the region northward and westward of the territories of the United States not incorporated in any British province or belonging to the dominion of any other country. It was stipulated that in that portion of America west of the Rocky Mountains, which according to the convention of 1818 between the governments was to remain in joint occupancy, privileges of trade were not to be monopolized to the exclusion of American citizens. The act expressly confirmed the right of the Hudson's Bay Company in the administration of justice, particularly as applied to British subjects in the regions of the fur trading enterprise. Pursuant to the act, a charter was issued December 5, 1821, and the controversy between the rivals was settled for a period of twenty-one years.

Although pursuant to the terms of the treaty of 1814, the possession of Fort George or Astoria had been restored to American possession, there was little of value transferred. Astor did not renew his effort and no American settlement was attempted. The Northwesters had continued after the event to maintain their ascendancy in the entire Oregon Country, so far as it can be

[10] Dr. John McLoughlin evidently is meant. As to this see p. 262 infra.

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said to have been under white men's control. They kept a trading post at Tongue Point near Astoria for a time, but the headquarters of the trade were established at a more convenient and better location, at Vancouver, higher up on the Columbia. This post was established soon after the consolidation of the two companies, the change being determined upon by the new officers of the Hudson's Bay Company upon their first visit to the locality. It was destined to become, under the wise management of the factor in charge, the center of interest and of influence for the Oregon Country and the entire Pacific Northwest. In the meantime, in 1818, Great Britain and the United States having entered into the convention or treaty fixing forty-nine degrees, north latitude, as the international boundary between the countries from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and being unable to agree as to the boundary in the disputed territory west of the Rocky Mountains, they inserted a clause therein, providing as a temporary expedient for a joint occupancy without jeopardizing the claims of either. Thus began the unique period in which two nations peaceably occupied and claimed a vast region, each setting up its administrative and judicial system, the one being the system provided for in a crown charter that delegated to a monopolizing private company broad governmental powers, and the other being a spontaneous and voluntary system at first planned and put into effect by the people of the locality themselves in a pure democracy of their own devising, entirely without grant from superior governmental authority and even without direct permission to exercise the powers of government.

It remains to be said that the consolidation of the two companies proved highly successful and the business was carried on during the license period without serious competition in the Oregon Country. At the end of the first term, a similar license was granted, extending the privilege for a second term of twenty-one years. So, until 1859, the Hudson's Bay Company was a great factor in the history of the far West, and it was not until the waning of the fur trade after the latter date that that region became free for all; and it was not until 1869 that the company finally surrendered its grant for a pecuniary consideration paid by the Canadian Government. It maintains to this day Canadian trading posts, and it still owns land in the Canadian provinces. Its part in Oregon history during the period of the first pioneer settlements and while both Great Britain and the United States were claiming title to the country was most important.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE REIGN OF DR. McLOUGHLIN

With cessation of competition among the British companies and traders there came improvement in methods. The new Hudson's Bay Company organization represented a combination of energy and initiative, such as had characterized the prime movers among the Northwesters, and also the unlimited resources possessed by the elder concern, with its powerful friends in the home country, while at the same time the parliamentary investigation resulted in an awakened public sentiment and in a marked refinement of policy. The company now employed trappers but relied to a greater extent than ever on direct trade with the indians. There was instituted a studied course of cultivating the friendship of the natives. Acts of depredation were frowned on by the company, even if committed by its own agents, and an effort was made to lead the natives to appreciate the equality of "white man's justice." Ammunition was withheld from warlike tribes in the general interests of peace, but on the other hand it was supplied for hunting, liberal credit being often extended. Another interesting innovation put into effect under the new dispensation was the uniform-price policy, formerly used by the monopolists as a measure of economy, but now invoked for other prudential reasons. The simple minded indians could not understand the law of supply and demand, especially as applicable to a far-distant market, or the intricacies of rising and falling prices resulting from other causes, and so the tariff for any particular locality was not varied, though supplies might be sold and furs bought, on occasions, at a loss.[1]

The early American traders were crowded out as a result of the more liberal terms offered to indians and trappers by the Hudson's Bay Company. Independents were furnished with goods at lower prices, and received better offers for their furs. Prior to 1834 as many as eleven different American organizations had tried to gain a foothold in the Oregon territory, but all were forced by ruinous competition either to ply their trade in regions farther south or to quit the fur trade altogether and seek a livelihood elsewhere.

"In addition," says Frederick V. Holman, in his life of Dr. John McLoughlin, "its goods were of extra good quality, usually much better than those of the American traders. It also desired to prevent the settling of the Oregon Country. The latter purpose was for two reasons: to preserve the fur trade; and to prevent the Oregon Country from being settled by Americans to the prejudice of Great Britain's claim to the Oregon Country." (p. 33.)

The great company, after the consolidation, lost no time in extending the sphere of its domination. Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been a partner in the North West Company and who had opposed the coalition, but whose capacity for directing fur trade affairs was well known to the leading men of

[1] Burnett, "Recollections of an Old Pioneer." Page 146.

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DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN, CHIEF FACTOR OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

(From a daguerreotype in the library of Stanford University, formerly owned by Jesse Quinn Thornton.)



SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORIES IN NORTH AMERICA

(From Simpson's Narrative)



THE ASTOR MEDAL

Used by American Fur Company after 1829 at Fort Union near the mouth of the Yellowstone. It is modeled after the early United States medals, such as those of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. The letters U. M. O. signify Upper Missouri Outfit.



(Oregon Historical Society)

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN'S SAFE OR STRONG BOX

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the Hudson's Bay Company, was sent to the Columbia River, arriving at Fort George in the autumn of 1824.[2] At about this time Vancouver was made the headquarters of the company, and soon after Doctor McLoughlin's arrival the stock of goods at Fort George was transferred to the new post.[3] The original Fort Vancouver was about a mile east of the present United States military barracks known as Fort Vancouver, but some miles down stream from the projection of land that had been named Point Vancouver by Lieutenant Broughton in 1792. Here Doctor McLoughlin established a large farm as well as trading post, and stocked it as rapidly as possible with cattle, sheep and other domestic animals. His policy with relation to live stock was to refrain from slaughtering animals until he had built up a large herd. For years afterward no animals were killed or sold, although to some of the early settlers he made loans of live stock, to be repaid from their increase. A new fort was erected near the

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[2] For a sketch of the life of Doctor McLoughlin, see The History of the Oregon Country (Scott), Vol. I, p. 295.

[3] Sir John H. Pelly, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote a letter on December 9, 1825, to the Right Hon. George Canning, Secretary of the British Foreign Office, which indicates that the site of Fort Vancouver was chosen and named by Governor Simpson, rather than by Doctor McLoughlin, as has been assumed by many. The letter in question, which is included in an article written by Mr. T. C. Elliott on "The Northern Boundary of Oregon" in the Oregon Historical Quarterly (Vol. XX, p. 25, et seq.), was written in support of British claims to the Oregon Country. It contains the following statement: "In compliance with a wish expressed by you at our last interview, Governor Simpson when at Columbia abandoned Fort George on the South side of the river and formed a new establishment on the North side about seventy-five miles from the mouth of the River at a place called by Lieutenant Broughton, Bellevue Point. Governor Simpson named the new establishment 'Fort Vancouver' in order to identify it with Lieutenant Broughton's description and survey." Pelly was mistaken as to abandonment of Fort George at this time, however. It still existed in a small way for some years afterward. John Dunn, for eight years in the Hudson's Bay service, having come to the territory on the Ganymede in 1831, says of Fort Vancouver: "It was founded in 1824, by Governor Simpson: as the locality was more convenient for trade—had a larger and richer tract of land for cultivation—and afforded a more convenient landing place for ships than the former depot—Fort George (or Astoria) which lay near the mouth of the river." Dunn, Hist. of Oregon Territory (1845), p. 100; Greenhow (Oregon & California, pp. 313-314) describes the situation at Astoria at the time of its restoration to the United States. The North West Company agent desired information as to whether the United States would insist on abandonment of the post by the North West Company, before final decision of the issue of sovereignty, and whether the United States Government would be disposed to indemnify the North West Company, in the event of a territorial decision in favor of the United States, for improvements which might meanwhile have been made there. Says Greenhow: "The buildings, and, indeed the whole establishment at Astoria, had been considerably increased, since it came into the hands of the North West Company. According to the plan, and description of the place sent by Mr. Provost (commissioner of the United States) to Washington, the factory consisted, in 1818, of a stockade made of pine logs, twelve feet in length above the ground, enclosing a parallelogram of 150 by 250 feet. * * * Within this enclosure were all the buildings of the establishment. * * * In 1821 these buildings were all destroyed by fire: and since that period the principal establishment of the British traders west of the Rocky Mountains has been Fort Vancouver, on the north side of the Columbia, about one hundred miles from the sea." Frances Fuller Victor (River of the West, p. 24) enumerates the principal reasons why the site at Fort Vancouver was chosen by the Hudson's Bay Company, and adds: "The site chosen by the North West Company in 1821, for this new fort, combined all these advantages and the further one of having been already commenced and named. Fort Vancouver became at once upon the accession of the Hudson's Bay Company, the metropolis of the northwest coast, the center of the fur trade, and the seat of government for that immense territory."

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present site of the United States army post a few years later. John Dunn, an employe of the company during this period, and who has left a description of the second post, says of it: "The fort is in the shape of a parallelogram, about 250 yards long, by 150 broad; enclosed by a sort of wooden wall, made of pickets or large beams, firmly fixed in the ground and closely fitted together, twenty feet high, and strongly secured on the inside by buttresses. At each angle there is a bastion, mounting two twelve pounders, and in the centre there are some eighteen pounders; but from the subdued and pacific character of the natives, and the long absence of all apprehension, these cannon have become useless. The area within is divided into two courts, around which are about forty neat, strong wooden buildings, one story high, designed for various purposes,—such as offices, apartments for the clerks, and other officers—warehouses for furs, English goods and other commodities—workshops for the different mechanics; carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, wheelwrights, tinners, &c.; in all of which there is the most diligent and unceasing activity and industry. There is also a schoolhouse and chapel; and a powder magazine, built of brick and stone. In the centre stands the governor's residence, which is two stories high—the dining hall; and the public sitting room. All the clerks and officers, including the chaplain and physician, dine together in the hall, the governor presiding. The dinner is of the most substantial kind, including several courses. Wine is frequently allowed, but no spirituous liquors."[4] Dunn describes the social life of the post, which was much like that of the old feudal times. Visiting traders were entertained in royal fashion. Here Doctor McLoughlin ruled by might of his dominating personality, and by virtue of a far-seeing policy which disarmed opposition in advance. He first published to all the indians that the Hudson's Bay Company had not come among them to seize their lands, that all that would be desired by the company would be certain limited areas in the vicinity of the posts that were to be established, that the company wished to encourage the indians in their natural vocations of hunting and trapping, and that it would furnish them goods in trade for furs. On the other hand, having thus appealed to their self-interest, he was prepared to deal firmly with transgressors against the rules he laid down. In exchange for the obvious advantages of trade, he insisted that there should be no depredations. These he declared he would punish summarily. So successful was his policy that he was able to govern with a small force. The cannon displayed at Fort Vancouver were symbolical of his might, rather than the means for making it oppressive. There was no majesty of law, since the Hudson's Bay Company had no backing of military power of the home government.[5]

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[4] Dunn, Oregon Territory (1845), pp. 101-2. Doctor McLoughlin was not officially a "governor" of the Hudson's Bay Company, his title being Chief Factor, but the former title was universally bestowed upon him by the people with whom he came in contact and is evidence of the impression he made upon them. The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in England at this time was Sir John H. Pelly, and the resident governor, with headquarters in Montreal, was Sir George Simpson.

[5] "When he first came to Oregon, it was not safe for the company's parties to travel except in large numbers and heavily armed. In a few years there was practically no danger. A single boat loaded with goods or furs was as safe as a great flotilla had been when he arrived on the Columbia River in 1824. It was Doctor McLoughlin who did this, by his personality, by his example, and by his influence. He had accomplished all this when the indian population of the indian country is estimated to have been in excess of 100,000, including about 30,000 on the Columbia River below its junction with the Snake River, and

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Doctor McLoughlin instituted many reforms among the indians. Among other things he persuaded them to abolish the custom of making human sacrifices. "Formerly," says Dunn, "on the death of a chief, or other person of wealth and importance, one or more of his slaves (much of an indian's importance depending upon the number of his slaves) was put to death for his use in the next world. But this barbarous superstition has been abolished through interposition of the company. The present governor, Dr. McLoughlin, has for this purpose, as well as for many others in which humanity, and the civilization of the natives, are concerned, made great exertions."[6]

One of the excellent results of the consolidation of the great companies was that it permitted the Hudson's Bay Company effectively to suppress liquor traffic among the natives. Under unrestricted competition this had become an abuse that threatened the welfare of the indians, as well as the safety of white men wherever the custom of using liquor in trade prevailed. The practice had been introduced in an earlier time under stress of what the traders conceived to be necessity. In the Rocky Mountain districts it prevailed long after it was abolished in the region ruled over by Doctor McLoughlin, who absolutely prohibited the use of liquor in trade with indians. But at St. Louis, after Mr. Astor had undertaken to revive his trade in the West and had therefore come into competition with the independents like the so-called Columbia Fur Company, appeals for liquor for use in trade were constantly received, and American traders used great quantities. Indeed, when the United States Congress, largely as the result of the labor of Gen. William Ashley,[7] passed the act of July 9, 1832, prohibiting introduction of liquor into the indian country, Kenneth McKenzie, resident partner of the American Company on the upper Missouri, had deemed this so vital a blow to success that after trying in vain to obtain a modification of the law he conceived the ingenious scheme of opening a distillery at Fort Union for the manufacture of liquor on his own account, an evasion of the statute, which in terms prohibited "importation" of liquor into the indian country. But the anti-liquor policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had been adopted before this time. Almost immediately after the union of that Company and the Northwesters liquor sales had been checked. George Bryce says that "the quantity given in 1822 and 1823 was reduced one half and the strength of the spirits lowered."[8] When the successors to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1830 encountered Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Great Salt Lake country, they were able to make temporary capital of this circumstance. "As the Hudson's Bay Company," says General Chittenden, "did not permit the use of liquor in the trade, except along the international boundary, Ogden was quite helpless to oppose Fitzpatrick, who, without the slightest scruple, debauched his men with liquor and soon secured

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on the tributaries of that part of the Columbia River. This was before the great epidemics of the years 1829 to 1832, inclusive, which caused the deaths of great numbers of indians, especially those living on and near the lower Columbia River. There were no indian wars in the Oregon Country during all the time that Doctor McLoughlin was in charge at Fort Vancouver, from 1824 to 1846. All the indian wars occurred after he resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company. The first of these wars began with the Whitman massacre in 1847."—Dr. John McLoughlin, by F. V. Holman, pp. 26-27.

[6] Dunn, Oregon Territory (1845), p. 87.

[7] Ashley was then in Congress, having sold out his interests in his fur business He. himself, had used whiskey upon his expeditions among the indians.

[8] "Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company," p. 271.

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the product of a year's hunt for comparatively nothing."[9] This is a fair picture of what was taking place, a condition which led Nathaniel Wyeth to complain that there was "a great majority of scoundrels" among the various companies. However, whether or not instituted as a matter of broad policy by officials who saw that in the end the use of liquor could result only in demoralizing the whole industry, it comports with what is otherwise known of Doctor McLoughlin's character to assume that the chief factor was prompted by lofty motives. He was himself an abstainer from ardent spirits, though permitting himself indulgence in a little wine on exceedingly rare occasions.

The policy of the North West Company prior to consolidation had been quite the reverse. The practice of supplying the indians with intoxicants had been openly defended, as it was later upheld by the Canadian independents in the mountains. As early as 1808 the Northwesters had presented a petition to Parliament in opposition to a bill to restrict the liquor trade, a petition in which figures were given as to the extent of the trade and the quantity of liquor used. The petitioners submitted that the custom of making liquor presents was so firmly established that they would be compelled to abandon three-fourths of their trading territory if they could not give liquor to the Plains indians on whom they were dependent for food, and otherwise Americans would get the trade.[10]

Nevertheless, whatever the credit to be ascribed to the Hudson's Bay Company for the reform, it did not scruple to employ drastic measures to discourage opposition in trade. Allusion has been made to the practice of underselling rivals wherever and whenever expediency seemed to urge. Advantage moreover was gained from the very nature of the organization. The manner in which its supplies were distributed among the various posts, and the facility with which the traders of the company were furnished with the kind of goods most desired by the natives, operated always to strengthen its control. This was due to the refusal of the company to rely exclusively on uncertain communication by way of the sea, to its maintenance of the overland express notwithstanding enormous physical difficulties, and to the constant pains it took to keep stocks of goods for every probable demand. There were exported to the Columbia River great stores of woolen cloth, calicoes, blankets, tobacco, toys, tinware, iron cooking utensils and a multitude of other articles. These were ordered from England in October and shipped from London in the following spring, arriving in Canada during the summer. In the course of the succeeding winter they were packed into parcels weighing ninety pounds each, which would leave Montreal in May and be exchanged for furs during the next winter. The furs would reach Montreal in May, whence they were shipped chiefly to London, to be sold in March and April and paid for in May and June.[11] In addition to the express service, a number of vessels were sent to the Columbia from London.[12]

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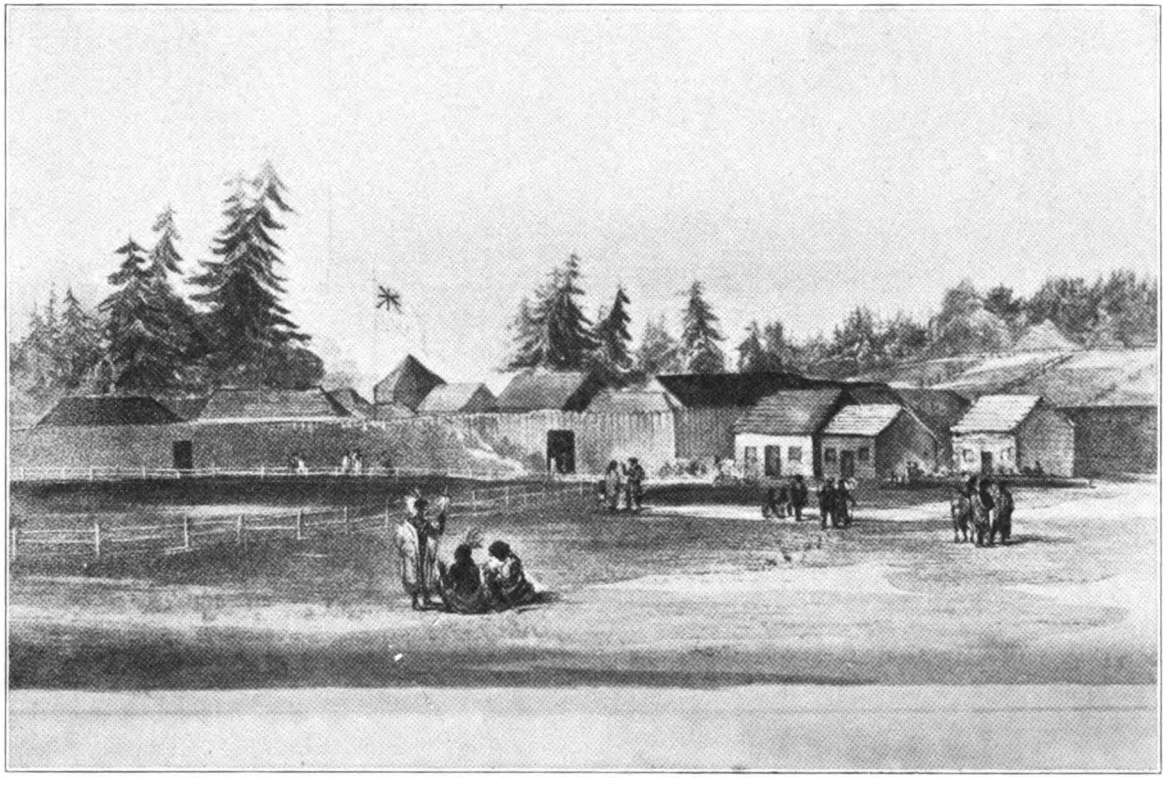
[9] Chittenden, Hist. of Am. Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 293.

[10] Davidson, "The North West Company," p. 224. The American traders used similar arguments and opposed legislation by Congress. (Chittenden, Hist. of the Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 23 et seq.)

[11] Davidson, "The North West Company," p. 225.

[12] In the early years the Hudson's Bay Company established a house at Honolulu, shipped products there, and brought back articles serviceable at Vancouver. (Clarence B. Bagley, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 356.)

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FORT VANCOUVER, HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S FORT, ESTABLISHED BY DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN IN MARCH, 1825

The structure shown was not built until three years later, according to the best information now obtainable.

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Another fact that assisted the Hudson's Bay organization in obtaining control of the trade of the western territory was the American Fur Company's less generous treatment of its employees. General Chittenden, who discusses this in a non-partisan spirit, says that, "on the whole the trade arrangements of the American Fur Company were grossly one-sided and unfair. They threw the burden of loss upon those who had the burden of the work to perform." The writer quotes T. J. Farnham's Travels in the Great Western Prairies, by way of illustration: "Meek was evidently very poor. He had scarcely clothing enough to cover his body, and while with us the frosty winds which sucked up the valley made him shiver like an aspen leaf. He reverted to his destitute situation and complained of the injustice of his former employers; the little remuneration he had received for the toils and dangers he had endured on their account, etc.; a complaint which I had heard from every trapper whom I had met on my journey." The comment is added: "This is a fair sample of the complaints which came from nearly all the old employees of the company." [13]

The route over which goods were carried from Canada to the Columbia was difficult and tedious. Leaving Fort William on July 20, the brigade would reach the lower Columbia River on October 20. The trip in the opposite direction was made between April 1 and July 1. By use of a light canoe, a traveler from the mouth of the river and pressing forward rapidly could reach Montreal in 100 days.[14] George T. Allan, an employe of the company, who made the journey in 1841, has left an account of his trip in the form of a journal which clearly depicts the difficulties of this mode of travel. Allan left Fort Vancouver on March 22, by the express. After a relatively uneventful voyage of nine days by boat up the Columbia he reached the post at Walla Walla, which was in charge of Pierre C. Pambrun as chief trader. There he was cordially received, being served with roast turkey for dinner. He left Walla Walla on April 1st, going overland with a band of horses to Fort Colville, in advance of the boatmen, in order to audit the books of the company there. Colville was then the last Hudson's Bay post on the route west of the Rocky Mountains. He reached Fort Spokane four days later and arrived at Fort Colville on April 7th. Leaving this post on April 25th, having been overtaken by the voyageurs, he made a canoe trip of ten days up the rapid and dangerous portion of the Columbia to Boat Encampment, the highest point on the river attainable by canoe. This was reached on May 4th. Traveling thence on snowshoes, many of the men heavily laden, he arrived at Height-of-Land on May 8th. From this point the headwaters of the Columbia flow in one direction and those of the Athabasca in another. Traveling down the Athabasca the party obtained horses on May 11th at Moose Deer Encampment, and rode to Jasper House, where boats were obtained for the voyage down the Athabasca to Fort Assiniboine. Here they took horses to Fort Edmonton, crossing the Pembino River on rafts on the way, and at Fort Edmonton embarked in boats down the Saskatchewan to Fort Carlton, where they again took horses for the Red River settlements, arriving on June 1st at Fort Petty, and on June 10th, the sixteenth day on the last horseback stage of the journey,

[13] Chittenden, Hist. Am. Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 377.

[14] There is graphic and detailed description of this route in Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal, in the Library of the Oregon Historical Society.

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at Fort Garry (Winnipeg). On June 24th, having been delayed by business affairs, they started in bark canoes for York factory, which they reached on July 4th. This, although written of a later period, gives a reasonably accurate idea of the kind of "express" service that was maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company, over what was the only regularly traveled route overland to the Pacific in the early days of Doctor McLoughlin's baronial rule in Oregon. The route that was subsequently to become the famous Oregon Trail, developing mile by mile through the wanderings of the independent American traders in the mountains, and by the explorations of men like Fitzpatrick, Smith, Ashley, Bonneville and Wyeth, over which the great immigration into Oregon was to proceed a few years later, was hardly to be called a trail or road during the earlier years of Hudson's Bay domination.[15]

Doctor McLoughlin's policy toward rival traders was that of the company by which he was employed. As individuals and as guests they were treated with the utmost hospitality, kindness and consideration. But in business it was a different matter. By the convention of joint occupancy entered into between the United States and Great Britain in 1818, which was renewed in 1827, the country was open to citizens of the United States and subjects of Great Britain alike, and while the act of Parliament uniting the British companies had given the latter the exclusive privilege of trade as against other Britons, Americans could not lawfully be excluded from the territory. There was, however, no law compelling Britons to trade with Americans. Doctor McLoughlin knew where his character of host to travelers ended and that of trader began. He was loyal to the interests of his company, while humane in his treatment of individuals in distress. This policy was followed by other traders within his jurisdiction. The experiences of Joshua Pilcher and of Captain Bonneville, who were compelled to turn back from Fort Walla Walla in consequence of the refusal of Pambrun to sell trading supplies, were examples of this consistent attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company during the period of its monopoly. The reception of Jedediah Smith and his fellow survivors of the Umpqua massacre affords another example. There is reason to believe that Doctor McLoughlin acted in these matters on his own judgment, and that his conduct was even more liberal than the higher officials of the company at home or the strict constructionists in the territory may have desired. Dunn says that, "the excessively benevolent encouragement granted by the governor to the new importation of American residents, under the designation of missionary-settlers, used to be freely discussed." There were, according to Dunn, two parties, the patriot and the liberal. The patriots were those who believed that Doctor McLoughlin was too generous. Dunn quaintly adds that these believed that "his generosity was thrown away, and would be badly requited—that he was nurturing a race of men who would by-and-by rise from their meek and humble position as the grateful acknowledgers of his kindness into the bold attitude of questioners of his own authority, and the British right to Vancouver itself."[16] This party grounded its arguments on the demeanor and character

[15] Robert Stuart's unpublished Journal (a copy of which is in the Manuscript Room of New York Public Library) shows that his party of returning Astorians in 1812 went through South Pass, but by a route farther south than that which afterward became the famous Oregon Trail. Thomas Fitzpatrick, in 1824, was the first white man actually to go through the pass upon the route of the Oregon Trail. See note 17, Chapter XX, supra.

[16] Dunn, Oregon Territory (1845), p. 123.

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of the free trappers in particular, and on that of the missionaries in general. Objection to the latter seems to have been based on their disposition to become settlers, rather than to devote themselves exclusively to labors among the indians.

The generosity of Doctor McLoughlin continued, nevertheless, to be manifested on many occasions. There were a few exceptions, as in the cases of Ewing Young and Hall J. Kelley, who came from California under an official cloud which, although it was dispelled later, seems to have justified Doctor McLoughlin in acting cautiously. This latter episode will be treated in another chapter, but it does not impair the statement that in every other relation except that of business representative of his company's commercial interests, Doctor McLoughlin was the soul of generosity. He was an autocrat, but he carried out the policy dictated by his home office so far only as it comported with his own ideas of fundamental justice.

"The policy of the company, as well as that of Doctor McLoughlin, was to keep Americans, especially traders, out of all the Oregon Country. The difference was that he believed that they should be kept out only so far as it could be done lawfully. But he did not allow them to be harmed by the indians, and if Americans were so harmed, he punished the offending indians, and he let all indians know that he would punish for offenses against the Americans as he would for offenses against the British and the Hudson's Bay Company. Personally he treated these rival traders with hospitality. In his early years in Oregon on two occasions he caused an indian to be hanged for murder of a white man. In 1829, when the Hudson's Bay vessel, William and Mary, was wrecked on Sand Island, at the mouth of the Columbia River, and a part of her crew supposed to have been murdered and the wreck looted, he sent a well armed and manned schooner and a hundred voyageurs to punish the indians." [17]

John Dunn relates another incident: "On one occasion an American vessel, Captain Thompson, was in the Columbia, trading furs and salmon. The vessel had got aground, in the upper part of the river, and the indians, from various quarters, mustered with the intent of cutting the Americans off, thinking that they had an opportunity of revenge, and would thus escape the censure of the company. Dr. M'Loughlin, the governor of Fort Vancouver, hearing of their intentions, immediately despatched a party to their rendezvous; and informed them that if they injured one American, it would be just the same offense as if they had injured one of his servants, and they would be treated equally as enemies. This stunned them; and they relinquished their purpose; and all retired to their respective homes. Had not this come to the governor's ears the Americans must have perished." [18]

On the subject of Doctor McLoughlin's hospitality toward all visitors, the writings of travelers contain many testimonials. Rev. Samuel Parker, who was the first Presbyterian missionary to arrive in Oregon, wrote that Doctor McLoughlin "received me with many expressions of kindness and invited me to make his residence my home for the winter, and as long as it would suit my convenience." Rev. Jason Lee, who came with the first party of Methodist missionaries, the doctor invited to settle in the Willamette Valley, where they would find it more easy to establish themselves and at the same time less

[17] Dr. John McLoughlin, by F. V. Holman, p. 35.
[18] Dunn, Oregon Territory (1845), p. 114.

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dangerous. He was the one who sent an express to overtake Lee (who was then half way across the continent, and who had left overland for the East in March, 1838), to inform him of the death of Lee's wife, which had occurred in June of that year. The express traveled to Pawnee Mission, near Westport, Missouri, before it overtook Lee on September 1st. Later Doctor McLoughlin furnished provisions, clothing, seed and other necessities on credit to arriving immigrants, not all of whom requited his generosity. This began with the immigration of 1842 and extended through that of 1844, and had a direct bearing on Doctor McLoughlin's subsequent resignation, in 1845, from the service of the company.

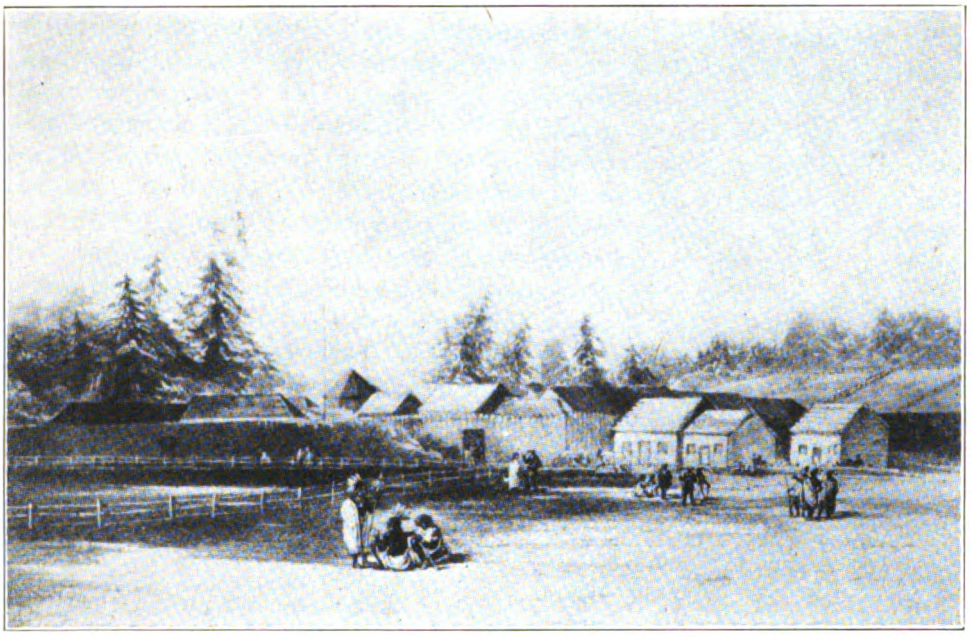
Peter H. Burnett, who came to Oregon with the immigration of 1843 and attained distinction in the provisional government, and who emigrated early to California and subsequently became first governor of that state, relates an incident showing that the doctor could withhold benevolence on occasion. "When we arrived in Oregon, we found there a number of Rocky Mountain hunters and trappers, who were settled in the Willamette Valley, most of them in the Tualatin Plains. The invention of the silk hat had rendered the trapping of beaver less profitable. * * * Having been so long accustomed to the idle life of the Rocky Mountains, they were not at first pleased with the hard work and drudgery of farming. Meek told me that soon after their arrival in Oregon they applied to Dr. McLoughlin for purchase of supplies on credit. This application the doctor refused. They still urged their request most persistently, and finally asked the doctor what they should do. He replied in a loud voice: 'Go to work! go to work! go to work!' Meek said that was just the thing they did not wish to do." [19]

From what has been said it is already evident that Doctor McLoughlin was the outstanding figure of this era. He had been born in Canada, October 19, 1784, his father being a native of Ireland and his mother a Canadian woman, the daughter of a Scotchman. In 1821, the year in which the Hudson's Bay and North West companies were consolidated, he was chief trader at Fort William, principal factory of the North West Company. The date when he entered the fur trade is uncertain, but by 1824 he must not only have had the confidence of his immediate superiors but attained a reputation in the trade at large, for the commission to which he was assigned was one of the most important in the bestowal of the company. He was physically one of the most commanding of men, actually not less than six feet four inches tall and well-proportioned for his height. He possessed courtly manners, a fine sense of dignity and great affability in conversation. It is significant of the impression he made on men that almost all that has been written of him by his contemporaries has been in the vein of eulogy, although a petty and ignoble jealousy is to be noted among certain Americans in the latter years of his life, which arose out of his location of a land claim at the Falls of the Willamette.

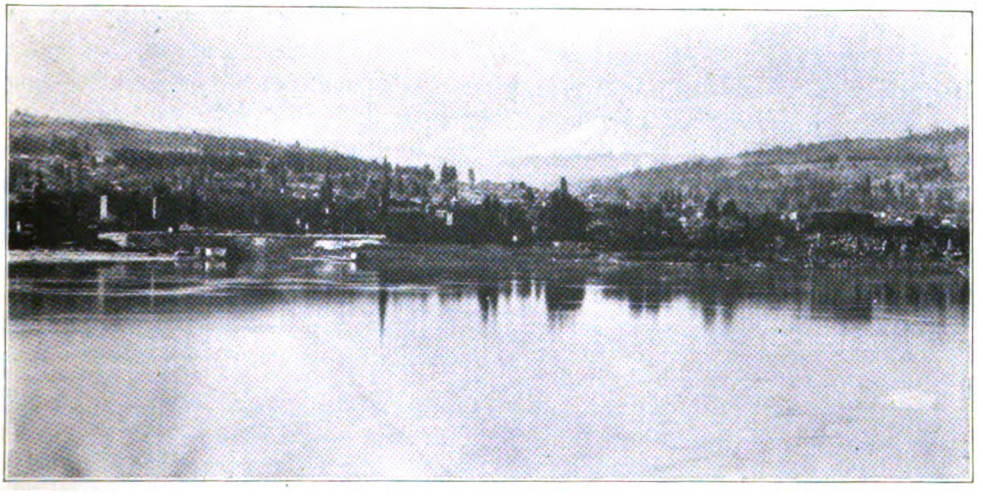
The considerations which led to the selection of Fort Vancouver as the site of the new headquarters post were mainly three—adaptability to agriculture, proximity to the head of tidewater, and the boundary dispute. The north bank of the river was within the limits of prudence in the event that the river should subsequently become the dividing line between American and British territory, while the company might cast an anchor to windward by encouraging such of its employes as desired to remain in the country to settle

[19] "Recollection of an Old Pioneer," pp. 154-155.

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VANCOUVER AS SKETCHED BY LIEUTENANT WARRE, 1845



THE DALLES ABOUT 1850

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in the Willamette Valley to the south. The wisdom of choosing an agricultural situation was borne out by events, such as development of the Alaskan trade, which created a market for the products of the soil of Oregon; and presently, as the beaver grew scarce and fur trading less profitable, efforts were made to develop the enterprise into grain-growing and livestock-breeding. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company was the outgrowth of this gradual enlargement of policy. This concern was organized as a separate institution to meet objections of the conservative element among the Hudson's Bay directors who feared that departure from the traditional fur-trading policies of the older company might have an unfavorable effect on morale, by diffusing energies that might be more profitably employed in pursuance of a single purpose. However, there were advantages, too, to be regarded. It was at first proposed to obtain from the government of Mexico an extensive grant of land in the Sacramento Valley in California, but later a site in the vicinity of Nisqually and the Cowlitz was preferred as being more convenient to the headquarters post.[20] The Hudson's Bay directors agreed to the project and the first prospectus of the new company was published in London in 1838. This set forth that "the soil and climate of the country of the Columbia River, particularly in the district between the head waters of the Cowlitz River, which falls into the Columbia River about 50 miles from the Pacific, and Puget's Sound were considered highly favorable for the rearing of Flocks and Herds, with the view to the production of Wool, Hides and Tallow, and also for the cultivation of other Agricultural produce." The capital stock was £200,000, in shares of £100 each, and John Henry Pelly, Andrew Colville and George Simpson were named as agents. The Superintendent of the company was always to be an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. Foreseeing the conflict of agriculture and fur-trading, the prospectus provided that no person in the employ of the agricultural company should trade in furs. In the final agreement it was provided that breeding stock should be transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company's farms to the new company, and all seeds and grains for agricultural requirements.[21] The Nisqually post was transferred to the new company in 1842. The company established selling and purchasing agencies in San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands. Thus was developed a department of Hudson's Bay Company activities not contemplated in the early plans of the founders.[22] Fort Nisqually had been chosen in the first instance as a branch trading

[20] "In the Beginning," Clarence B. Bagley, p. 22. The province of Upper California joined Mexico and abandoned allegiance to Spain in 1822, eleven years after Mexico had claimed independence from the mother country.

[21] Ibid., p. 23.

[22] In a letter to Judge Matthew P. Deady, dated June 12th, 1876, Dr. W. F. Tolmie wrote: "I have seen Sir James Douglas. * * * He thinks that the early Astorians imported the cereals and domestic animals from California principally, and also from the Sandwich Islands. The H. B. Co. obtained some valuable cows from Nathaniel Wyeth, who got them either at the Sandwich Isles or farther off. I remember admiring one of them at Vancouver forty years ago, when the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was set on foot. Thoroughbred sheep of various breeds, Cheviot, Southdown, Leicester and Merino were in small quantities imported from England and kept at Vancouver, Nisqually and Cowlitz. These importations were continued for some years. In 1840 the Company had a large number of California sheep brought into the territory by land and water which were in greatest number taken to Nisqually. Improved breeds of hogs were also brought to Vancouver from London, and Scotch collies or sheep dogs likewise. Moreover seeds of various kinds." —Mss., Oregon Historical Society. The cattle, during the later years of the occupation by the company,

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post, in charge of Archibald McDonald, whose arrival at that site May 30, 1833, is recorded in the "Journal of the Occurrences at Nisqually House." With four men, four oxen and four horses, McDonald had been fourteen days on the way from the Columbia. In the previous spring, however, while on a trading expedition to Puget Sound, he erected a small warehouse there. The summer of 1833 was devoted to enlarging the building and constructing of a stockade. Dr. W. F. Tolmie, who had been sent from England as surgeon at Fort Vancouver, accompanied McDonald, and afterward became superintendent in charge of the agricultural company's affairs. He was much interested in missionary work and, according to his daughter, thought at one time of leaving the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and becoming a missionary.[23] On July 21, 1833, there is an entry in the journal of the station: "No skins traded today, the indians having been informed last night, that we intended in future not to trade on Sunday." And the following from Doctor Tolmie's diary is interesting for its light on the beginning of religious instruction: "Today the indians assembled in part of the house to the number of seventy or eighty, male and female. With Brown as interpreter, who spoke Chinook, Heron and I explained the Creation of the World, the reason why Christians and Jews abstained from work on Sunday; and had got as far as the Deluge in sacred history, when we were requested to stop, as the indians could not comprehend things clearly." The humor of the worthy doctor's observation seems to have escaped him, but this was perhaps the first instance of religious instruction being given the indians in the Oregon Country. The missionaries did not arrive until a year later.

The founding of Puget Sound Agricultural Company was nearly coincident with the decline of the fur trade in the Oregon Country. The North West Company, during the decade of its occupancy, had traded for furs in the Willamette Valley and along the Umpqua and Klickitat. The Hudson's Bay Company did not greatly expand its fur trading in the south during its régime, and gradually the Willamette Valley became the seat of agricultural settlements, because of its fertility and because it presented few obstacles to cultivation. As the servants of the Hudson's Bay concern began to retire from employment in the fur trade, those of them who had formed domestic attachments were encouraged to remain and take up farms. The Willamette Valley attracted a number of them. About 1829 a few of these former hunters, trappers and voyageurs settled in the neighborhood of the Falls of the Willamette, but by about 1837 most of these had removed to the vicinity of French Prairie. At first they engaged chiefly in the raising of livestock, but they had seed and tools from the company and many of them became prosperous farmers. The first wheat of the territory was grown at Fort Vancouver in 1825. Between 1830 and 1840 that company, feeling the growing scarcity of profitable pelts, began to open up farms, generally in the vicinity of trading posts, and it established a threshing outfit and grist mill at Vancouver, where flour was made from surplus wheat, some of which was shipped to the Russian-American

became very wild, and were shot by its employees, by the settlers and by the indians. In fact many of them became as wild as deer and it took a skillful hunter to get a shot at them. They would hide in the woods in the day time and come out cautiously in the night to feed on the prairies, and it became the custom to hunt them at times of bright moonlight. Clarence B. Bagley, "In the Beginning," p. 21.

[23] Bagley, p. 9.

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Fur Company in Alaska. The Hudson's Bay Company also built a sawmill at Vancouver in 1835, and found a market for lumber in the Sandwich Islands at 50 dollars per thousand feet. Meantime the success of the Nisqually enterprise was somewhat interfered with by the uncertainty of the ultimate solution of the boundary question, which made its title doubtful.

The Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiaries engaged the attention from time to time through the years, of eight presidents of the United States. Pierce, Johnson and Grant made reference to it in annual messages; and brief messages, usually transmitting information on documents, were written by Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, Lincoln and Johnson. Finally, President Grant in his first annual message (December 6, 1869), informed Congress that "the commission for adjusting the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company upon the United States has terminated its labors. The award of $650,000 has been made and all rights and titles of the company in the territory have been extinguished. Deeds for the property of the companies have been delivered. An appropriation by Congress to meet this sum is asked."[24]

The award of $650,000 was the amount finally decided upon as just compensation for fourteen parcels of property, determined upon by a joint commission of the United States and Great Britain, and was the amount paid by the United States twenty-one years after Oregon Territory had been created, to extinguish the private property rights that were enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company when the Oregon Country became subject to the absolute sovereignty of the United States.[25]

These last mentioned facts somewhat anticipate in point of time the sequence of our narrative. But the Hudson's Bay Company occupied an important place in Oregon history prior to and during the period of the first settlement of the district. Its steady aim was to prevent American exploitation and possession, a purpose that was before long so modified as to confine itself to the region north of the Columbia River which it hoped would ultimately be decided upon as the international boundary. But before examining the boundary question, attention will be given to the American fur traders and mountain men of the period before the influx of missionaries and settlers.

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[24] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. VII, p. 35. A treaty had been agreed upon in 1863, and ratifications had been exchanged at Washington, March 5, 1864, which President Lincoln transmitted to Congress with request for appropriation for final settlement of the claims. (Id., Vol. VI, p. 200.)

[25] S. A. Clarke, in Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. II, p. 711, prints an uncorroborated story to the effect that, in 1848, Oregon's special emissary and agent at Washington, J. Quinn Thornton, was asked to lend his support to a treaty then pending in Congress which provided for the purchase by the United States of the Hudson's Bay Company's properties in Oregon at $3,000,000, which had at that time the approval of a majority of the cabinet. It was then hinted to him by an agent of the company's interests that a fund of $75,000 had been provided to be used where it would do the most good in procuring the purchase to be made, and finally a plain bribe of $25,000 was offered Thornton for two letters from him indorsing the measure. He wrote to the President not only to advise that in his judgment the property was not worth one tenth of the amount proposed to be paid for it, but also to inform him of the inducement that had been offered to him. This story got into the New York Herald, and the measure failed. The fact is there was no such treaty pending, although at that time negotiations were under consideration for settlement.

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CHAPTER XXIII

AMERICAN FUR TRADERS AND MOUNTAIN MEN

It will now be necessary to go back in point of time to take up the activities of Americans in the period just prior to actual settlement of the Oregon Country. The inquiry will relate to American activities on the plains and in the mountains, but chiefly far from the Columbia River basin. While events were shaping themselves through the instrumentality of the Northwesters for British entry from the north into the region west of the Rocky Mountains and south of the present boundary line between the United States and British North America, Americans were pushing in from the East. Traders from St. Louis began to ascend the Missouri River. In 1807, the same year in which the headwaters of the Columbia were discovered, Manuel Lisa, who has already been mentioned, and one of the notable figures in that era, traveled up the Missouri from St. Louis and built a post at the confluence of the Bighorn with the Yellowstone.

To go back somewhat in the story of the winning of the overland route, Lewis and Clark had persuaded the Mandan chief, Shahaka, or Big White, to make a visit to President Jefferson. They had promised that a safe escort would be given on returning to his people through the country of the Arikaras, who were unfriendly to the Mandans, and in May of 1807 the Government undertook an expedition for this purpose, to the fulfillment of which the honor of the United States was regarded as pledged. This attempt came to naught, owing to failure of the Government officials to appreciate the gravity of the task and to furnish forces of sufficient strength. This escort left St. Louis only a few weeks after Lisa had started out on his first trip up the Missouri. It consisted of eleven privates in command of Ensign Nathaniel Pryor. At the same time a party of Sioux, who had but recently visited St. Louis, were dispatched under the protection of a military guard commanded by Lieut. Joseph Kimball. Two trading parties took advantage of the opportunity to secure the protection thus afforded, one led by Pierre Chouteau and the other by "young Dorion," who was "presumably," says Chittenden, "a son of the interpreter who was for a time with the Lewis and Clark expedition." The Sioux were delivered safely and expeditiously to their people, and the Dorion party which was organized for trade in the Sioux country, also left the caravan, though it appears that Dorion continued with it. The remainder of the men—soldiers, traders, and indians—proceeded up the Missouri River. Soon the travelers discovered that war had broken out between the Mandans and the Arikaras, and that the latter had formed an alliance with several of the Sioux bands. Consequently when the Arikara villages were reached these new allies were found prepared to resist further progress.

The singularly bitter controversy that has raged over the true character of Manuel Lisa makes it difficult to get the truth of the story related in this connection, or to determine the extent to which Lisa was responsible for failure of the effort to restore the Mandan chieftain to his people. One version is that

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when the Pryor party arrived at the border of the Arikara country they were informed by a Mandan woman, a captive of the Arikaras, that the Arikaras had previously stopped Lisa's party, and that the latter had persuaded them that since the expedition with the Mandan chief would soon arrive it would be to their interests to let Lisa's party pass safely and wait for bigger game. This is denied by the partisans of Lisa, and Chittenden, who has given much study to the personal animosities inspired by the Spaniard, does not accept it as conclusive. Pryor and Chouteau were led to believe that Lisa had secured his own passport through these tribes at their expense, but Chittenden says: "How far their suspicions were true cannot be said. It was not the only charge of the kind against Manuel Lisa, but it is a singular fact that his various acts of alleged bad faith, such as that here related, come only from those who claim to have suffered from them. The reputable historians of the period make no mention of them, and they are evidently to be taken with much caution."[1] However, the Arikaras were not to be persuaded by Pryor, who being vastly outnumbered, wisely concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, and therefore after a skirmish in which three of Chouteau's men were killed and seven were wounded, one mortally, and three of Pryor's men were wounded, a retreat down river was effected. One of the wounded men was the interpreter who was accompanying the Mandan chief, and because of his condition and the presence of women and children with the party it was resolved not to attempt to complete the journey overland, but to return to St. Louis instead.

The trading company organized at St. Louis upon the strength of reports that Lisa brought with him on his return in the spring of 1808, which was called St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, found the Government with the problem of furnishing a safe conduct for the Mandan chief still on its hands. Upon organization, this new company included William Clark, and Andrew Henry, besides Lisa and other partners, and was generally called the Missouri Fur Company. Soon afterward Gen. Meriwether Lewis, on behalf of the United States, entered into an agreement with the members of the company by which it undertook the task of delivering the chief and his party to his tribal home for a stated compensation of $7,000. By this time awake to the gravity of the situation in the indian country, the Government stipulated for what it regarded as a sufficient force, though not a force as large as Pryor had suggested in his report as advisable. The company by the agreement was to engage 125 men, of whom at least forty should be Americans and expert riflemen. The company also agreed to "protect with its utmost power the chief and all his party from danger en route," to transport necessary presents for the indians, and to provide necessary quarters for their guests. Thus the Missouri Fur Company started upon its career with a kind of official endorsement, and in addition General Lewis promised that no other traders would be licensed to ascend the Missouri River above the Platte prior to the setting out of the expedition. The party left St. Louis some time in May, 1809, and passed the hostile territory in safety, owing to its formidable showing of strength, and it accomplished its mission to the Mandans. The Arikaras this time were hospitable, seeing that hostility would be useless against so great a force, although for twenty years afterward they continued to be a menace to travellers seeking to open the way to the West. In the following spring (1810) a brigade of the trappers, of whom Andrew Henry was one, moved up to

[1] Chittenden, Vol. I, p. 121, et seq.

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the Three Forks of the Missouri, where a post was established, but just when fortune seemed to smile on them the Blackfeet indians opened war upon them with such fury that it became necessary for them to alter their plans. So implacable were these tribesmen, still smarting over the killing of two of their number by Captain Lewis as his expedition returned through their country, that it was impossible even to open communication with them for the purpose of treating for peace. In one encounter five trappers were killed and large quantities of property were stolen. In another, George Drouillard, an important member of the party, was slain. Many of the trappers lost heart and insisted on returning home. Henry, who remained at Three Forks until his position became wholly untenable, then crossed the continental divide that summer and established himself for the season on a north fork of Snake River which has since then been known as Henry's Fork, or Henry's River, near the present site of Elgin, Idaho. This was the first trading post in the Oregon Country in Columbia River valley or west of the continental divide, although it was little more than an encampment.[2] In the following spring (1811) he recrossed the mountains and descended a stream, probably the Yellowstone, toward the lower eastern slopes. Lisa ascended to the upper Missouri in that spring, to seek news of his partner, Henry, and to gather up the preceding season's returns. It was on this trip that Lisa with his twenty-four companions overtook the Wilson Price Hunt party just before the latter arrived at the Arikara indian villages, as set forth in a preceding chapter.[3] In due time Lisa met Henry coming down the river and they returned to St. Louis in October of that year.

While the Hunt party were proceeding westward, the Missouri Fur Company was being reorganized. The preceding year had been a disappointment in practically every respect. No progress had been made toward getting on a better footing with the indians, and the richest beaver district that had perhaps ever been opened up to that time—in the vicinity of Three Forks—had proved a death trap. Henry had accomplished nothing by crossing the main ridge of the Rockies, except to avoid his indian annoyers, for although there were no indian troubles at Fort Henry, neither was there any game of consequence and the trappers nearly starved to death. When that party broke up, however, on Henry's abandonment of his plans, its members had scattered west and south and some of them were subsequently accounted for as traders in a hitherto undeveloped field. The Missouri Fur Company found it necessary to abandon the posts on the upper Missouri River, and at about this time the fur trade was facing the fact that the price of beaver had declined from $4.00 to $2.50 a pound. Reorganization of the company was accomplished in January, 1812,[4] almost two months before its term expired, this time with additional

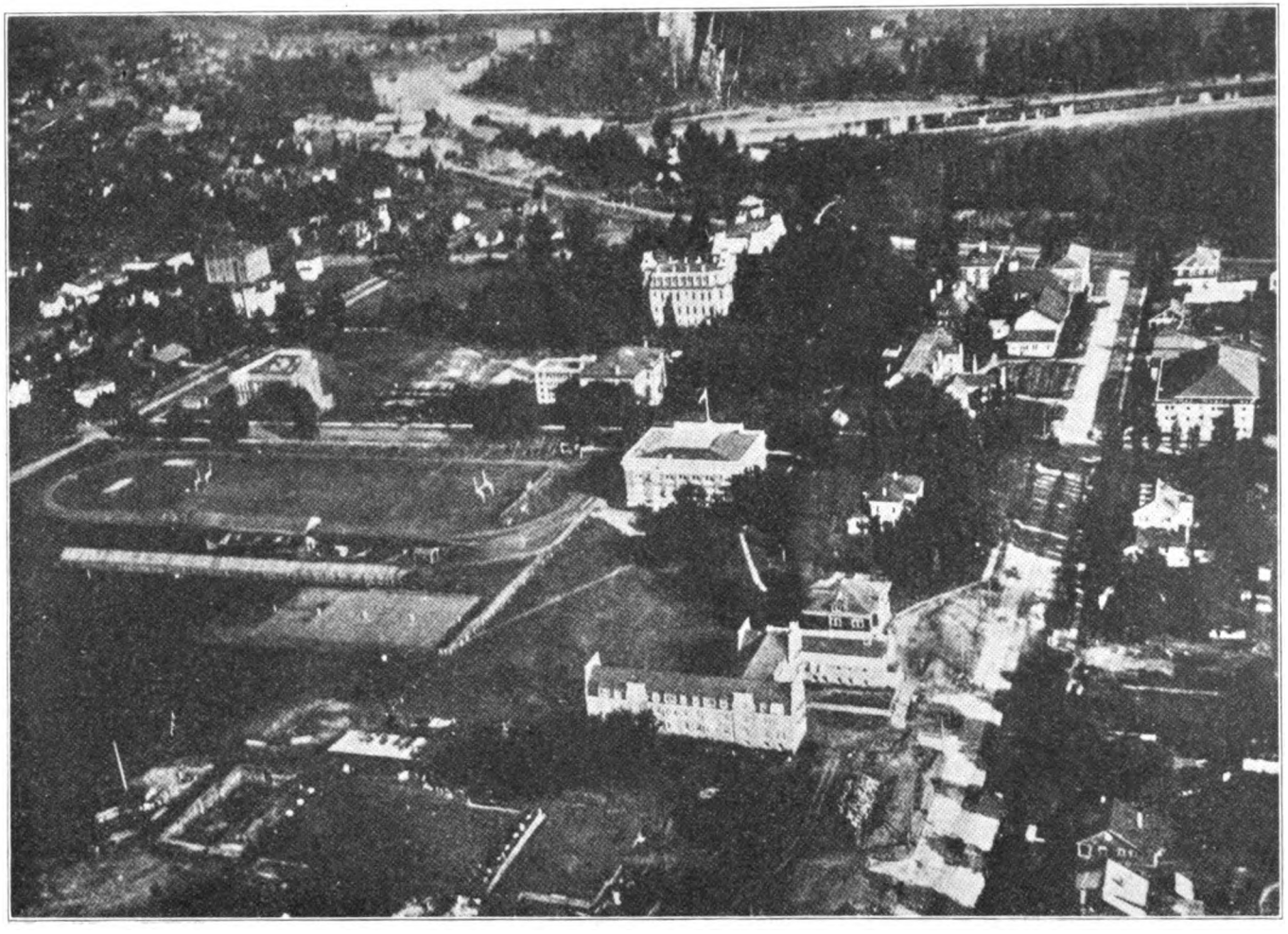
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[2] The North West Company under David Thompson had set up some trading posts in what is now British Columbia upon the waters of the Columbia, but not in the Oregon Country.

[3] Chapter XIX, supra.

[4] Failure of the Missouri Fur Company to realize its ambitions is attributed by Chittenden to the "top-heavy character of its organization," and to "unwillingness to permit Mr. Astor to have any share in their business." This historian says of the company: "Capitalized at less than fifty thousand dollars, it embraced every trader of distinction in St. Louis, all of whom bore an active part in the administration of affairs either at home or in the field. It was not to be expected that such an arrangement could be as effective as if a single individual had controlled its management. * * * The great confidence

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UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE, FROM AIRPLANE
Willamette River in the background

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capital. The War of 1812 meanwhile interrupted the orderly progress of events in the Missouri River region, as it did on the Pacific coast, and this gave Lisa opportunity to perform a service for the United States among the indians whom he knew so well. As sub-agent for the Missouri River tribes above Kansas, he was successful in controlling these indians during the war. He organized war expeditions against some of the tribes on the Mississippi who were allies of the British, and he secured pledges of friendship from the Missouri tribes, and in the spring of 1815 he returned with forty-three chiefs and head men authorized to make treaties of friendship and alliance with the United States.

The Missouri Fur Company was again reorganized in 1819, but Lisa died in 1820, and Joshua Pilcher succeeded to the management. This man was a worthy successor to Lisa, but the company neglected to take competition into account. He was a tireless traveller and made a tour of the Northwest that was quite remarkable even for that time. Setting out in 1828 from the Bear River Country with nine men he went to the Northwest to explore the region of the Columbia River, to ascertain its attractions and capabilities for trade. After spending the winter at Flathead Lake he lost all his horses by the acts of bands of thieving indians. With only one man of his original party, but accompanied by a British trader, he then travelled to Fort Colville on the upper Columbia. Here he accepted the hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company and its tender of the protection of the company's express, which he accompanied on a circuitous journey by way of the Athabasca, the Saskatchewan, Cumberland House, Moose Lake and the Selkirk Red River settlements to the Mandan villages, and thence to St. Louis, where he arrived after nearly three years' absence from the headquarters of the company. Pilcher is believed to have obtained by his long journey a more intimate knowledge of Hudson's Bay Company posts than was then possessed by any other American, which is an interesting sidelight on the policy of the British concern. He was treated

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of the St. Louis merchants, and their determination to keep this new and rich field of enterprise to themselves, is well attested by the fact that the original company was a kind of close corporation into which admission was impossible, except by the unanimous consent of the members. Under the reorganization the door was in some degree opened to the public by giving the association the character of a joint stock company. But even then there was strenuous opposition to letting the stock get out of the hands of St. Louis parties, and a proposition to admit Mr. Astor to the extent of five shares was rejected." Chittenden, "History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West," Vol. I, p. 147. In a note General Chittenden quotes from a letter written by Charles Gratiot to John Jacob Astor, with the comment that "had the counsels of Charles Gratiot prevailed, the course of the American fur trade would have been far different from what it was." Gratiot, writing on December 14, 1811, had said: "I have been engaged for some time past in the settlement and dissolution of the Missouri Fur Company. I acted as agent for one of my relations who was absent. * * * The capital of the present company with a moderate valuation is estimated at $30,000, divided in ten equal shares. I have proposed to extend the ten shares to fifteen, which will give an additional sum of $15,000 to the original stock; that an offer should be made to you of the five shares with proposition that you should contract to furnish on commission the equipments necessary for the trade of the Upper Missouri, and to make the sales of the furs which would be received in return. This proposition has met with the approbation of some of the members, but I fear will be opposed by others. When I made this proposition I contemplated that you wished to draw the fur trade into your hands. In this view I considered that you would be of great service to each other, or likewise the measure might facilitate the operations of Mr. Hunt, as you could by that means have a communication open from this place to the Columbia."

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with hospitality by the officers of that company, but there was a firm refusal to assist in any way in his trading operations.

Robert McLellan and Ramsay Crooks were two other noteworthy figures in the American inland fur trade, particularly so the latter, who, after a period of independent trading, allied himself, as we have seen, with Mr. Astor and accompanied the overland expedition to Astoria. Gen. William H. Ashley, one time partner of Andrew Henry, after the latter's retirement from the Missouri Fur Company, is also a man of importance in this narrative because it was he who laid out the course by way of the North Platte and South Platte as far as the Great Salt Lake which Jedediah Strong Smith was afterward to follow on his journey to California, from where on a second expedition with a similar beginning he was to be the first white man to enter Oregon by the route from the south.[5] Ashley was succeeded by Smith, Jackson and Sublette, who bought him out in 1826. Ashley made a moderate fortune in the business and his political ambition overshadowing his acquisitiveness, he became a candidate for Congress, was thrice elected and grew to be regarded as an authority in that body upon indian affairs.

Jedediah S. Smith, already mentioned, was another of the amazing men that this period developed, and the story of his Odyssey has no counterpart in the history of the West. Smith, whom presently we shall meet in Oregon, was a New Yorker, well educated, and he went to St. Louis in 1823, being moved by love of adventure and having heard of fortunes to be made in the western mountains.[6] When General Ashley started for the upper Missouri River for the second time, March 10 of that year, Jedediah Smith and also

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[5] Harrison Clifford Dale regards the Ashley expeditions of 1824-5 as having marked a new era in the fur trade of the West. "Instead of operating in the region east of the mountains, accessible by the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, they had abandoned that entire area in the spring of 1824 and, by the summer of that year, the whole company had been transferred to the waters of the three drainage areas beyond the mountains. For the first time since the ill-starred days of Astoria, American traders and trappers were making a concerted effort to extend their field of operations into the vast area drained by the 'River of the West,' which the British had monopolized since the naming of Fort George. Such a step had not been taken earlier largely because the South Pass, on the great midland route, had remained unused and unknown since Capt. Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart led through it, or near it, their dejected band of returning Astorians in the late fall of 1812. The only known way to the Columbia was by the northern passes, discovered and used by Lewis and Clark, and after them, by the Missouri Fur Company in its palmier days. But the northern passes were scarcely ways; they were rather obstacles. Difficult in themselves, they presented a further danger to whites, because they lay in the area continually harassed by the implacable Blackfeet. The disasters that had befallen Lisa's men at the Three Forks and, more recently, the Missouri Company and Andrew Henry, rendered all efforts to conduct the trade beyond the mountains by this route too hazardous for profit. The utilization of the South Pass changed all this by opening up a road in a lower latitude and of gentler grades. The Crows and Snakes, moreover, who dwelt among the approaches to the South Pass, while occasionally unfriendly, maintained no such policy of uncompromising and unyielding hostility to the whites as had characterized the Blackfeet ever since the days of Lewis and Clark. The Crows were not unfrequently the positive friends of the whites through common hatred of the Blackfeet; the Snakes were a cowardly lot easily routed by a show of numbers." (Ashley-Smith Explorations, pp. 109-110.)

[6] An advertisement signed by Ashley, addressed "To Enterprising Young Men," was published in the Missouri Republican newspaper at St. Louis, March 20, 1822. It called for 100 young men, and offered employment for two or three years, to ascend the Missouri River to its source, under command of Maj. Andrew Henry. (The Splendid Wayfaring, John G. Neihardt, p. 27.)

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David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette went along. These gave good accounts of themselves in battle with the Arikaras in the following June, in which Smith first brought himself into prominence as the volunteer bearer of an important communication from Ashley to Major Henry, then on the Yellowstone. Smith became in 1826 the senior member of the firm of Smith, Jackson and Sublette, also known as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, whereupon General Ashley sold out to that company, and soon afterward Smith left the region near the Great Salt Lake for the desert to the Southwest, arriving at San Diego after about two months' travel through a desolate region never before traversed by white men. At San Diego he found the Mexican authorities none too friendly, but he obtained permission to buy supplies for a journey home, ostensibly over the route by which he came, but after penetrating some distance into the interior he turned northward, paralleling the coast. Being balked by deep snows in his attempt to cross the Sierras, he left all but two of his men in California, and set out in May, 1827, to cross the mountains and the desert between them and the Great Salt Lake rendezvous. The trip through the mountains, an almost incredible feat, consumed eight days, and the further desert journey to the southern extremity of the lake twenty more, only two of his animals surviving the latter stage, during which the sufferings of all of the party were severe.

He started almost immediately afterward to rejoin the men he had left behind in California, and this time he encountered the hostility of the Mojave indians, who had been peaceable enough on his first trip, but they were now incited against him by the jealous Spanish authorities of California. The indians took him by surprise, killed ten of his party of eighteen, and captured all of his property. His adventures for a time from this point have to do with the inhospitality of local alcaldes and Mexican governors, who first cast him into prison and then banished him, designating the route by which he must leave the country. He deviated from the way he was commanded to follow, and proceeded up the Sacramento River, spending the winter on one of its branches, which from this circumstance derived its name of American Fork. In April, 1828, finding difficulties in the way of returning eastward, he turned northward, but soon directed his course through the mountains to the coast. Fortunately for posterity, though unfortunately for the man himself, it happened that there was with him as a member of the party one Harrison G. Rogers. This man kept a journal, recently published,[7] from which, together with Smith's own records, it is possible to reconstruct a vivid account of the journey northward to the point where the expedition met its crowning misfortune in the Umpqua Country, in Oregon. Entries in Rogers' journal in June, 1828, show that the travellers were beginning to suffer minor annoyances from the indians. On June 25th, for example, there is an entry: "The 2 men that was sent back to hunt the mule, returned to camp a little after night and say the Inds. sallied out from their village with their bows and arrows and made after them, yelling and screaming, and tryed to surround them; they retreated on horseback and swarm a small creek, and the Inds. gave up the chase. When our horses was drove in this morning, we found 3 of them badly wounded with arrows, but could see no Inds. untill we

[7] First presented in full in Dale's Ashley-Smith Explorations; also quoted in Neihardt's Splendid Wayfaring. The original is with Missouri Historical Society.

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started; we then discovered a canoe loaded with them some distance up the creek close by a thicket and did not pursue them, knowing it was in vain." On following days there are reports of horses missing, and of smoke signals made by the tribesmen, seemingly to notify other tribes of the party's approach. On July 2nd they reached the mouth of Johnson Creek, Coos County, Oregon, where "no accident happened to the horses today."

Smith seems to have been unwilling to let the indians have things all their own way, but to have adopted a positive, though not belligerent, attitude. On July 3rd, "Capt. Smith, being ahead, saw the Inds. in the canoe (one which he had employed in crossing a small stream) and they tryed to get off but he pursued so closely that they run and left it. They tryed to split the canoe to pieces with their poles, but he screamed at them, and they fled, and left it, which saved us a great deal of hard labour in making rafts." On July 5th, two indians who spoke Chinook entered camp and informed the party that they were "ten days travell from Catapos on the wel Hamett" (Willamette). On July 7th there were about a hundred indians in camp, according to this chronicler, and Smith bought a sea otter skin from a chief. One of the indians had a "fusill," a number liad knives and pieces of cloth. Evidence of previous barter with the whites was presented on every hand.

Indians calling themselves the Ka Koosh, undoubtedly the Coos, were encountered on the next day, but while these redskins were selling fish, berries and peltries to the whites they were also surreptitiously shooting arrows into the horses and mules. Smith, with the business of trading ever in mind, obtained valuable otter skins, as well as beaver. On July 12th an indian who was one of a number accompanying the party for a short distance, stole an ax,[8] and the Rogers entry for the day says: "We were obliged to seize him for the purpose of tying him before we could scare him to make him give it up. Capt. Smith and one of them caught him and put a cord around his neck, and the rest of us stood with our guns in case they made any resistance, there was about 50 Inds. present but did not pretend to resist tying the other. * * * Those Inds. bring Pacific rasberrys and other berries." The "Pacific rasberrys" which Rogers found time to note were novel to the members of the party on account of their great size. Rogers had previously commented on them.[9]

The trappers were now on the Umpqua River within a few miles of the Willamette Valley, and the weather was pleasant. The diary says: "after we get up the river 15 or 20 miles we will have good traveling to Wel Hammett or Multinomah, where the Callipoo Indians live." The party were making progress east along the north bank of the Umpqua and would have followed Elk Creek to the low divide where they would have come out upon the fork of the Willamette near the present site of Drain, Oregon. In another day's

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[8] The incident of the stolen ax is confirmed in Doctor McLoughlin's Autobiography, on the authority of Arthur Black, one of the three survivors of the massacre which it precipitated. (Trans. Or. Pioneer Society, 1880.)

[9] Entry for May 31st: "Two Inds. came to camp in the rain, and brought a few rasberrys that are larger than any species of rasberrys I ever saw, also differ from those I have been acquainted with; the stock grow from eight to ten feet in hight covered with briars, and branches off with a great many boughs, the leaf is very similar to those vines I have been acquainted with heretofore."

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travel, or at most two, they would have reached the comparatively easy going of the Willamette Valley region.

It had been Smith's practice to set out ahead in the morning to obtain some knowledge of the road for the coming day, and this he did as usual, July 14th. He had left orders, as is confirmed by Doctor McLoughlin's account on Black's authority, that no indians should be permitted to enter camp. Soon after his departure, however, it appears that the indians came in numbers and either were admitted, as Black seems to have told Doctor McLoughlin, because of the inclination of Smith's men to become better acquainted with the women, or else, as Smith's own version has it, they simply overwhelmed the party after taking the members completely by surprise. The latter would have been easy, considering that these indians had not previously manifested an unfriendly disposition, and apparently, according to Rogers, had not taken the tying-up of the chief very much to heart. Black himself had just finished cleaning and loading his gun, and as soon as the conflict began he fired on the indians, thus obtaining a momentary advantage which enabled him to escape. Another of the party, John Turner, also succeeding in getting away, and he soon fell in with Smith.[10]

Turner believed himself the sole survivor of the massacre, and Black labored under the same impression as to himself, so that neither made an effort to find the other. Smith, having been overtaken by Turner, decided to abandon his property in view of the extreme peril of the situation, and he and Turner pursued the route up the Umpqua, arriving in the following month at Fort Vancouver. Black followed the coast northward, and hunger overtaking him he threw himself on the mercy of the Tillamooks, who gave him food and shelter and guided him to Fort Vancouver. Published accounts of the number of the survivors are confusing. For example, Doctor McLoughlin, who may have relied on Black's information, says that before the massacre Smith started out in the morning with two men and an indian in a canoe. Elsewhere he says that just as a rescue party were leaving the fort, "Smith and his two men arrived." McLoughlin wrote this some years after the event, however, and his recollection on this point may have been imperfect. Rogers gives the names of eighteen men in addition to Smith as being members of the party when it started out and fifteen is generally accepted as the number killed.[11] However, the only ones known

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[10] Turner's escape was due to his enormous size and strength. He had been doing duty as camp cook that morning and when the indians rushed on him, he had seized a huge firebrand, with which he laid about him valiantly till he had knocked down, if not actually killed, four of them. Then seeing an opportunity to escape, he, too, had run to the woods, where he met Smith as the latter was running to camp. (Ashley-Smith Explorations, p. 274.) Turner was the hero of another such encounter a few years after, this time with Chestes indians on Rogue River, as is related by Dr. Elijah White (Ten Years in Oregon, p. 114), and by Rembrandt Peale (Mss. in Library of Congress). See Chap. XXX, n. 22, p. 425.

[11] Doctor McLoughlin's account says: "One night in August, 1828, I was surprised by the indians making a great noise at the gate of the fort, saying that they had brought an American. The gate was opened, the man came in, but was so affected he could not speak. After sitting down some minutes to recover himself, he told us he was, he thought, the only survivor of eighteen men, conducted by the late Jedediah Smith. All the rest, he thought, were murdered. The party left San Francisco bound to their rendezvous at Salt Lake. They ascended the Sacramento Valley, but finding no opening to cross the mountains to go east, they bent their course to the coast, which they reached at the mouth of the Rogue River, then came along the beach to the Umpqua, where the indians stole their axe, and as it was the only axe they had, and which they absolutely required to make

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to have escaped were Smith, Turner and Black. The incident and its sequel shed a further favorable light on the character of Doctor McLoughlin, as does the latter's subsequent purchase of Smith's furs, after they had been recovered. For these, Doctor McLoughlin paid Smith at the market price, deducting only for the time of the men engaged in going after them, at the rate of $60 a year, and $4 apiece for horses lost on the trip. Smith and his men were hospitably entertained at Fort Vancouver. Turner, the giant, left Smith's service here to return south, undaunted by previous experience. Smith and Black remained at the fort until March 12, 1829, when they started east to rejoin Jackson and Sublette, who meanwhile had been trading in the upper Snake River country. The partners were reunited in July of that year on Henry's Fork of the Snake. The Hudson's Bay men led by Peter Skene Ogden, who later became chief factor at Fort Vancouver, were hunting in the same general location with Jackson and Sublette during Smith's prolonged separation from the partners, but the parties did not meet. During this period the Jackson-

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rafts to cross rivers, they took the chief prisoner and their axe was returned. Early the following morning Smith started in a canoe with two men and an indian, and left orders, as usual, to allow no indian to come into camp. But to gratify their passion for women, the men neglected to follow the order, allowed the indians to come into camp, and at an indian yell five or six indians fell upon each white man. At the time, the narrator, Black, was out of the crowd, and had just finished cleaning and loading his rifle; three indians jumped on him, but he shook them off, and seeing all his comrades struggling on the ground and the indians stabbing them, he fired on the crowd and rushed to the woods, pursued by the indians, but fortunately escaped; swam across the Umpqua, and came north in the hopes of reaching the Columbia, where he knew we were. But broken down by hunger and misery, as he had no food but a few wild berries which he found on the beach, he determined to give himself up to the Killimour (Tillamook) tribe on the coast at Cape Lookout, who treated him with great humanity; relieved his wants and brought him to the fort, for which, in case whites might again fall in their power, and to induce them to act kindly to them, I rewarded them most liberally. But as Smith and his two men might have escaped, and, if we made no search for them, die—at daybreak the next morning, I sent indian runners with tobacco to the Willamette chiefs to tell them to send their people in search of Smith and his two men, and if they found them to bring them to the fort and I would pay them, and telling them if any indians hurt these men we would punish them, and immediately equipped a strong party of forty well armed men. But as the men were embarking, to our great joy Smith and his two men arrived.

"I then arranged as strong a party as I could make to recover all we could of Smith's property. I divulged my plan to none, but gave written instructions to the officer, to be opened early when he got to the Umpqua, because if known before they got there the officers would talk of it among themselves, the men would hear it and from them it would go to their indian wives, who were spies on us, and my plan would be defeated. The plan was that the officer was, as usual, to invite the indians to bring their furs to trade, just as if nothing had happened. Count the furs, but as the American trappers mark all their skins, keep these all separate, give them to Mr. Smith and not pay the indians for them, telling them that they belonged to him; that they got them by murdering Smith's people.

"They denied having murdered Smith's people, but admitted they bought them of the murderers. The officers told them they must look to the murderers for the payment, which they did; and as the murderers would not restore the property they had received, a war was kindled among them, and the murderers were punished more severely than we could have done, and which Mr. Smith himself admitted, and to be much preferable to going to war on them, as we could not distinguish the innocent from the guilty, who, if they choose, might fly to the mountains, where we could not find them. In this way we recovered property for Mr. Smith to the amount of $3,200 without any expense to him, and which was done from a principle of Christian duty, and as a lesson to the indians to show them they could not wrong the whites with impunity." ("Doctor McLoughlin's Autobiography," Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1880.)

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Sublette detachment met a double misfortune. Three members of a party under the leadership of Samuel Tullock were killed by Blackfeet indians, who also stole about forty thousand dollars' worth of furs and merchandise; and four men who had strayed from another division that was crossing from the watershed of the Columbia to the Great Salt Lake perished in the desert country of Southeastern Oregon.

Concerning Smith's remarkable experiences, a recent writer has said: "We are told that there was great rejoicing over the finding of Smith; and well might this be, though it is doubtful if the importance of what this man had accomplished was thoroughly understood by his comrades. His had been the first overland party of Americans to reach California; he had been the first white man to travel the central route from Salt Lake to the Pacific, and the first to traverse the full length of California and Oregon by land. Of the thirty-two men who had shared in his adventures, twenty-five had been slain by the Mohaves and the Umpquas. During three years of wandering west of the Rockies, he had covered fourteen degrees of latitude and eleven degrees of longitude. It was one of the greatest of western explorers that Sublette's men found trapping in Pierre's Hole that summer of 1829—and he was then but thirty-one years old!" [12]

Smith was sincerely religious, a professed Methodist, and he had beer deeply touched by Doctor McLoughlin's generosity, particularly in respect of the purchase of the furs, which in accordance with the code of that time would have been regarded by many traders as fair spoil. Accordingly he is said to have determined that he would not hunt on the western slopes of the Continental Divide, in the region then claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company as its territory, and to have persuaded his partners, though with some difficulty, to acquiesce in this arrangement. Thus for a time American fur traders did not operate in the Oregon Country. Smith was killed May 27, 1831, at the age of thirty-three, by Comanches while quenching his thirst in the nearly dry bed of the Cimmaron River in the desert of the Southwest.

The name of the American Fur Company was prominent in trading operations upon the Great Lakes and upon the Missouri River for a number of years after Oregon ceased to be a field for fur traders. A new organization under that name was created in 1834 under Ramsay Crooks as president. It was a consolidation of the interests of the old company and those of Crooks and his associates and John Jacob Astor, but the operations were not as profitable as in the fur trade of earlier days.[13] The company was for many years a keen competitor of the Hudson's Bay Company, but it did not extend its trading as far west as the Oregon Country.

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[12] John G. Neihardt, The Splendid Wayfaring, p. 276.

[13] The records of this company are in the New York Historical Society Library.

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CHAPTER XXIV

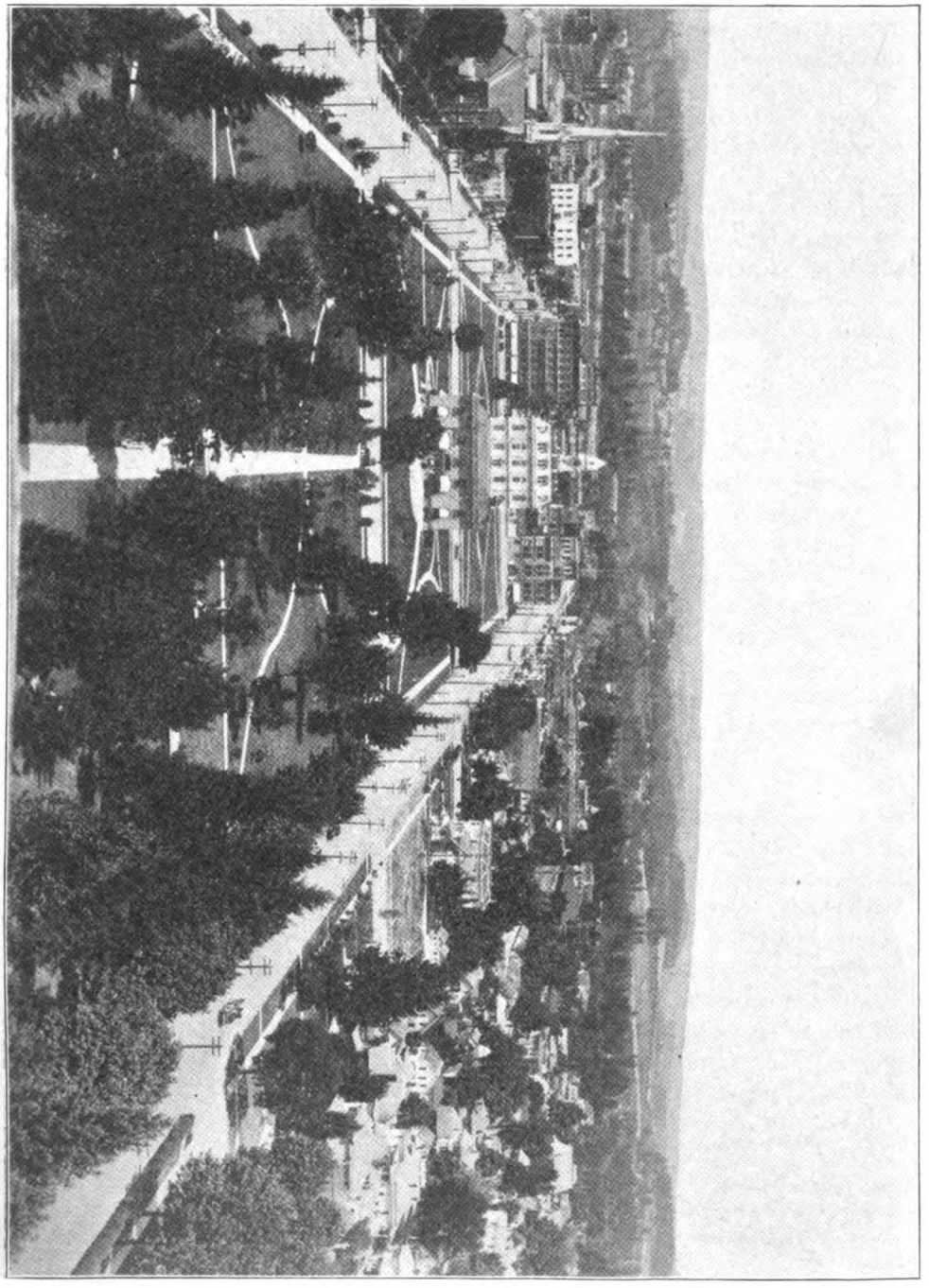
BONNEVILLE AND WYETH

At least two other adventurers in the early history of the fur trade deserve especial mention, since it was through their efforts that the way to the Oregon Country was opened for Americans. One was the picturesque soldier of fortune, Captain Bonneville, whom Washington Irving has embalmed in his undying classic, "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West." The full name of this rover-by-instinct was Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville; he was born in France in 1796. He had the friendship of Thomas Paine and of the Marquis de Lafayette, and obtained a cadetship at the United States Military Academy, West Point, from where he was graduated in 1819. Seeing service on the frontier he obtained an exaggerated impression of profits to be derived from the business of trading in furs, and through his family connections he secured financial backing for an expedition to the Far West. He then procured leave of absence from the army for twenty-six months "for the purpose of * * * exploring the country to the Rocky Mountains and beyond, with a view to ascertaining the nature and character of the several tribes inhabitating those regions; the trade which might be profitably carried on with them; the quality of the soil, the productions, the minerals, the natural history, the climate, the geography and topography, as well as the geology of the various parts of the country." He was to make the trip at his own expense.

He then organized a party of 110 men, provided himself with goods and equipment and set out from Fort Osage, ten miles from Independence, Missouri, May 1, 1832, nearly a fortnight in advance of the departure of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, the other character in this act of the drama of the winning of the West. Wyeth was the precise antithesis of Captain Bonneville—a prudent, assiduous and sagacious business man, and one who never lost sight of the main object of his venture. As a youth he had entered the employ of Frederick Tudor, who had originated the ice industry of the United States, and Wyeth himself afterward invented many of the appliances which have been employed in the cutting and storing of natural ice. He had read all that was then currently printed concerning the Far West and conceived the idea that there was a larger opportunity there for his talents for business and organization than on the Atlantic coast. He first engaged himself to accompany Hall J. Kelley, a Boston school teacher who was organizing an "Oregon Colonization Society," but he soon began to suspect that Kelley was a visionary, and without waiting for the latter to make his plans practicable left Boston March 12, 1832, with a party of twenty men.[1] At Independence he encountered

[1] Wyeth wrote from Cambridge, Mass., on February 13, 1832, to Kelley, who was then in Washington: "However well affairs are going on at Washington matters little to me. Anything they can do will come too late for my purposes. My arrangements are made to leave here 1st March and I shall not alter them, neither can I delay on my route.

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VIEW OF SALEM FROM THE CAPITOL DOME

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Capt. W. L. Sublette, then on his way up river from St. Louis on his expedition of that year to the mountains. Sublette believed that no harm could come to him from the opposition of so untrained and untried a company as Wyeth's showed itself to be, and on the other hand he foresaw some advantages to himself, so he assented to a union of forces for the trip. The two expeditions left Independence May 12, 1832, under the guidance of the experienced Sublette. Wyeth's party was depleted, however, by desertion of six of the original twenty. At this point we shall leave them for the present to follow the fortunes of Captain Bonneville.

The route of the captain's expedition, which was organized on military lines, was up the Platte and Sweetwater and through the South Pass. On Green River he built a post which he soon discovered was badly situated for winter trade,[2] and he moved to the headwaters of the Salmon River. He did some exploring to locate a field in which to work, and made some observations of latitude and longitude, which have since been proved erroneous. He sent parties of hunters in different directions. These hunters returned in due time with stories of troubles with the Blackfeet indians. But after various experiences he located for the winter on the Salmon and Snake rivers and prepared for the spring hunt. He met Wyeth, who had been to the coast and was then returning with a Hudson's Bay Company escort under the leadership of Ermatinger of the Vancouver post, and here had an opportunity to learn at first hand of the power of the Hudson's Bay Company over the indians of the region. "The British trader being at that time short of supplies," writes General Chittenden, "Captain Bonneville thought the opportunity a good one to do the trading with the indians himself. He accordingly opened his goods, but not an indian would touch the tempting bait. The trader's control of them was perfect, and the captain was completely disconcerted."[3] Wyeth and Bonneville entered into an arrangement for a joint hunt which was to have covered the country as far to the southwest as the mountains of California, but Bonneville repented of this, and proceeded on his own account. His second season was marked by contentions with the representatives of the American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain men. He then, according to his own version, determined to explore the Great Salt Lake and intrusted this part of the work to his chief lieutenant, I. R. Walker.[4] Later on, he himself traveled by devious routes, his pace being accelerated by the notion that he was being shadowed by Blackfeet or Crows, and by December 4, 1833, he was ready to go again into winter quarters, this time on Portneuf River. This place he left with three men on Christmas morning of that year to spy out the land in the basin of the Columbia and to ascertain the prospects for trading there. He reached the Hudson's

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I wish you well in your undertaking but regret that you could not have moved at the time and in the manner first proposed. When you adopted the plan of taking across continent in the 1st expedition women and children I gave up all hope that you would go at all and all intention of going with you if you did. The delays inseparable from a convoy of this kind are so great that you could not keep the mass together and if you could the delay would ruin my projects." ("Sources of Oregon History," Vol. I, p. 39.)

[2] "This was the post known in the history of the west as 'Fort Bonneville' or 'Bonneville's Old Fort,' but the trappers called it 'Fort Nonsense,' or 'Bonneville's Folly,' from the fact that no use was ever made of it." (Chittenden, Vol. I, p. 400.)

[3] Id., p. 403.

[4] Great Salt Lake bore Bonneville's name for a time, and the Bonneville Shore Line is still a feature of the locality.

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Bay Company post of Fort Walla Walla March 4, 1834. But chief factor Pambrun gave him a cool reception, for though privately hospitable, he officially made it plain that competing traders could not hope to obtain goods from his company.[5]

The captain revenged himself after a fashion for the treatment accorded him at Fort Walla Walla when on July 10, 1834, he encountered a party of Hudson's Bay trappers in the Bear River Valley and succeeded in making their leader drunk on an extemporaneous mixture of honey and alcohol. This, passing as a mere incident in the life of a trader, would not have excited much comment in that time, but it has been preserved by Irving, who had access to the captain's original journals, and who breathed into the story some of the spirit that must have enlivened the occasion. It also marks the captain as a man of ready resource in emergency. "They talked over all the events of the late campaigns," says Irving, "but the Canadian veteran had been unlucky in some of his transactions; and his brow began to grow cloudy. Captain Bonneville remarked his rising spleen, and regretted that he had no juice of the grape to keep it down. A man's wit, however, is quick and inventive in the wilderness; a thought suggested itself to the captain how he might brew a delectable beverage. Among his stores was a keg of honey but half exhausted. This he filled up with alcohol, and stirred the fiery and mellifluous ingredients together. The glorious result may readily be imagined; a happy compound, of strength and sweetness, enough to soothe the most ruffled temper, and unsettle the most solid understanding. The beverage worked to a charm; the can circulated merrily; the first deep draught washed out every care from the mind of the veteran; the second elevated his spirit to the clouds."

On this trip Captain Bonneville approached again to within thirty miles of Fort Walla Walla, from where he sent to the post another party in quest of provisions. The effort was no more successful than the previous one. He traveled for a short distance down the Columbia below its confluence with the Walla Walla, but found the Hudson's Bay influence paramount everywhere. He thereupon turned eastward and after spending the winter in the upper Bear River Valley he returned to the settlements, which he reached in August,

[5] Washington Irving thus describes Captain Bonneville's arrival at Fort Walla: "Captain Bonneville and his comrades experienced a polite reception from Mr. Pambrune (Pierre C. Pambrun), the superintendent: for, however hostile the members of the British Company may be to the enterprises of American traders, they have always manifested great courtesy to the traders themselves. * * * As he stood in need of some supplies for his journey, he applied to purchase them from Mr. Pambrune; but soon found the difference between being treated as a guest or as a rival trader. The worthy superintendent, who had extended to him all the genial rites of hospitality, now suddenly assumed a withered-up aspect and demeanor, and observed that, however he might feel disposed to serve him personally, he felt bound by his duty to the Hudson's Bay Company, to do nothing which should facilitate or encourage the visits of other traders among the Indians in that part of the country. He endeavored to dissuade Captain Bonneville from returning through the Blue Mountains; assuring him it would be extremely difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable, at this season of the year; and advised him to accompany a Mr. Payette, a leader of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was about to depart with a number of men, by a more circuitous, but safe route, to carry supplies to the company's agent, resident among the Upper Nez Percés. Captain Bonneville, however, piqued at his having refused to furnish him with supplies, and doubting the sincerity of his advice, determined to return by the more direct route through the mountains; though varying his course, in some respects, from that by which he had come, in consequence of information gathered among the neighboring Indians." (Captain Bonneville, p. 375.)

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1835. His leave of absence had long ago expired and he had been dropped from the rolls of the army, to which he was restored by President Jackson in recognition of his contributions to geographical knowledge.[6]

Allusion has been made to the contrasting motives of Bonneville and Wyeth. These are brought out more strongly in the correspondence of the latter in the course of his preparations for the trip. The letters show Wyeth to have been both a business man and a patriot. There is no doubt that he conceived it to be part of his mission to open the way to colonization of the Oregon Country, though the confessed primary object of his expedition was the profit to be derived from trade. He asked, for himself, no monopolistic privileges. "We * * * only wish that something should be done as an inducement for Americans generally to go out to that Country," he wrote from Cambridge, Massachusetts to Edward Everett at Washington, January 6, 1831, "in order to form a predominating interest there to counteract that of the British already established. Government would poorly serve our interests in granting to the Oregon Society any exclusive privileges there. Nothing on our part is desirable excepting aid to get men out there and enacting some laws for their regulation when there, and then leave us to ourselves."[7] At the same time he was making every effort to inform himself upon matters of probable concern in the establishment of a permanent institution. These included curing and packing of salmon for export and raising of tobacco for trade with the indians. Prior to setting out overland he arranged for shipment of a cargo of goods by sea, the loss of which subsequently contributed to the failure of his first expedition, and in his second venture his vessel similarly laden was struck by lightning, causing a delay of three months, which was a fatal blow to his projected salmon industry. Wyeth's plan, broadly considered, was similar to that of Mr. Astor, though undertaken with relatively small capital and at a time when rival interests had become entrenched in the trans-Rocky Mountain region.

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[6] These, however, were inconsiderable. General Chittenden observes that "the scientific feature of Captain Bonneville's expedition was, if possible, more of a failure than the commercial" and adds: "The Captain never made any report of his work to the department and it is probable that he had nothing of value to report. His adventures and observations were written up by Irving, and although that work contains a great deal of useful information, it is evident that a goodly portion of it was derived from other sources than from Captain Bonneville. The Captain's notes upon the nature of the country are limited and of no great value. His few astronomical observations for latitude and longitude are little better than wild guesses. Irving felt constrained to apologize for his fantastic views of Great Salt Lake, and he would have felt more so if he had known that the Captain's estimate of the altitude of that body above the level of the ocean (one and three-fourths miles) was considerably more than twice the correct figure. Touching the indian tribes scarcely any information is given by Irving which is in line with the instructions of the War Department to Captain Bonneville." (The History of American Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. I, p. 429.) Bonneville's actual contributions to the development of the Oregon Country were small but the publication of Irving's popular book served to stimulate interest in the Oregon Country. A station on the railroad on the south bank of the Columbia is called Bonneville. He was located at Vancouver Barracks in 1853. He laid out and made a map of the Military Reservation of 640 acres acquired by the United States from Hudson's Bay Company. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 311.) He also had a part in the Oregon indian wars as shown in Chapters XXXIII and XXXIV infra.

[7] Correspondence and Journals of Capt. Nathaniel J. Wyeth. Sources of the History of Oregon, p. 18.

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Arrangements having been made for dispatching a small vessel, the Sultana, by way of Cape Horn, Wyeth, as has been said, proceeded overland to St. Louis. He reached the latter point with twenty-four men. Here he learned from experienced up-river traders that boat wagons with which he had provided himself were likely to prove a hindrance rather than a help to travel, so he sold them and proceeded to Independence, Missouri, losing half a dozen recruits on the way. W. L. Sublette with his caravan passed up river at this time and as has already been stated the two parties formed a coalition for mutual protection only, leaving Independence, May 12, 1832, and traveling together as far as Pierre's Hole, on the waters flowing to the Columbia. At this point the prospect of being left without more experienced guidance, and tales that the party had heard of the perils beyond, caused the fainter hearts to weaken. A meeting was called. One of Captain Wyeth's brothers has said that the travelers demanded that it should be "what we had been used to at home—a town meeting—or a parish meeting, where every freeman had a right to speak his sentiments, and to vote thereon." Captain Wyeth, while assenting to the plan of permitting his followers to decide whether they would go on or turn back, declined to permit a vote that would be binding on the expedition as a whole. He simply ordered the roll to be called, the clerk asking each person if he would go on. Seven answered that they would return and the party was thus reduced to eleven. The faint-hearted returned east with William L. Sublette, and Wyeth and his loyal followers proceeded with Milton G. Sublette, a brother of William, through the Blackfeet country. Both parties had trouble with the indians, three men being killed and several, including W. L. Sublette, wounded.[8] Proceeding on the westward journey in the latter part of July, Wyeth's men tried their hands at trapping along the southern tributaries of the Snake. On August 29, 1832, there is an entry in Wyeth's journal: "This day we parted from Mr. [Milton] Sublette's party with feeling of regret for this party have treated us with great kindness, which I shall long remember." After various minor adventures Wyeth reached the Hudson's Bay post, Fort Walla Walla, October 22, 1832, five months and ten days from the time of departure from Independence. Pambrun, the trader there, received them with the hospitality customary in non-official relations, and Wyeth tarried some days, at length proceeding to Fort Vancouver, where he arrived October 29, 1832. Here disaffection among the party was manifest again, and the compact was dissolved. "I find myself," he wrote in his journal under this date, "involved in much difficulty on account of my men, some of whom wish to leave and whom the Co. do not wish to engage no(r) to have them in the country without being attached to some Co. able to protect them, alleging that if any of them are killed they will be oblidged to avenge it at an expense of money and amicable relations with the indians. And it is disagreeable for me to have men who wish to leave me."[9] He learned soon afterward that the

[8] John Ball's Journal gives the number of whites that were killed as eight, besides as many indians, and speaks of several wounded, including William Sublette. (Or. His. Quar., Vol. III, p. 92.)

[9] Another entry in the journal covering the period between November 6th and 19th includes the following: "On my return from the fort (Fort George) my men came forward and unanimously desired to be released from their engagement with a view to returning home as soon as possible and for that end to remain here and work for a maintenance until an opportunity should occur. I could not refuse, they had already suffered much and our number was so small that the prospect of remuneration to them

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Sultana had been lost. Being left alone, he spent the winter at Fort Vancouver, where he was well entertained.

Five of the party including Wyeth and John Ball took a canoe and went to the mouth of the river. John Ball was the only one of the party that had sufficient interest to see the ocean after seven months of arduous journeying toward the western coast. He says in his journal: "I urged the men to go with me, but all declined. So I went alone to look at the broad Pacific, with nothing between me and Japan. Standing on the brink of the great Pacific, with the waves washing my feet was the happiest hour of my long journey. There I watched until the sun sank beneath the water. Then by the light of the moon, I returned to camp, feeling I had not crossed the continent in vain." This little touch of sentiment characterizes Ball, who was to become a few days later the first school teacher in Oregon. On the return of the party to Vancouver, November 16, 1832, Ball made this entry in his journal: "The next day Mr. Wyeth and myself were invited by Doctor McLoughlin, the oldest partner and nominal governor, to his own table and rooms at the fort. Others were quartered out of the fort. I soon gave Doctor McLoughlin and Captain Wyeth to understand that I was on my own hook, and had no further connection with the party. We were received with the greatest kindness as guests, which was very acceptable, or else we would have had to hunt for subsistence. But not liking to live gratis, I asked the doctor (he was a physician by profession) for some employment. He repeatedly answered me that I was a guest and not expected to work. But after much urging, he said if I was willing he would like me to teach his own son and the other boys in the fort, of whom there were a dozen. Of course I gladly accepted the offer. So the boys were sent to my room to be instructed. All were half-breeds, as there was not a white woman in Oregon. The doctor's wife was a 'Chippewa,' from Lake Superior, and the lightest woman was Mrs. Douglas, a half-breed, from Hudson Bay. I found the boys docile and attentive and they made good progress. The doctor often came into the school, and was well satisfied and pleased. One day he said: 'Ball, anyway you will have the reputation of teaching the first school in Oregon.' So I passed the winter of 1832 and 1833. The gentlemen of the fort were pleasant and intelligent. A circle of a dozen or more sat at a well-provided table, which consisted of partners, the clerks, Captain Wyeth, and myself. There was much formality at the table. Men waited on the table, and we saw little of the women, they never appearing except perhaps on Sunday or on horseback. As riders they excelled. The national boundary had not been settled beyond the mountains at this time. The traders claimed the river would be the boundary. The south side the American. The fur trade was their business and if an American vessel came up the river, or coast, they would bid up on furs, and if necessary a price ten to one above their usual prices. So American traders soon got entirely discouraged.

"When Doctor McLoughlin found I was bent on going to farming, he loaned me farming utensils and seed for sowing, and as many horses as I chose to break in for teams. I took the seed and implements by boat, getting help

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was very small I have therefore now no men. These last were Mr. Ball, Woodman, Sinclair, Breck, Abbot, and Tibbits, they were all good men and persevered as long as perseverance would do good. I am now afloat on the great sea of life without stay or support but in good hands i. e. myself and providence and a few of the H. B. Co. who are perfect gentlemen." (Sources of the History of Oregon, vol. I, parts 3 to 6, p. 178.)

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up the Willamette to the falls, [passing the site of Portland and beyond the new Oregon City,] about fifty miles from Fort Vancouver. We carried by the falls, boat and all, and first stopped with one of the neighbors, a half-breed, J. B. Desportes, who had two wives and seven children and plenty of cats and dogs. I caught from the prairie a span of horses with a lasso, made a harness, and set them to work. For harness I stuffed some deerskins, sewed in proper form, for collars, fitted to them for the harness, crooked oak limbs tied top and bottom with elk skin strings. Then to these, strips of hide was fastened for tugs, which I tied to the drag made from a crotch of a tree. On this I drew out logs for my cabin, which, when I had laid up and put up rafters to make the roof I covered with bark peeled from the cedar trees. This bark covering was secured by poles crossed and tied at the ends with wood strings to the timbers below. Then out of some split plank I made a bedstead and a table, and so I dwelt in a house of fir and cedar." [10]

Wyeth made a few short excursions into the surrounding country, examined the Willamette Valley, and looked into the prospects for his salmon packing industry, which seems to have been ever in his mind. He left for home in the following February in company with Mr. Ermatinger of the Hudson's Bay Company, who escorted him as far as the Hudson's Bay post in the Flathead Country. He later fell in with Captain Bonneville, as has been related, but failing to carry out the arrangement for a joint hunt, proceeded eastward, meeting Milton G. Sublette on the Little Bighorn and entering into a contract with Sublette by which he would deliver to the latter in the following spring $3,000 worth of trading goods of which the Rocky Mountain Fur Company believed itself in need—a contract which subsequently was violated by the Rocky Mountain people. One of the most picturesque incidents of his entire journey was his construction at this point of a bull boat and his voyage therein from the head of navigation on the Bighorn to the mouth of the Yellowstone, a description of which furnishes Irving with one of his engaging chapters.[11] On his way down river he observed the operations of Kenneth McKenzie, of

[10] Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, pp. 99-102.

[11] "His boat was made of three buffalo skins, stretched on a light frame, stitched together and the seams payed with elk tallow and ashes. It was eighteen feet long and about five feet six inches wide, sharp at each end, with a round bottom, and drew about a foot and a half of water; a depth too great for these upper rivers, which abound with shallows and sandbars. The crew consisted of two half-breeds, who claimed to be white men, though a mixture of the French creole and the Shawnee and Potawattomie. They claimed, moreover, to be thorough mountaineers, and first-rate hunters—the common boast of these vagabonds of the wilderness. Besides these, there was a Nez Percé lad of eighteen years of age, a kind of servant of all work, whose great aim, like all indian servants was to do as little work as possible; there was, moreover, a half-breed boy of thirteen, named Baptiste, son of a Hudson's Bay trader by a Flathead beauty; who was traveling with Wyeth to see the world and complete his education. Add to these Mr. Milton Sublette, who went as passenger, and we have the crew of the little bull-boat complete. It certainly was a slight armament with which to run the gauntlet through countries swarming with hostile hordes, and a slight bark to navigate these endless rivers, tossing and pitching down rapids, running on snags and bumping on sand-bars; such, however, are the cockle-shells with which these hardy rovers of the wilderness will attempt the wildest streams; and it is surprising what rough shocks and thumps these boats will endure, and what vicissitudes they will live through. Their duration, however, is but limited; they require frequently to be hauled out of water and dried, to prevent the hides from becoming water-soaked; and they eventually rot and go to pieces." (The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, pp. 430-431.)

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the American Fur Company, who was running a distillery for the manufacture of intoxicants with which to corrupt the indians, and he reported them to the Government authorities at Fort Leavenworth. He reached Cambridge, Mass., November 7, 1833. A letter which Wyeth wrote on the following day to Hall, Tucker and Williams, in which he outlines a project for the following season, constitutes one of the most authentic records obtainable as to the extent and profits of the fur trade in the western country.[12] In this letter he mentions the contract with Sublette as one of the sources of his probable profit, and also an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company previously proposed, in which he had suggested that the company engage itself to buy his furs in consideration of his restricting himself to certain territory south of the Columbia and not within one hundred miles of any existing post. He also elaborates his salmon fisheries scheme, which he ventures to predict will pay all the expenses of a vessel sent around Cape Horn "and leave a large allowance for the expenses of the post at which they are caught." He also describes what he conceives to be the large opportunity awaiting a trader in territory occupied by neither British nor independent Americans.[13]

He was successful in impressing his associates, and in the organization of the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company, which outfitted the ship May Dacre, sent around by way of Cape Horn, to meet the overland party at the Columbia. He left Boston on his second venture precisely three months after his arrival home and at St. Louis he recruited a company of seventy men, with which he proceeded to Independence. This expedition is also noteworthy for the presence with it of the first missionaries ever sent to the Oregon Country, led by Jason and Daniel Lee, and of two scientists, Thomas Nuttall and J. K. Townsend. Wyeth was as impatient, however, of delay on the part of the missionaries as previously he had been of the vacillation of Hall J. Kelley. Writing to Tucker and Williams, April 17 from Independence, Mo., he said: "There are none of the Dignitaries with me as yet and if they 'preach' much longer in the States they will lose their passage for I will not wait a minute for them." He began the journey, the missionaries, however, having arrived meanwhile, April 28, 1834, and reached the South Pass on June 14th. Meeting the representatives of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, he was surprised by their refusal of the goods they had contracted to buy. The defaulting company was then in the throes of dissolution, but Wyeth attributes this breach of contract to deliberate plot to injure him as a rival trader. Possession of this unexpected burden of goods, which would have hampered him in the final stages of his journey, led to the building of Fort Hall,[14] which therefore

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[12] Sources of the History of Oregon, vol. I, parts 3 to 6, pp. 73 et seq.

[13] "I will in conclusion observe that I consider all the coast and country north of the Columbia as completely occupied by the English, and all east of the mountains by the Americans. From these countrys I expect nothing, but all that country lying south of the Lewis Fork of the Columbia and west of the mountain as far south as the settled parts of the Mexican territory is yet unexplored or nearly so. Into this section of country I have been, and have myself taken more than a pack of beaver in less than a month, and the furs of this region are excellent from their color and goodness and without doubt are reasonably abundant." (Id., p. 78.)

[14] The fort was named Hall in honor of Henry Hall, elder partner in the concern. In a letter to Leonard Jarvis, dated October 6, 1834, Wyeth writes: "I have as I then proposed built a fort on Snake or Lewis River * * * which I named Fort Hall from the oldest gentleman in the concern. We manufactured a magnificent flag from some

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was begun July 16, 1834, and was so far completed by August 5, that it was left in charge of twelve men. He reached Fort Vancouver September 14, one day in advance of the May Dacre, which had suffered an accident that necessitated putting into Valparaiso for repairs, and the delay of the vessel had ended his hope of beginning salmon packing operations during the season of 1834. However, he performed other prodigious labors during the remaining months of the year. He established his other post, Fort William, named for another member of the firm, on Wappato Island, now Sauvie's Island, at the mouth of the Willamette River, of which he writes in a letter dated April 3, 1835: "This Wappato Island which I have selected for our establishment is about 15 miles long and about average of three wide. On one side runs the Columbia on the other the Multnomah [Willamette]. It consists of woodlands and prairie and on it there is considerable deer and those who could spare time to hunt might live well but a mortality has carried off to a man its inhabitants and there is nothing to attest that they ever existed except their decaying houses, their graves and their unburied bones of which there are heaps. So you see as the righteous people of New England say providence has made room for me and without doing them more injury than I should if I had made room for myself, viz., killing them off." [15]

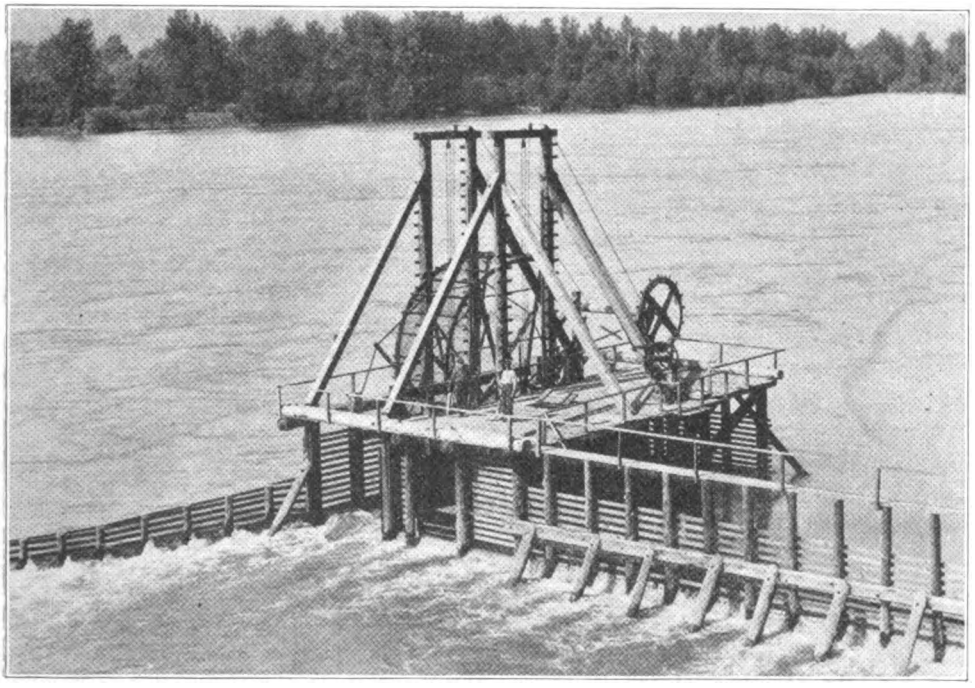
The whole enterprise failed. Nothing came of the fishing venture. Although the Hudson's Bay Company officials, and especially Doctor McLoughlin, were personally friendly,—and notwithstanding the exigencies of commercial competition, this relation was maintained,—they treated him otherwise as a rival trader. Captain Wyeth does not attribute his own defeat to unfair methods on the part of his rivals in the Columbia River Country, although he is bitter toward the Rocky Mountain men, and his action in reporting Kenneth McKenzie's liquor scheme to the American authorities is indicative of his attitude there. Misfortune, loss of the Sultana, delay of the May Dacre, and desertion of the men of the first party, contributed somewhat to the downfall of the venture,

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unbleached sheeting, a little red flannel and a few blue patches, saluted it with damaged powder and wet it in vilanous alcohol, and after all it makes, I do assure you, a very respectable appearance amid the dry and desolate regions of central America. Its bastions stand a terror to the sculking indian and a beacon of safety to the fugitive hunter. * * * After building this Fort I sent messengers to the neighboring nations to induce them to come to it to trade, and am now about starting with an equipment of goods for the winter trade. After leaving these at the Fort I shall locate and build two more one of which will be situated near the Great Salt Lake." This letter was written from the Columbia River, and the party that Wyeth dispatched to Fort Hall consisted of eight of his own men and some thirteen Sandwich Islanders who had arrived on the May Dacre. The bad faith shown by the Sublettes had only aroused his pugnacity. At the time of the refusal of the Rocky Mountain people to accept the goods he had brought, he is said to have told Fitzpatrick and Sublette that he would yet "roll a stone into their garden which they would never be able to get out." (Chittenden, History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West, Vol. I, p. 450.) The building of Fort Hall, observes General Chittenden, "was the stone which Wyeth rolled into the garden of the mountain traders and which they never succeeded in rolling out." The fort was changed afterwards, but although it has entirely disappeared the site has recently been found. (For history of Fort Hall consult The History of the Oregon Country (Scott), Vol. I, p. 304.)

[15] Sauvie's Island on which Fort William was established was named for an employee of Hudson's Bay Company who operated a dairy farm there. It has had various names including Wyeth Island. (See Scott's History of the Oregon Country, Vol. I, p. 296.)

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FISH WHEEL ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

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but it now seems probable that the primary reason was that the time was not ripe for success for such an enterprise, with small capital and no organization. Wyeth frankly admitted failure, and though showing a courageous and manly spirit throughout his correspondence, was inclined to blame the nature of the partnership, which was composed of men less venturesome than himself.[16] His plans were well founded, his diligence almost superhuman, and as a matter of fact, he made a moderate success in business on his return to the states. An important phase of his achievement viewed in the light of subsequent history was his development of what afterward became the Oregon Trail. "Between 1832 and 1836," says General Chittenden, "the parties of Bonneville and Wyeth passed repeatedly over all parts of the Trail, while Walker crossed from Great Salt Lake to the Pacific." But it required even more than the labors of Wyeth and his coadjutors of the period to make the trail a road for travel.

The British meanwhile, as represented by the newly consolidated fur trade interests comprised in the Hudson's Bay Company, had maintained an open way overland from York Factory, on the western shores of Hudson Bay, to the mouth of the Columbia. Arduous though this route was, it was a peaceable one; no indian along the line questioned the authority of the company which maintained to the fullest extent the power bestowed upon it by its charter, to punish its foes as well as to reward its friends. Along the Columbia for its full length, across the Continental Divide, down the Athabasca and by all its stages to the East, it was a tested route. Americans at the seat of government had not on the other hand awakened to the significance of the westward movement, to the value of the new land on the Pacific coast or to need of measures of protection for the tide of immigration about to begin, which Wyeth probably himself did not foresee. Wyeth sold his trading post at Fort Hall to the Hudson's Bay Company, but found no buyer for Fort William, which fell into bad repair and at a later date furnished the basis of a claim, under the land laws of the United States, to the island on which it was situated.

The exploits of these independents, including the Rocky Mountain men, were useful in opening the West to Americans. They contributed much to geographical knowledge, and did something to establish the claim of possession. In answer to the charge made by agents of the British government that the policy pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country had tended to introduction of American settlers into the country until they outnumbered the British, Doctor McLoughlin said that ever since 1826, when Smith, Jackson and Sublette led their trapping parties west of the Rocky Mountains, the Americans had outnumbered the British in Oregon. It is a curious fact,

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[16] In a letter to Frederick Tudor September 6, 1835, Wyeth wrote: "The business has not been successful in any of its branches therefore it will terminate soon. I shall not order another equipment to this country until I see again those concerned with me, and if I know the people they will be the last to go very far in any business that commences unprofitably. * * * The business I am in must be closed not that it might not be made a good one but because those who are now engaged in it are not the men to make it so. The smallest loss makes them 'fly the handle' and such can rarely succeed in a new business." On the same date he wrote to "Friend Brown": "My last was dated October 6th, 1834, from this place since which time there has been the Devils own work in this Country. 14 of our people drowned and killed and much property lost. Personally I am still happy go lucky with only a broken toe and two or three upsettings in cold water. This you know I am used to." (Sources of the History of Oregon, vol. I, parts 3 to 6, pp. 149 et seq.)

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however, that each of the American trading expeditions into Oregon was a business failure. Astor, Henry, Smith, Bonneville, Wyeth actually entered the district but without success. The people of the United States had not yet awakened to the importance of the territory. But the era of the fur trader was drawing to an end, and now new factors entered into the history of the Oregon Country.

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CHAPTER XXV

PRE-MISSIONARY INFLUENCES

Although the missionaries were the first Americans actually to go to Oregon for any other purpose than that of temporary domicile for purposes of trade, influences which were to affect the destiny of the West and to determine the character of its settlement were in operation for a decade and a half before the first religious teachers set out for the Columbia River. The treaty of joint occupancy entered into with Great Britain in 1818 was assented to because it seemed the easiest solution of a vexed problem, and because other matters, which then appeared to be of greater moment, were pressing for adjustment. But the treaty served to call attention to the Columbia River Country, about which little was known, and concerning which, consequently, everything might be imagined. Density of population is relative. Though the states along the Atlantic seaboard, and more particularly those of the Mississippi Valley, were but sparsely settled according to present-day standards, there was restlessness even then among the people, and longing for the more open spaces. The American people were migratory and many families that had moved to the Mississippi Valley were still seeking better locations. The explorations of Lewis and Clark, published in 1814, revealed something of the vast extent of country yet to be reclaimed. In the seaports, pioneer enterprise had been stimulated by the earlier fur trading and whaling ventures; commerce with the Orient had begun to receive the consideration of men of affairs. It had been due to this motive that the Columbia River had been discovered by an American, and Mr. Astor's plans had included elaborate provision for exchange of goods with China. Adding to this an inherent love of adventure, a belligerent patriotism engendered by the War of 1812, an increasing religious fervor among the more unworldly, and we have the main influences for turning the thought of Americans toward the vast undeveloped region west of the Rocky Mountains.

First among those who became active in this formative period was Dr. John Floyd of Virginia, whose personal gifts qualified him for leadership, and whose first interest in the Columbia River region was influenced by the fact that he was a cousin of Sergeant Charles Floyd, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the only member of the expedition to die on that memorable journey. He was the intimate friend of Gen. William Clark and a warm admirer of George Rogers Clark. Early residence in Kentucky had enhanced his understanding of frontier people and their problems. On his election to congress to represent a Virginia district Floyd lived at the same hotel with Ramsay Crooks and Russell Farnham, who were then in Washington upon business relating to the fur trade, and who had participated in the Astor expedition. Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, who had been elected in 1820, was another resident at this hotel. Benton, indeed, has taken credit to himself for originating the Oregon agitation, although it was Floyd who first presented the subject to Congress, and who first used the name Oregon for the territory of the Columbia, and who by persistent, vigorous and in-

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telligent agitation kept this topic before Congress and the people during the third decade of the nineteenth century. "It required not only energy but courage," wrote Benton, some years later, "to embrace a subject which, at that time, seemed more liable to bring ridicule than credit to its advocates. I had written and published some essays on the subject the year before, which he had read." Benton here indulges in a bit of self laudation, pardonable in view of his vigorous advocacy of western expansion.[1] But the point as to Floyd is that historically he is the pioneer in Congress in this phase of the movement which resulted in the settlement of Oregon. It is reasonable to assume that Floyd, with his predilections already mentioned, was receptive to the influence of Crooks and Farnham, and perhaps also of Benton, and that the impressions he had formed before he entered Congress were heightened by these associations.

The session of Congress of 1820-21 was the first at which the question of occupation and settlement of the Columbia River territory was discussed. Floyd moved, December 19, 1820, for the appointment of a committee of the house to inquire into the settlements on the Pacific Ocean and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River, and, being a member of the committee to which his resolution was referred, made a report, accompanied by a bill, January 25, 1821. The committee reported that "they have carefully examined the subject referred to them, and, from every consideration which they have been able to bestow upon it, believe, from the usage of all nations, previous and subsequent to the discovery of America, the title of the United States to a very large portion of the coast of the Pacific Ocean to be well founded."[2] The committee then discussed the law of nations, the charters under which territorial titles were obtained from the British crown, the large profits derived from the fur trade and whale fisheries, and the flattering reports of Lewis and Clark concerning the resources of the interior. "The soil," said Floyd in this report, "was found to be rich, and well adapted to the culture of all the useful vegetables found in any part of the United States; as turnips, potatoes, onions, rye, wheat, melons of various kinds, cucumbers and every species of pease." He proposed "an establishment * * * at the mouth of the Columbia, which would be allowed to take with them their women and children." "It is believed," he said also, "that population could be easily acquired from China; by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence, and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied." In conclusion, the committee expressed belief that, "by a new organization of the system of indian trade, comprehending a settlement on the Columbia River, great benefits would result to the citizens of the republic, whilst the aborigines would be better protected and provided for, by instructing them in agriculture and the minor branches of the mechanic arts."[3]

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[1] Thirty Years' View, p. 13. In 1819, Benton published editorials in the St. Louis Enquirer of which he was editor promoting settlement on the Columbia and expressing the opinion that loaded horses or even wagons might be used. His articles quoted freely from Brackenridge, Views of Louisiana, 1814, which contained a chapter on the Columbia River region. See review in Or. Hist. Quar. Vol. XVIII, p. 14, by Fred Wilbur Powell. See also as to career of Floyd, Hist. Oregon Country, Scott, Vol. I, p. 306.

[2] Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, p. 51.

[3] Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, p. 71. Annals of Cong., 2nd Sess., 16th Cong., p. 946.

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The bill reported by the committee authorized the president to occupy "that portion of the territory of the United States on the headwaters of the Columbia River," to extinguish the indian title thereto, to allot lands to settlers and to provide a government.

An interesting comment upon this report will show the attitude of President Monroe's secretary of state at the time. It is an entry under date, January 18, 1821, in the private journal of John Quincy Adams, and is as follows:

"About one-half the members of Congress are seekers for office at the nomination of the President. Of the remainder, at least one-half have some appointment or favor to ask for their relatives. But there are two modes of obtaining their ends: one by subserviency, and the other by opposition. These may be called the cringing canvass and the flouting canvass. As the public is most watchful of the cringing canvass, the flouters are in fact the most numerous party. This Dr. Floyd is one of the flouters. The President gave me yesterday to read a paper which this man has prepared as chairman of a committee, being a report urging an immediate settlement and territorial establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River, and a total change of our system of intercourse and trade with the indians. Floyd had put it into the President's hands, with a request that he would suggest any alterations that he might think desirable. I returned the paper this morning to the President, who asked me what I thought of it. I told him I could recommend no alteration. The paper was a tissue of errors in fact and abortive reasoning, of invidious reflections and rude invectives. There was nothing could purify it but the fire.

"The President told me he had been informed that the Columbia River settlement project was for the benefit of a brother-in-law of Doctor Floyd's, who was treasurer of the State of Virginia, and about a year since was detected in the embezzlement of the funds of the state, and was a delinquent to the amount of many thousand dollars. This had so disgraced him in reputation that a retreat to Columbia River was thought expedient for him by his friends, and, as his near relations shared something of the ignominy which attached to him, Doctor Floyd probably intended to be of the Columbia River party too."[4] This waspish sting shows that a great man may sometimes allow his temper to warp his sense of fairness. It is highly probable that there was nothing to support the charges made or implied, but with such feelings being entertained in high quarters the prospect of success of the Oregon legislation during the Monroe administration was slight.

Nothing more was done for almost a year. The bill died on the calendar, and Floyd reported another, January 18, 1822, which passed the second reading and is noteworthy because it proposed to designate the region as "Oregon," this being the first official use of the name in connection with the territory,

[4] Memoirs, Vol. V, p. 238. In Adams' Duplicate Letters of the Fisheries and the Mississippi (Washington, 1822,) further light upon the ill feeling of the Secretary against Dr. Floyd is shown, particularly by Floyd's letter to the Richmond Enquirer of August 27, 1822, at page 243 of the book, from which it appears that Adams' scorn of the Oregon bill was due to Floyd's demand in Congress for the correspondence relating to the treaty of Ghent, which Adams took as a reflection upon his conduct of the negotiations. The bitterness was due to what Adams thought was an imputation that he had "made a proposition at Ghent to grant to the British the right to navigate the Mississippi in return for the Newfoundland fisheries." (p. 3.) How far the antagonism thus engendered affected the failure of Floyd's Oregon bill will never be known.

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as distinguished from the river, the name having originally applied to the stream but not to the surrounding country. On December 17, 1822, he delivered a long and able speech in support of the bill, in the course of which he expressed the opinion that transport over the route he outlined would require twenty-four days by steamboat to the falls of the Missouri, fourteen days thence by wagon to the mouth of Clark's River, and seven days additional to the mouth of the Oregon. He emphasized the advantage of obtaining control of the fur trade, the benefit to whaling and the profits of traffic with China. He reminded those of his hearers who might be inclined to regard the country as inaccessible that it had not been long since merchants first opening trade into Kentucky lost from thirty to thirty-five days getting to market. From Louisville to New Orleans had formerly required a voyage of thirty to forty days, which had been reduced to seven. The same calculations, he averred, could be applied to the journey to Oregon and "as to distance, I have already shown that in point of time the mouth of the Oregon is not farther distant than Louisville was thirty years ago from New York, or St. Louis was twenty years ago from Philadelphia."

Oregon had another earnest and able champion in Francis Baylies, of Massachusetts, scholar, historian and Jacksonian federalist, who was particularly impressed by the opportunities in the whale fisheries of the Pacific. He was the first member of Congress to call attention to the probable future of the Oregon timber industry. Opponents of the bill contended that the effect of settlement of the Columbia River region would be to scatter the people and diffuse their energies in fields in which they would be less productive to society than they were under then-existing conditions. The interests of the residents of the new territory, said one speaker, would be in the Orient rather than in the parent country. The bill, coming to a vote in the House on January 25, 1823, was laid on the table, 100 to 61. Much, however, had been accomplished in the direction of stimulating interest in the Oregon question among the people of the United States.

The persistent Floyd returned to the attack in January, 1824, with a bill providing for a grant of land to each settler in Oregon, the erection of a territorial government and authorizing the President forthwith to take military possession of the country.[5] This was followed by a second report written by Floyd and submitted to the House in April, 1824, in which was included a letter from Quartermaster-General Jesup, U. S. A., a document which constitutes another important mile post in Oregon historical development.

General Jesup said that he "considered the possession and military command of the Columbia necessary not only to the protection of the fur trade but to the security of our western frontier."[6] He advocated the establishment of a chain of army posts and suggested that by building mills, cultivating the land and keeping cattle, the cost of maintenance could be greatly reduced. "As to the proposed posts on the Columbia," he proceeded, "It is believed that they might be supplied immediately at a low rate. Wheat may be obtained at New California, at about twenty-five cents per bushel, and beef cattle at three or four dollars each. Salt, in any quantity required, may be had at

[5] "A bill to authorize the Occupation of the Columbia River," January 19, 1824. Passed the House December 23. Read in Senate December 28, 1824. (Library of Congress and Sen. File, 18th Congress.)

[6] Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, p. 291.

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an island near the Peninsula of California." That the route from Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia, "is practicable," he said, "has been proved by the enterprise of more than one of our citizens. It, no doubt, presents difficulties; but difficulties are not impossibilities. We have only to refer to the pages of our history to learn that many operations, infinitely more arduous, have been accomplished by Americans."[7] He urged that the stations be designated and occupied without delay. The British companies, he said, were wealthy and powerful, and it was not to be supposed that they would surrender their advantages without a struggle. He also pleaded the advantage to naval strategy of a post at the mouth of the Columbia. "The northwest coast of America," he said, "is an admirable nursery for seamen—many of our best sailors are formed there * * *. The establishment might be considered a great bastion, commanding the whole line of coast to the north and south."

The Jesup letter, and Floyd's argument in support of the bill, in the course of which he outlined a more convenient route than had been proposed by Jesup,[8] made a more favorable impression, so that, December 23, 1824, the bill, which empowered the President, whenever he deemed the public good might require it, to establish a port of entry on the Columbia River, passed the House by a vote of 113 to 57. This was the first bill relating to the Oregon question to pass either house of Congress. It encountered opposition in the Senate, founded on belief that it was in contravention of the treaty of joint occupancy and that moreover no territory thus occupied would ever become a state of the United States. Benton supported the bill but it was laid on the table in March, 1825. Another bill was introduced December 18, 1827, but it never came to vote and for some years after that the subject was not referred

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[7] Id. pp. 292, 293.

[8] Floyd said of this route: "Through these (passes) you pass with ease and safety, so much so that I have the most perfect confidence that even now a wagon with the usual freight could be taken from this capital to the mouth of the Columbia. Besides these passes there is still another, which, though longer to the upper part of that river, is yet better, where even the feeble difficulties there encountered are here almost annihilated. This route, pursued by many now engaged in that trade, holds its course from Missouri up the Kansas River, continuing some distance up the Republican fork of that river, then falling into the river Platte; thence entirely up that river to its source, where the Oregon or Rocky Mountains sink into a bed of sand, without water or timber, for the space of sixty miles smooth and level." (Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 160.) Marshall's comment is: "This fairly accurate description of the route up the Platte Valley and across the Stony Mountains, and over the South Pass into the Oregon Territory, given in Congress in December, 1824, only a few weeks after news had reached St. Louis of Ashley's success in leading the first party of fur traders from the States by that route to the Great Salt Lake and back to Missouri, shows how speedily the National Government was informed of the discoveries of the fur traders in exploring the Rocky Mountain regions, while the fact that it was not till the summer and autumn of 1824 that Ashley thus rediscovered the South Pass (the discovery of which by Ramsay Crooks and Company in 1812 had not then been published) shows why Jesup, in his letter written in April, 1824, proposed a line of posts and the sending of troops up the Missouri, and thence across the Stony Mountains and down Clark's Fork of the Columbia,"—Id. pp. 160-61. Marshall is mistaken as to the route followed by Crooks not having been published. Crooks returned to St. Louis May 30, 1813, in company with Robert Stuart and others of the Astor expedition, and the route was described in rather general terms, it is true, but with sufficient detail to state that it was a feasible route for wagons. (See Bradbury's Travels, Appendix III, for copy of article extracted from Missouri Gazette, June, 1913.)

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to again.[9] Except for desultory references to the question in the debates over renewal of the joint occupancy treaty Oregon was not discussed in Congress until late in the decade of the thirties. Floyd retired from Congress in 1829 to become governor of Virginia. Baylies of Massachusetts was retired in 1827, and the task of keeping the Oregon issue alive was passed on to others.

In the meantime, however, in 1824, a treaty with Russia was concluded which fixed fifty-four degrees forty minutes, north, as the southern limit of Russian territory on the Pacific coast, whereas before that event the claim reached as far south as fifty-one degrees, and at an earlier period Russia had even claimed the right of settlement in Northern California.

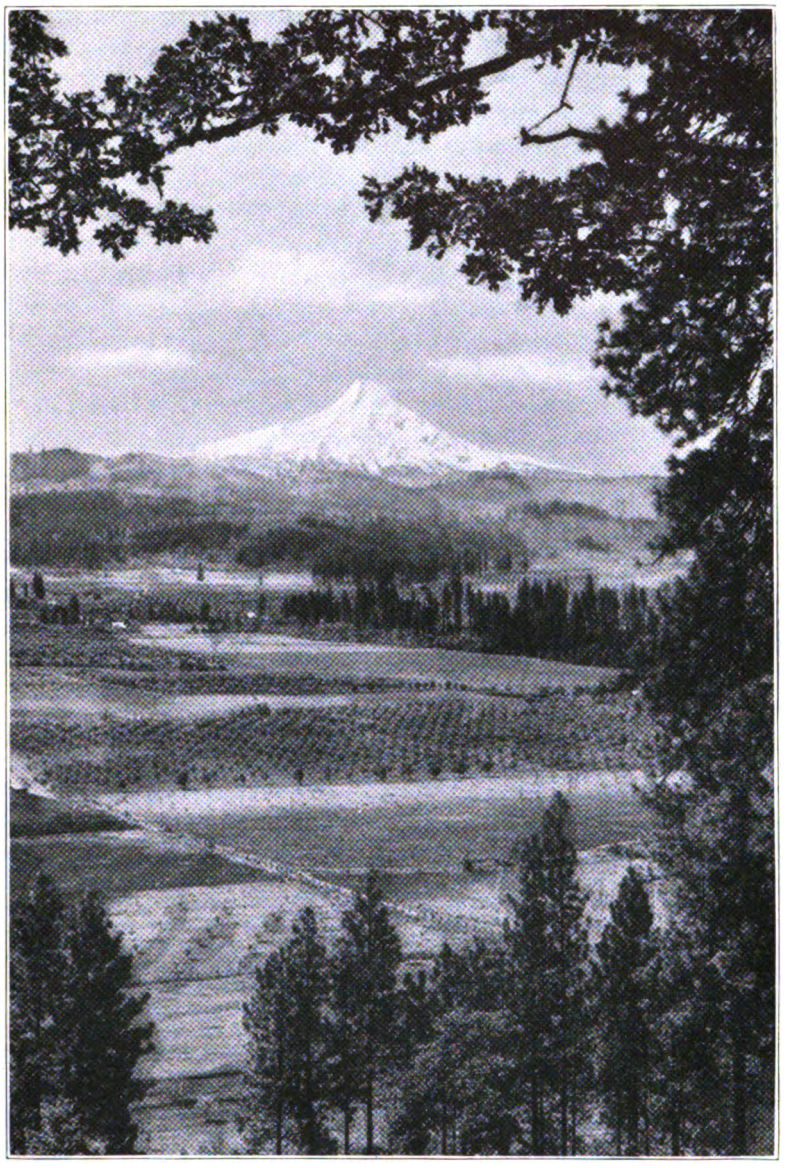
Hall Jackson Kelley, a Massachusetts schoolmaster, dreamer, fanatical enthusiast, inventor of strange projects, ever active in more or less chimerical schemes—a man of vision, yet without capacity for that kind of organization through which abstractions might be translated into concrete realities, a curious and withal a compelling figure, half tragic, half comic, all romantic—a personage whose sincerity and whose enormous and unrequited labors commend him to sympathy, here makes his appearance on the stage. Overlapping by a few years the congressional career of Floyd, his activities covered a period of time, and he carried on the agitation outside of that body, in the decade during which official America was inactive. Where Floyd had introduced bills and resolutions, and made arguments in behalf of them, Kelley now wrote pamphlets, prospectuses and books about the Oregon Country, proceeded to the organization of promising colonizing enterprises destined never to come to fruition, aroused the enthusiasm of leaders whose interests he subsequently alienated by his vagaries, and at length made his way, though deserted by the companions who started with him, to Oregon over the strangest and most devious route ever traveled by a pioneer. Arriving in the territory under auspices that marked him an outcast through no fault of his, he devoted his physical and mental energies to making surveys and obtaining data concerning the country of his dreams. Returning home, though unrequited, he lost none of his enthusiasm for Oregon, and during the remainder of a long life devoted himself to efforts to obtaining favorable official action in encouragement of the settlement of Oregon.

Kelley's undoubted influence on the history of this period demands at least brief consideration of his career. A man of considerable culture, possessing degrees from two colleges, a schoolmaster and an author of books on pedagogy and other subjects, he became interested in the Oregon Country through his early fondness for reading of every sort, and particularly his receptivity to all news of remarkable events. In early manhood he made an investigation of perpetual motion, but "after several days of study and mechanical labor * * * was enabled to demonstrate its impossibility."[10] While in college he constructed an ingenious machine to show the movements of the earth, sun and moon, and made a projection for an eclipse for a fellow student, receiving therefor $5.00 which was very acceptable to him, for according to his own account he was in needy circumstances. He taught school from 1818 until 1823. He became involved in litigation through a venture in textile manufacturing

[9] Bill to authorize occupation of the Oregon River. (With amendments in volume containing bills of second session, in Libr. of Congress.)

[10] Cited from Kelley's Settlement of Oregon, by Fred Wilbur Powell, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVIII, p. 3.

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SCENE IN HOOD RIVER VALLEY

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and one of his later obsessions was that the creditors who harassed him in the courts had been inspired by interests opposed to his plans for colonizing Oregon. He fixes the time of his own awakening of interest in Oregon as 1817 or 1818, when "the word came expressly to me to go and labor in the fields of philanthropic enterprise and promote the propagation of Christianity in the dark and cruel places about the shores of the Pacific." He conceived the idea of founding a new republic of civil and religious freedom. Being dismissed from his school in 1823, he then devoted his time exclusively to his colonization schemes. It is assumed by his sympathetic yet unprejudiced biographer, Powell, that he made himself acquainted with the activities of Floyd and of the disposition of the national Government to defer official action. He "announced to the world" in 1824 his intention to settle Oregon and to propagate Christianity in regions west of the Rocky Mountains. He presented a memorial on the subject to Congress on February 11, 1828. He had obtained the sympathy of Francis Baylies, whose interest lay in the direction of whaling enterprise, and of Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. He organized in 1829 the "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory" and began his work of spreading propaganda by writing and lecturing. In furtherance of his plan he prepared a memorial setting out its advantages to its proposed participants and to the government of the United States.

"The expense of the project," he wrote, in his first piece of Oregon colonization literature to achieve public notice, "would not much exceed that of the present South Sea expedition, though the profits would be, in the proportion of 100 to 1." He enumerated some of the advantages that would accrue to the Government of the United States from colonization. First, he said, "the occupancy of it by 3,000 sons of American freedom, would secure it from the possession of another nation, and from augmenting the power and physical resources of an enemy." "England," he said, "is desirous of possessing the whole country, with all its valuable privileges. She has evinced this by that bold and lawless spirit of enterprise by which she has acquired so great a monopoly in the indian trade. * * * She is provident in these things; and wisely anticipates that awful catastrophe, which will terminate on the eastern continent her long and brilliant career."[11] Second, he pointed out that "a free and exclusive trade with the indians and with a colony in Oregon would very considerably increase the resources, and promote the commercial and manufacturing interests of our country." Third, fisheries might be extensively and profitably pursued. Fourth, "a port of entry and naval station at the mouth of the Columbia, or in the Du Fuca Straits would be of immense importance to * * * a general control of the Pacific, where millions of our property are continually afloat."[12] He mentioned the purpose of cultivating the friendship of the indians and forestalling their alliance with enemies of the nation, promotion of trade with the East Indies, and relief of seaports by taking emigrants from their "redundant population."[13]

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[11] A Geographical Sketch of that part of North America called Oregon, pp. 75-76.

[12] Id. p. 78.

[13] Kelley wrote to Secretary of State Livingston, February 12, 1832, making inquiry regarding his proposed expedition to "the Oregon Territory," and February 23, of the next year wrote to him again asking authorization to explore Oregon Country to determine certain matters, following this with another letter February 27, enclosing a copy of his so-called "Emigrant's Covenant." (State Dept. Bureau of Indexes and Archives.) In that year the

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Nathaniel J. Wyeth came under the influence of the writings of Kelley. The twain made an alliance, which Wyeth repudiated, as has been seen, on discovering that Kelley was hardly likely to be prepared to start at the appointed time. Wyeth was a man of action and his impatience with the dreamer is not hard to understand. Wyeth proceeded west on his first expedition in 1832, after writing Kelley a sharp letter of reprimand. Kelley continued his solicitation of men of good moral character and industrious habits to join him, and also appealed to capitalists to consider the profits of such a venture. Seemingly he forgot nothing. He proposed a government, in most respects a duplicate of that of the Michigan country. He had a scheme of allotment of lands. A pledge of twenty dollars was exacted from each of his recruits, and at one time he claimed to have interested three thousand persons in his venture, but these never materialized. Perhaps four hundred were enrolled.

The missionary awakening contributed interest to Kelley's schemes, but Kelley himself seems not to have reaped much benefit from this. His obsessions, his delusions of persecution, the grandeur of his schemes for pecuniary gain, his unfortunate personality, all operated against him here. The Methodist missionaries, first to be enlisted for duty in the West, owed little or nothing of their inspiration to this visionary. Jason Lee was first influenced by publication of the story of the quest of the northwest indians for religious instruction.[14] Nevertheless Kelley obtained some cooperation from religious associations and individuals, got a passport from the Government for travel through Mexican territory, and was furnished by the postoffice department with free transportation down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. A small party of recruits proceeded from Boston by sea to join him at the latter port. Kelley loaded himself down with presents for the indians, and with tracts and various other impedimenta.

Kelley's wanderings in this period in his effort to reach Oregon rival those of Jedediah Smith and his trappers of 1828. Deserted and robbed by his fellow colonists at New Orleans, and in Mexico outrageously taxed by Mexican customs officials at Vera Cruz, he made his way, always with some baggage to hamper him, across Mexico, part of the way on foot, to San Blas, thence by water and land to San Diego, where he arrived April 14, 1834. Near this point he met a man whom fate had designed to play an important role in determining the future of Oregon. This was Ewing Young, an active figure in Oregon for several years after this, and whose death in 1841, in the Willamette Valley, in which district he left a considerable estate subject to administration, was for the first time to bring home to the settlers of the territory their need of civil government.

When Kelley fell in with Young the original colonists had been left far behind, but here in California he recruited a new company. Young, a man

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commissioner of the General Land Office, March 14, advised Franklin Johnson that the Government would not patronize settlement in Oregon until there was legislation on the subject. (See also letters from the commissioner to Henry Lucas, Norton, Ohio, Nov. 5, 1835, and to Zelova Eaton, Cassville, N. Y., October 3, 1836.)

[14] "To use Jason Lee's own words, 'it was after having heard that an indian of the Flat Head tribe had crossed the Rocky Mountains to inquire of Governor Clark, at St. Louis, about the God that the pale faces worshipped, that first led me to think of establishing a mission west of the mountains.'" W. A. Slacum's Report on Oregon, republished in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, p. 193.

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of natural talent for enterprise, was one of these, who was won by Kelley's enthusiasm and his apparent knowledge of the region to which he was bound. But Young warned Kelley of dire consequences if his representations should prove false.

The new party traveled north, driving a band of horses, mostly Young's, and were joined on the way by several adventurers with a band of horses which afterward proved to have been stolen. As a result of this both Kelley and Young were set down by the Mexican governor of California, General Figueroa, as horse thieves, and the governor, by sending word ahead of them by sea to Governor McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, caused the gates of that post to be closed against them on their arrival October 27, 1834. On their way north through the Sacramento Valley, Kelley mentally outlined a branch railroad, to extend to San Francisco Bay from some point on his great imaginary transcontinental line across the Rocky Mountains to Oregon. Later, on arrival in the Willamette Valley, the party passed the newly established mission of Jason Lee.[15] The members of the party who arrived in Oregon with Kelley and Young were Wesley J. Hauxhurst, Joseph Gale, John Howard, Lawrence Carmichael, John McCarty, Kilbourne, Elisha Ezekiel and George Winslow (the last a negro). These constituted Kelley's direct contribution to the settlement of Oregon, but they do not represent the limit of his influence in inducing western immigration. Besides those who came with Wyeth, and remained in the country, there were others who were influenced by the publications that he continued to disseminate after his return to the eastern states.

Kelley's arrival at his destination was an anti-climax. Doctor McLoughlin, regarding himself as in fact governor of the region, and being disposed to treat the request of the California official in a spirit of comity between states, did not display his customary hospitality to these newcomers. Young he refused to receive; Kelley, being ill, he accommodated with a rude shelter at some distance from the post, and with food and medicine. Here Kelley in his loneliness was ignored even by his own countrymen, some of whom threatened him with bodily harm in consequence of his delay in plotting the land he had promised them for a settlement.[16] Even Wyeth, who was then in Oregon on his second expedition, did not appear glad to see him. Recovering somewhat from his disability, Kelley began in February, 1835, to explore the country roundabout, and to make observations which he utilized in preparing a memoir after his return home. Being utterly without tact, and still dominated by the idea that the Hudson's Bay Company was hounding him, he failed to improve the bad impression he had made on his arrival. Doctor McLoughlin,

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[15] "Before our house was done a party headed by Mr. Ewing Young, an American from one of the western United States, arrived in the Walamet from California, embracing about a dozen persons, most of them from the United States. Some of them had been sailors, some hunters in the mountains and in the regions bordering on California to the south, and one, a Mr. Kelley, was a traveler, a New England man, who entertained some very extravagant notions in regard to Oregon, which he published on his return."—Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (1844), p. 129.

[16] Kelley had published his prospectus for two towns, a seaport on Gray's bay eleven miles north of the Columbia, and a town on the peninsula between the Columbia and Willamette rivers. The plat of the latter is reproduced in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVIII, p. 36. Fred Wilbur Powell's biographical review covering Kelley's career and his various publications, with a discriminating examination of his influence upon the settlement of the Oregon Country is in the same volume. See for bibliography, id. Vol. VIII, p. 375.

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however, arranged for his passage by ship to Hawaii and presented him with a draft for seven pounds sterling, and he sailed for home in March, 1835, never to return, nor ever, in the remaining thirty-nine years that he lived, to cease to dream of the colonization of Oregon. Until 1868 he continued to publish books, pamphlets and memorials to Congress on the subject, and he died, a hermit, in Three Rivers, Mass., on January 20, 1874.[17]

President Jackson's determination in 1835 to inform himself as fully as possible concerning the geography and resources of Oregon resulted in another series of events of considerable historical significance. The Oregon question had been slumbering in Congress since the renewal of the joint occupancy agreement in 1827, with only occasional incidents to call it to official attention, such as the appearance of Hall J. Kelley with his colonization schemes and the efforts of Captain Bonneville to obtain reinstatement in the army after having been dropped from the roll for overstaying his leave. President Jackson may have conceived a plan for acquisition of a harbor on the Pacific coast, but whether that was in mind or not, he was far-seeing enough to perceive that every fact that might be ascertained as to the western country would be of value to the nation. The President therefore dispatched William A. Slacum, a purser in the navy, on a mission of inquiry, although for some reason which does not appear Slacum received his orders from the Department of State, probably on account of the slumbering differences with Great Britain as to the title, and in order to give official authority without emphasizing his military position. Slacum was well informed about the southwest, and the wisdom of choosing him for this further delicate and important errand is fully vindicated by the initiative and resourcefulness which he exhibited in the fulfillment of the task entrusted to him, as also by the intelligent and comprehensive report that he subsequently submitted to the Government at Washington.

Slacum was directed by the secretary of state, in the name of the President, to "proceed to and up the river Oregon, by such conveyances as may be thought to offer the greatest facilities for attaining the ends in view," and to obtain data as to the settlements of whites on the coast and on the banks of the river, the relative number of whites and aborigines, the national character of the white residents and their sentiments toward the United States, and in general to possess himself of such information, "political, physical, statistical, and geographical, as may prove useful or interesting to this Government." So instructed, Slacum was left to his own resources as to the manner of furthering his purposes, and after several ineffectual attempts to reach the Columbia River from various ports on the coast of Mexico in small craft, which proved unseaworthy and which nearly cost him his life, he took ship from La Paz for the Sandwich Islands, where he chartered the American brig Loriot at his own expense, and thus arrived in the Columbia River December 22, 1836. His reason for obtaining a vessel over which he would have complete control is explained in his letters to the State Department to the effect that he understood that the Hudson's Bay Company exercised dominion over the inhabitants,

[17] June 26, 1839, J. R. Poinsett transmitted to the Secretary of War a letter to himself from Kelley with a "Map of High California and the Oregon Territory," together with a letter of thirty-four pages from Kelley to Secretary Forsyth discussing the claims of the United States to the Northwestern Country. (State Dept., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Misc. Let.) Kelley's earlier map showed the Willamette or Multnomah River rising east of Great Salt Lake. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVIII, p. 30.)

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and that he desired to have shelter under the flag of his country, whence he might make needful inquiries unhampered by unfriendly restrictions.

Slacum was received with some suspicion, but not without hospitality, by the Hudson's Bay officials, including Doctor McLoughlin, and he remained for ten days at Fort Vancouver. Thence he traveled to the missionary settlement of Jason Lee, always with an eye open to the purpose of his expedition. Subsequently he submitted a remarkably clear and detailed account of conditions as he found them both at the mission and at the fur-trading posts.[18] He described the profits of the fur trade as enormous; for example, he related that in 1829 the American brig Owyhee, Captain Dominis, had procured in nine months in trade with the indians of the Columbia a cargo valued at $96,000. But he also related that in the same year a fever had become epidemic among the indians, and he strongly intimated that the impression obtained by the natives that the disease had been disseminated by the Americans might have been fostered by agents of the Hudson's Bay concern.[19] He recounted a number of incidents to illustrate the monopoly of the British fur traders, and he described the existence of the custom of slavery among the indians, and the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to encourage this as a means of saving "the company the expense of employing at least double the number of men that would otherwise be required on these (trapping) excursions." These phases of his report, when published, were well calculated to awaken the interest of the people of the United States in this western region.

He paid a warm tribute to the work of Lee and his associates, and particularly mentioned their "successful and happy efforts in establishing a temperance society among men who are generally considered as being almost without the pale of moral restraint (I mean trappers)." At the time of his visit he found that Ewing Young, who had been excluded by the Hudson's Bay Company from participation in ordinary industrial affairs by the expedient of denying him supplies, had made plans for establishment of a whisky distillery. It seems that Young had procured an old vat from Nathaniel Wyeth's abandoned establishment on Sauvie's Island at Fort William, and seriously intended to engage in the sale of such liquor. On being approached on the subject, Young had pleaded sheer necessity as the excuse for his new enterprise. Through the mediation of Slacum, which constitutes one of his most important contributions to the social welfare of the period, Young was induced to abandon his scheme. One of the most interesting documents submitted by Slacum with his report was a copy of a petition addressed to Young and his partner, Lawrence Carmichael, by the settlers of the valley, pleading with them to consider the debasing effects of a liquor traffic on the aborigines and its peril to the infant settlement, and also agreeing to reimburse Young and Carmichael for their expenditures if they would consent to abandon it. The petition was signed by thirty settlers and missionaries, eight of whom were not members of Lee's Oregon Temperance Society, and the missionaries committed themselves to payment of such needed sums as were not subscribed by the others, whatever the amount might be. The outcome of these negotiations sheds interesting light on the character of Ewing Young. The latter, explaining that he had been moved chiefly by the "innumerable difficulties and tyrannizing oppression

[18] Slacum's report and memorial is printed as Sen. Ex. Doc. 24 of 25th Cong. Second Session, Vol. I, and also in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 173.

[19] An account of the visit of Captain Dominis to the river is in Chapter XXX infra.

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of the Hudson's Bay Company here," but adding that favorable circumstances had occurred which would make it possible to "get along without making spiritous liquors," freely promised to "stop manufacturing it for the present." Young, however, declined to receive any remuneration whatever, and thus another crisis in the social life of the little community on the banks of the Willamette was averted. Slacum accomplished this by diplomacy. He succeeded, at least partially, in establishing Young in the good graces of the Hudson's Bay authorities, denied him because of the mistaken accusation of the governor of California, and he procured the promise of the company's agent that Young would be permitted to get necessary supplies from Fort Vancouver on the same terms as other men. Out of his personal funds Slacum had proposed to lend Young $150 and give him and his partner a free passage to California on a business venture in order that Young might clear himself of the calumny resting on him.[20]

Another and more favorable opportunity to unite the interests of the settlers and to promote their material welfare, however, was here presented. "I found," says Slacum in his report, "that nothing was wanting to insure comfort, wealth and every happiness to the people of this most beautiful country but the possession of neat cattle, all of those in the country being owned by the Hudson Bay Company, who refused to sell them under any circumstances whatever." In these circumstances Slacum proposed the purchase of cattle in California for the settlers. In the latter region the Spaniards were producing cattle only for their hides and tallow, while Slacum considered the Willamette Valley "as the finest grazing country in the world. Here," he continued, "there are no droughts, as on the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the plains of California, whilst the lands abound with richer grasses, both in winter and summer." He therefore offered free passage on the Loriot to as many settlers as chose to accompany him to California for this purpose. The proffer was accepted, an agreement was entered into January 13, 1837, "to avail ourselves of an offer of W. A. Slacum, Esq., of the United States Navy." A fund was subscribed by settlers and by Doctor McLoughlin, who had been won over to the plan as a means of relieving the company from the necessity of supplying the newcomers, and by the Methodist mission. "I advanced Mr. Lee $500,"

[20] Slacum's Report, Or. Hist. Quar. XIII, 195. Dr. Elijah White gives a somewhat different version of this story and without mentioning Slacum attributes the efficient and diplomatic negotiations with Young to Jason Lee, and says Young acquiesced in what was represented to him to be the sense of the Community upon the subject. He adds: "This was really a virtuous triumph, creditable to both parties. Mr. Lee's reasons for his course, at so early a period, were that it was the custom of the Hudson's Bay Company to present a few gallons of liquor to the head of each family every holiday, especially Christmas and New Years. This had been attended with pernicious effects, ruinous to the health and peace of the inhabitants. In some instances the brawls so produced almost resulted in murder; at one time a woman lay insensible thirty days, brought to the point of death by the hand of her drunken husband. Mr. Lee was desirous of discounting this practice, as far as possible, and often conversed with Doctor McLoughlin to this effect. As might be expected from a man of his decision of character and philosophic disposition, the governor readily and cheerfully concurred with him, and even went so far as to decide that no grains should be ground in the mills of the Company for distilling liquors, and gave such intimation to Mr. Young. (White, p. 78.) The Journal kept at the Lee Mission sets out copies of the letter to Young and Carmichael and the reply. Nothing is said of Slacum's part in suppressing the distillery, although full credit is there given him for his part in encouraging the cattle enterprise. (Mss. in Methodist Headquarters, New York City.)

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says Slacum, who adds that the total amount raised was $1600. Settlers who could not afford to invest funds were accepted as subscribers on condition that they would go to California and assist in driving the cattle to Oregon, taking their pay in cattle. The party went south with Slacum and returned in the following spring with seven or eight hundred head of cattle, of which six hundred reached the Willamette Valley, a venture the importance of which was far beyond the sum of money involved, since it introduced into the settlement the practice of industrial cooperation, as well as the first real sense of independence of the Hudson's Bay Company in economic affairs.[21]

Another service for the ultimate cause of free government in Oregon was performed by Slacum in connection with the meeting held to organize the cattle company. "The liveliest interest appeared to be felt," he writes, "when I told the 'Canadians' that, although they were located within the territorial limits of the United States, their pre-emption rights would doubtless be secured when our government should take possession of the country. I also cheered them with the hope that ere long some steps might be taken to open a trade and commerce with the country." The settlers were then receiving 50 cents a bushel for wheat at Vancouver; the Russians at Bodega Bay, in California, were then paying $1.50 a bushel. In still another important respect the Slacum document is significant, for he made an earnest recommendation that the United States Government hold out for possession of Puget Sound.[22] Having these

[21] Doctor McLoughlin says in his autobiography: "I took half the stock for the Hudson's Bay Company, so that by purchasing a larger number (as the expense of driving five hundred or a thousand was the same) as it would make the cattle cheaper. Those of the settlers who had the means put in the stock, those that had none engaged as drivers at $1 per day, to be paid in cattle at their actual cost. Mr. Slacum, who came here in a chartered vessel, gave them passage gratis from this place to San Francisco. * * * They bought, I think, about seven hundred head in cattle, which cost $8 per head rendered. In the Willamette, the settlers kept the tame and broken in oxen they had belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and gave their California wild cattle in the place, so that they found themselves stocked with tame cattle which cost them only $8 per head, and the Hudson's Bay Company, to favor the settlers, gave them calves in place of grown-up cattle, because the Hudson's Bay Company needed them for beef. These calves would grow up before they were required." (Transactions, Oregon Pioneers, 1880, p. 51.)

[22] "I beg leave to call your attention to the topography of 'Pugitt's sound' and urge, in the most earnest manner, that this point should never be abandoned. If the United States claim, as I hope they ever will, at least as far as 49 degrees of north latitude, running due west from the 'Lake of the Woods,' on the above parallel we shall take in 'Pugitt's sound.' 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 Bay Company) over the indians at the north, on those magnificent straights of 'Juan de Fuca,' a force of 20,000 men could be brought by water in large canoes to the sound, 'Pugitt's,' in a few days, from thence to the Columbia; the distance is but two days' march, via the Cowility. I hope our claim to 54° of north latitude will never be abandoned; at all events, we should never give up Pugitt's sound, nor permit the free navigation of the Columbia, unless, indeed, a fair equivalent was offered, such as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. I am now more convinced than ever of the importance of the Columbia river, even as a place where, for eight months of the year, our whalers from the coast of Japan might resort for supplies, which, in the course of a few years, would be abundant, if the citizens of the United States could receive from the Government the protection due to them. A custom-house, established at the mouth of the Columbia, would effectually protect the American trader from the monopoly which the Hudson 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."—Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 13, pp. 204-5.

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significant accomplishments to his credit, although he had been in the country only a month and a day, Slacum dropped down the Columbia River in the Loriot January 23, 1837, and shortly thereafter put to sea, followed by the newly-aroused hopes of the colonists and bearing with him the members of the expedition, under the leadership of Ewing Young, which was to attempt a new venture and lay the foundation of a self-supporting American community.

Whether due to his report or to the missionary movement, or the activity of promoters like Kelley, the next year, 1838, saw two bills introduced in the Senate relating to Oregon,[23] and Charles Otho Haller and others, of Louisville, proposed to President Van Buren a settlement of Germans in that district; and in 1839 an association was formed in New England to trade in Oregon.[24]

Another fact of importance occurred during Slacum's visit which remains to be recorded. While he was in Oregon, Jason Lee aided him in making up a complete list of all of the white settlers in the Willamette Valley,[25] and then Lee wrote a petition addressed to the United States Government praying for the establishment of a territorial organization for Oregon. Together Lee and Slacum got the settlers' signatures upon this document, even the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company being persuaded to sign, on being told that the Government would recognize and validate their titles to their farms. Slacum was the custodian of the petition, and he carried it with him and it was presented to Congress in 1837. This and Slacum's favorable report did much to stimulate general interest in the section.

A feature of Oregon's settlement that is to be considered is the influence of the emigrating societies established about this time in many of the states to encourage and promote interest and to disseminate information regarding Oregon. One of the first was the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory, organized in 1829 at Boston by Hall J. Kelley. Another was the Oregon Provisional Emigrating Society that was formed at Lynn, Mass., in 1838. This town was the former place of residence of Cyrus Shepard, one of the four missionaries who went to the Willamette Valley four years before. The society had for its objects not only to further actual settlement, but also to continue the work of converting the indians. It proposed to send a colony in 1840, and it published a periodical called The Oregonian and Christian Advocate. Soon afterward, within two or three years, there were emigrating societies in all parts of the country and county newspapers were devoting much space to their transactions. At such meetings were described and discussed all kinds of information concerning the route and methods of travel, the organizations forming, the character of the country, and the

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[23] February 7, 1838, Bill to authorize the occupation of Columbia or Oregon River. (Lib. of Congress) December 11, 1838, Bill to provide for Protection of Citizens of United States residing in Oregon, etc. (Lib. of Congress.) Neither bill passed the Senate.

[24] Haller's communication was June 25, 1838, and the Queries of the New England Association were in a letter from F. P. Tracy to Secretary Forsyth dated January 24, 1838. (Bureau of Indexes and Archives, State Dept.)

[25] The list included the following names: Jean Baptiste McRoy, Andre Longtre, Charles Plante, Charles Rondeu, Louis Fourier, Joseph Gervais, Xavier Delarout, Joseph Delor, E. Arquette, Jean B. Perrault, Etteine Lucia, Pierre Billique, Frederick Depau, Ewing Young, Lawrence Carmichael, William Johnson, Jas. A. O'Neil, Thomas J. Hubbard, William Canning, Solomon H. Smith, Winslow Anderson, Charles Roe, Elisha Ezekiel, John Hood, Webley Hawkhurst, John Turner, William Bailey, Calvin Ebbets, John Rowling, George Gay.

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problems of settlement. The general promulgation of information in this way not only stimulated interest, but made it possible for those who considered the possibility of going to Oregon to join forces. The great migration of 1843, for example, was in no small degree due to such organization.[26]

One of the interesting features of Oregon's history is the part taken by the missionary organizations in the development not only of the religious, but also the social and the political, life of the people of the territory. For it is a fact worth noting that the preachers preceded the settlers, and on the arrival of the pioneer colonists they found a welcome from the little bands of missionaries that had gone out to carry the gospel to the indians. More than that, these missionaries became influential in a manner not originally intended, by aiding in the establishment of thrifty and industrious settlements of whites, in the organization of schools and colleges, and in the creation of a provisional government. The civil polity of the Oregon Country as thus organized took color from the American antecedents of the pioneers, and its form was that of a self-controlled and self-limited representative government, but its creation was made possible by the activities of the missionaries, who had a great part in its successful flotation. The influence of the missionaries upon the civilization that ripened and expanded during the following years is traceable in many directions.

[26] Peter H. Burnett, Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer reprinted Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 64. Harrison C. Dale, "The Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Companies," id., Vol. XVI, p. 205.

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CHAPTER XXVI

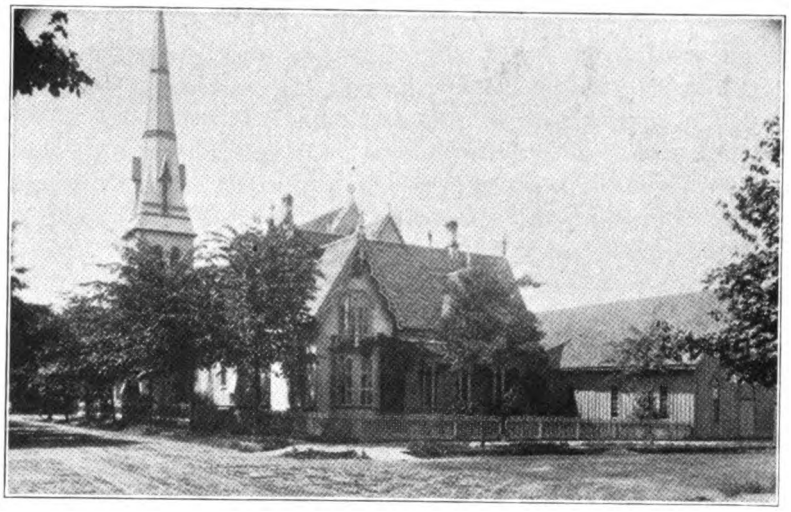
MISSIONARY SETTLEMENT

In Oregon there is discernible a distinct and peculiar social and political development, due in a measure to the circumstance that the first standards were set by missionaries actuated and stimulated by the missionary spirit, and also due to their courage and enterprise. A civilization from such a source, guided in its beginning by such a devoted and chivalrous people, could not but be unique, and it is worth while to trace its influence upon later generations. For it is capable of demonstration that Oregon's progressive policies in legislation and in government, as well as its steadfastness in morals and religion, owe not a little to the character of her first settlements. The first missionaries, who arrived in the Oregon Country in 1834, comprised with a few exceptions the only Americans then in the territory. A small number of settlers, chiefly former servants of the fur trading companies, had established themselves in the Willamette Valley, where some of them had taken indian wives and had endeavored in a desultory way to till the soil. These were not, however, the material out of which an American commonwealth is made. As yet there was not, as we understand the term, a social order in Oregon, and outside of the missions and the fur trading posts there was no responsible authority for a considerable period afterward. These missionaries founded the pioneer schools in the new territory, at first for the instruction of the indians in the industrial arts and handicrafts, as well as in religion. Failing, as the result of a train of events which could not reasonably have been foreseen, to accomplish what they had set out to do for the advancement of the natives, they then laid the foundation for education among the white settlers in the period of transition from the old order to the new. Moreover, they exerted a needful influence for order in a country which had no machinery of democratic government, they developed a self-contained community independent of the British fur-trading institution, and they supplied an object and an incentive for extension of the authority of the United States over the Pacific Northwest. Prior to their arrival in Oregon it cannot be said that American settlement had even been begun. Until the third decade of the century there were none who had come west for any other purpose than trade with the natives, or who expected to remain to build up a state. These missionaries were thus the first home-builders in Oregon.

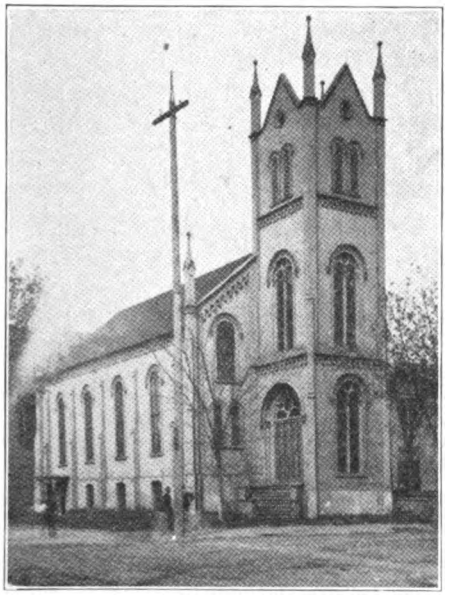
The attention of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at New York was drawn to Oregon at some time prior to 1829. The board then had a firmly established mission in the Hawaiian Islands[1] (then known as the Sandwich Islands), and it detailed Rev. Jonathan S. Green to visit the northwest coast. The tour was undertaken by Green in pursuance

[1] The first mission to the islands had been established in 1820. See Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, by Samuel Eliot Morison, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 166.

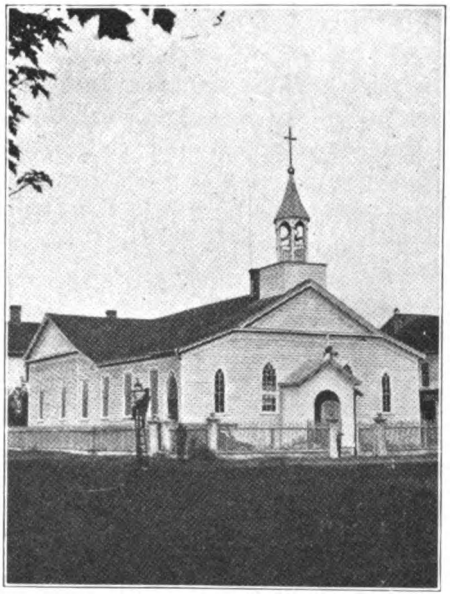
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OLD TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PORTLAND FORMERLY ON CORNER OF OAK AND SIXTH STREETS.



OLD FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PORTLAND, FORMERLY ON NORTHWEST CORNER OF THIRD AND WASHINGTON STREETS, BUILT IN 1862.



OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, PORTLAND, FORMERLY ON CORNER OF THIRD AND STARK STREETS.

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of instructions from the Prudential committee of the board.[2] Green took passage from Oahu in February, 1829, in the bark Volunteer, Captain Taylor, which was engaged in the fur trade. The Volunteer anchored in Norfolk Sound, in latitude fifty-seven degrees north, March 11, 1829, and during the ensuing summer it voyaged as far south as latitude fifty-three degrees, thus giving Green an opportunity to observe and come in contact with the indians. The missionary seems, from his own accounts, to have been exceedingly studious and excessively timid. "Wherever it appeared safe," he reported to the Prudential committee, "I went ashore." He compiled a list of about seven hundred words of the dialects of ten or twelve tribes, but found the natives hopelessly tainted with commercialism and debauched by white men's rum. An Alaskan chieftain whom he pressed into service on board ship as a kind of assistant lexicographer discovered that the missionary valued these additions to his vocabulary and demanded a quid pro quo—a leaf of tobacco for a word. The Russian governor, Chesticoff, gave Green a cordial reception and the missionary reciprocated his hospitality with a gift of "several of our Hawaiian tracts, the January and February numbers of the Missionary Herald for 1828, Mr. Dwight's address on the Greek revolution, and Mr. Stewart's Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands." The feelings of the robust governor on receiving these evidences of the missionary's gratitude are not recorded.

Green made, however, a sincere effort to reach Oregon, and although he opposed the erection of a mission among the northern indians, for whom he saw no hope of salvation, he did recommend, as the result of his further inquiry, that an establishment of that kind be set up in Oregon. Captain Dominis, of the brig Owyhee, a doughty seafarer known up and down the length of the Pacific Ocean in that time, whose name is mentioned in the preceding chapter, informed Green at Norfolk Sound that the indians of the Columbia River region probably would be amenable to missionary teaching. "They speak of it (the Oregon Country) in terms of commendation as being a fertile country in a delightful climate," wrote Green June 10, 1829. "The indians are numerous and less bloody than on this part of the coast. Captain Dominis says it is unquestionably the place where a missionary station should be established. As he is soon to return to the river, he offered me a passage. I am extremely anxious to accompany him, but as there is little probability of being able to find a passage thence to the islands short of eighteen months, I must abandon the idea." However, he persuaded Captain Taylor, who had business of his own wherever there was a prospect of trade, to examine the coast farther south. The Volunteer was prevented by head winds from entering Puget Sound, but it sailed thence to the latitude of the Columbia. "We then made for the Columbia river," Green wrote August 31, 1829,[3] "spent several days in the latitude of the river, and at length made land in the vicinity of the country I so much desired to visit. Cape Disappointment and Point Adams, between which land the river empties, we distinctly saw, and for several hours were within a few miles of them. Captain Taylor was no less anxious than I was to enter the river, but after arriving so near, we reluctantly abandoned the idea. So tremendous was the swell from the southwest that Captain Taylor judged that it would break in twenty fathoms only of water. The danger of

[2] Missionary Herald, November, 1830, p. 343.
[3] Missionary Herald, February, 1831, p. 77.

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crossing a sandbar having four fathoms only of water, at such a time, is obvious. I am fully of the opinion that we could not have succeeded, had we attempted it. Soon after we left, we encountered a violent storm, so that we found it more pleasant, as well as safe, to be at sea."

Green, nevertheless, pursued the investigation further after reaching California, where he obtained from a sojourning agent of the Hudson's Bay Company from Oregon the names of thirty-four tribes of indians inhabiting the vicinity of the Columbia River, and was told that these were of a race superior to the natives of the northern coast, although "Captain Simpson,[4] an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company," as Green reported to the Prudential committee, "assured me that they had learned every vice, but not a single virtue, of their white neighbors." Green suggested that "a regard to Christian economy would urge to the selection of the most favorable situation. * * * It seems desirable that missionary effort should commence here. This would be especially desirable, should the mission be connected with a small colony." Somewhere in the vicinity of the Columbia River, he did not doubt, such a colony "would find a salubrious climate, a fertile soil and ultimately a country of great importance. Mr. Smith,[5] an American hunter, of whom you have probably heard, on his way from California to the Columbia River last winter, discovered a considerable river in the latitude of 42 degrees 30 minutes [the Rogue river]. Should this opinion prove correct the country about this river would probably be most favorable for such an object."[6]

Green continued his inquiries on his return to Oahu, where Captain Thompson of the brig Convoy informed him that the Columbia River indians were friendly, and Green so reported to the American board.[7]

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[4] Evidently Sir George Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, who made a trip west in 1829.

[5] This was Jedediah S. Smith, whose party was attacked by indians on the Umpqua River in 1829, and who was the first white man to lead an expedition into Oregon from the south.

[6] Missionary Herald, April, 1831, p. 106.

[7] This excursion of the Rev. Mr. Green, and especially his recommendation, as early as 1829, that a mission be founded in Oregon, which has been all but ignored by secular historians, derives especial interest from the light it throws on the very beginning of the movement which resulted in dispatching missionaries to Oregon. It shows also that Oregon was in the minds of the members of the Prudential Committee long before Rev. Samuel Parker was sent overland to survey the region, and even before the widely-heralded incident of the indians' quest of the "white man's book of life" had crystallized hope into action. Although nothing resulted immediately from Green's trip, it was counted in an early day as a factor in missionary effort. Duflot de Mofras, a representative of the French court, who visited Oregon in 1842, heard of Green's endeavors. "In the month of February, 1829," writes de Mofras (Exploration of the Territory of Oregon, Vol. II, part I, p. 228), "M. Green, sent by the protestant committee of Boston had the special mission to examine the northwest coast from Sitka to California and he proposed the establishment in the Columbia River of Methodist (sic) ministers." M. de Mofras erred as to the denomination represented by the board. The Missionary Herald (November, 1830, p. 243) makes it clear that Green's courier-ship was officially authorized, and adds: "The difficulties he had to encounter in obtaining precise information must have been very great, but they appear always to have been met with an active and persevering spirit of research; and the care of Providence, in shielding him from harm, while on that barbarous coast, is to be gratefully acknowledged." A new phase of the motives of the directors of the missionary endeavor is revealed in this connection by William E. Strong, a historian of the American board. "The unhappy experience of trying to work for indians just where they met the white tide of emigration," says Strong, "prompted the desire to open a mission beyond the frontier, where missionaries

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It is profitable to consider also the motives actuating those in the older settlements who initiated this enterprise. For some time previously missionaries had labored among the indians west of the Alleghenies, and thus they had been led to believe that the indian was susceptible to Christianity and civilization. The church missionary organizations in the eastern states were active at this time, and the religion of the period was conspicuously unworldly. The missions were sustained by men who earnestly desired to perform a benevolent service for their brothers of an alien and savage race.

The federal Government had an indian problem on its hands, growing out of its early efforts to persuade certain tribes east of the Mississippi River to exchange their lands, on which the white population was then beginning to encroach, for new reservations farther west. Acquisition of Louisiana Territory had served as a stimulus to the winning of the West by the white race. Reluctance of many of the indians, on the other hand, to leave their traditional homes for a strange country had created widespread sympathy for them. Here the spirit of fair play and the missionary instinct united to prepare the popular imagination for an incident which turned the thoughts of the churches toward Oregon.

This incident was the publication in the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, of New York,[8] the leading publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of a communication from Mr. G. P. Disheway, dated at New York, and quoting a letter from a Wyandotte interpreter dated January 19, 1833, who described a visit of four Flathead, or Nez Percé, indians to St. Louis on a purported quest for religious instruction. This Wyandotte, one William Walker, a man of considerable intelligence and of good standing among his own people, wrote that he had been told by Gen. William Clark of St. Louis that these indians had traveled 3,000 miles to learn the truth of a story told them by a white man to the effect that the white people had "been put in possession of the true mode of worshiping the Great Spirit," that "they had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide no one need go astray, but every one that would follow the direction there laid down could enjoy, in this life, the favor and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides and live forever with Him." According to this version, the tribe at once called a council and deputed four chieftains to proceed to St. Louis and to ascertain the truth of the white man's story.[9]

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might escape its influence for evil. Several exploring tours were made, one in 1829, on the Pacific coast by Rev. J. S. Green, a Sandwich islands missionary, with no encouraging results." (The Story of the American Board, Norwood, Mass., 1910, pp. 48-9.)

[8] Issue of March 1, 1833. Vol. VII, No. 27; Whole No. 339.

[9] The information the indians had of Christianity may have come from Pierre C. Pambrun, agent of Hudson's Bay Company, a Roman Catholic. (Lyman, Hist. of Or., Vol. III, p. 85.) See also, Clarke, Pioneer Days of Or. Hist., Vol. I, p. 239, regarding the Catholic Iroquois who came from Canada in 1812 and settled among the Flatheads.

The indians who went to St. Louis from the country of the Flatheads, may have been influenced by stories that they had heard from Iroquois, possibly deserters from the expedition of Wilson Price Hunt of the overland Astors, or possibly others of that tribe who had settled in the mountain region, since it was no uncommon thing for the early fur trading expeditions from Canada to take a few eastern indians on the voyage as it was called to the west. The Iroquois had received religious teaching from the Jesuit fathers, had intermarried into tribes whose territory was embraced in what is now the country in the vicinity of Spokane, and began before long to yearn for the presence of the "black robes." A

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The printed account, which has since given rise to much controversy as to its true basis, was, nevertheless, a spark which fired the imagination of the people. Whether these indians had gone to St. Louis in quest of the "white man's Book of Life," or for some other purpose, the essential fact is that publication of the story moved the religious people of America. Indeed, it served as well as if it had been literally true in every particular, which it probably was not. A member of the first missionary expedition to Oregon, who had first hand information, himself regarded the tale as an exaggeration. This was Rev. Daniel Lee, who "saw General Clark in 1834, two years after their visit, and learned from him these particulars in relation of it. * * * A high wrought account of the visit of the indians to St. Louis, by some writer in the vicinity, was published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, New York City, in March, 1833. These incorrect statements receiving the fullest confidence, many believed that the day had come and that the call was imperative to send the gospel to Oregon."[10] By the autumn of 1833 the story had been widely pub-

council was called and the probability of securing a visit from them was discussed. Four braves started eastward in the spring of 1831 and reached their destination in the fall, their arrival attracting little attention since there were many indians about St. Louis at that time. Two died, being baptized by priests. Their Christian names were Narcissa and Paul. They were buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at that place, Narcissa on October 31, 1831, and Paul on November 17, 1831. George H. Himes (Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, p. 161) recites these facts and says that they were "condensed from the writings of Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis in 1831; and a further proof may be found in the letter books of Gen. William Clark, Governor of Missouri at that time, now in possession of the Kansas Historical Society." Mr. Himes also says that "a second deputation was sent in 1832, consisting of one Iroquois and his family. He arrived safely in St. Louis, had his children baptised, was returning to his people, with the hope of soon having priests in the country, but was killed by the Sioux indians." The letter of the Bishop, dated October 20, 1839, indicates another such delegation arrived in that year. (Cited by Bashford, Oregon Missions, p. 23, and by Clarke, Pioneer Days, Vol. I, p. 287.) Several versions of the story have at one time and another gained currency, most of them being apochryphal. The point is not in the precision of detail, but in the fact that widespread publication of the incident in 1833 undoubtedly inspired the first missionary movement to the Oregon country, which was to prove of such momentous consequence. In the issue of the Advocate, May 10, 1833, there appeared a letter from E. W. Sehon of St. Louis, who said that he had confirmed the earlier account, having showed the newspaper to General Clark, who told him that two of the indians "had received an education at some Jesuitical school in Montreal, Canada." There is much literature on this subject, the latest contribution being a pamphlet "The Flathead and Nez Percé Delegation to St. Louis, 1831-1839," Rev. J. Rothensteiner, St. Louis, 1921.

[10] Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, pp. 110-111. Marshall says that the delegation of 1831 consisted of four Flathead and Nez Percés. Two old men died at St. Louis, and another of the party died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River on his way home. The fourth is reported to have "arrived safely amongst his friends, conveying to them the melancholy intelligence of the death of all the rest of his party, but assurances at the same time from Gen. Clark and many reverend gentlemen that the report which they had heard was well founded, and that missionaries, good and religious men, would soon come amongst them to teach this religion so that they could all understand and have the benefits of it. When I first heard of this extraordinary mission across the mountains I could scarcely believe it, but on conversing with Gen. Clark on a future occasion, I was fully convinced of the fact. * * *" This is quoted from Catlin's Indian Letters, Vol. II, pp. 108-9, in Marshall's Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 12, where the evidence relating to the story and its sources is discussed. It is a fact worth noting that Catlin made portraits of two of these indians, and they are to be found as numbers 207 and 208 of his famous collection of drawings. Father De Smet says four such delegations of Flatheads went to St. Louis between 1831 and 1839 asking a mission of the "black gowns" or priests and he gives the particulars. (Letters and Sketches, 1841-1842, as reprinted in Early Western Travels, Vol. XXVII, p. 229.) And see

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nation were in his house, and were quite sick, and that one (the fourth) had died a few days ago. They were from the west of the Rocky Mountains. Curiosity prompted me to step into the adjoining room to see them, having never seen any, but often heard of them. I was struck with their appearance. They differ in appearance from any tribe of Indians I have ever seen: small in size, delicately formed, small limbs, and the most exact symmetry throughout, except the head. I had always supposed from their being called "Flat-Heads," that the head was actually flat on the top; but this is not the case. The head is flattened thus:



From the point of the nose to the apex of the head, there is a perfect straight line, the protuberance of the forehead is flattened or levelled. You may form some idea of the shape of their heads from the rough sketch I have made with the pen, though I confess I have drawn most too long a proboscis for a flat-head. This is produced by a pressure upon the cranium while in infancy. The distance they had travelled on foot was nearly three thousand miles to see Gen. Clarke, their great father, as they called him, he being the first American officer† they ever became acquainted with, and having much confidence in him, they had come to consult him as they said, upon very important matters. Gen. C. related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative. I will here relate it as briefly as I well can. It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to him; he also informed them that the white people *away* toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy his favor and hold converse with him; and with this guide, no one need go astray, but every one that would follow the directions laid down there, could enjoy, in this life, his favor, and after death would be received into the country where the great Spirit resides, and live for ever with him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if *our* mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the great Spirit, it is time we had laid it aside, we must know something more about this, it is a matter that cannot be put off, the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of their chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, Gen. Clarke, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

exemplary wives and mothers, and a husband with an unfaithful companion is a circumstance almost unknown among them. They believe in the existence of a good and evil Spirit, with rewards and punishments of a future state. Their religion promises to the virtuous after death a climate where perpetual summer will shine over plains filled with their much loved buffalo, and upon streams abounding in the most delicious fish. Here they will spend their time in hunting and fishing, happy and undisturbed from every enemy; while the bad Indian will be consigned to a place of eternal snows, with fires in his sight that he cannot enjoy, and buffalo and deer that cannot be caught to satisfy his hunger.

A curious tradition prevails among them concerning beavers. These animals, so celebrated for their sagacity, they believe are a fallen race of Indians, who have been condemned on account of their wickedness, by the great Spirit, to their present form of the brute creation. At some future period they also declare that these fallen creatures will be restored to their former state.*

How deeply affecting is the circumstance of the four natives travelling on foot 3,000 miles through thick forests and extensive prairies, sincere searchers after truth! The story has scarcely a parallel in history. What a touching theme does it form for the imagination and pen of a Montgomery, a Mrs. Hemans, or our own fair Sigourney! With what intense concern will men of God whose souls are fired with holy zeal for the salvation of their fellow beings, read their 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, except from their own accounts of them. If the Father of spirits, as revealed by Jesus Christ, is not known in these interior wilds of America, they nevertheless often resound the praises of the unknown, invisible great Spirit, as he is denominated by the savages. They are not ignorant of the immortality of their souls, and speak of some future delicious island or country where departed spirits rest. 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! There is not, perhaps, west of the Rocky mountains, any portion of the Indians that presents at this moment a spectacle so full of interest to the contemplative mind as the Flat-Head tribe. Not a thought of converting or civilizing them ever enters the mind of the sordid, demoralizing hunters and fur trader. 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 forests. We are citizens of this vast universe, and our life embraces not merely a moment, but eternity itself. Thus exalted, what can be more worthy of our high destination than to befriend our species and those efforts that are making to release immortal spirits from the chains of error and superstition, and to bring them to the knowledge of the true God.

G. P. D.

New-York, Feb. 18, 1833.

* Vide Lewis and Clarke's Travels; Cox's Adventures on the Columbia River; and North American Review.

PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE AND JOURNAL AND ZION'S HERALD, MARCH 1, 1833, WITH A PORTION OF THE ARTICLE ENTITLED "THE FLAT HEAD INDIANS," WHICH STIRRED RELIGIOUS INTEREST AND RESULTED IN THE FIRST MISSIONARY EXPEDITION TO OREGON.

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lished and had evoked widespread and sympathetic response. For example, a meeting of "gentlemen desirous of bearing their part in the Christianizing and civilizing of the indians of this country," was reported in the Illinois Patriot (of Jacksonville, Ill.), October 12, 1833, at which meeting a committee was appointed to visit St. Louis and inquire into the situation of the indians. The committee submitted to the session of the Illinois synod a report noteworthy for its practical viewpoint. Not only was the welfare of the aborigines to be regarded, the committee suggested, but also that of the whites. "If," it said, "any benevolent individuals are disposed to go out among the tribes who inhabit these regions, and shall become instrumental in so subduing their natural ferocity as to induce them to 'beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks,' they should be looked upon as contributors to the happiness and prosperity of the nation at large. In so doing, they will save the lives and property of many who would otherwise fall a prey to savage barbarity in its natural state." [11]

The Methodists were the first to translate thought into action. Dr. Wilbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University at Wilbraham, Mass., on March 20, 1833, less than three weeks after the first publication of the story, submitted a communication to the Mission Board urging immediate establishment of a mission to the Flathead indians. The board communicated with the war department and learned that the department had no knowledge of any such tribe.[12] Nevertheless it was resolved to proceed with a mission among the indians west of the Rocky Mountains. Rev. Jason Lee, a former pupil of Doctor Fisk's and then laboring in the missionary field near his birthplace, Stanstead, Ont., was chosen to lead the undertaking. Events moved rapidly. Lee was officially commissioned July 17, 1833. In October of that year the Mission Board appropriated $3,000 for the outfitting of the mission, and a noteworthy farewell meeting was held in New York on November 20, 1833, at which there were present, among others, representatives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, supported chiefly by Congregationalists, but embracing also the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches. This organization, which had made the investigation of this possible missionary field as early as 1829, as already related, was subsequently to figure in an important way in Oregon history through its founding of the celebrated Whitman mission near Walla Walla and the mission at Lapwai, in what is now Idaho, and another near the present site of Spokane, which represented an attempt to accomplish east of the Cascade Mountains that which Jason Lee and his co-workers attempted to do farther west.

After a tour of the eastern states in the course of which Jason Lee further presented the missionary cause to the people, an arrangement was made with Nathaniel J. Wyeth, just then preparing to set out on his second trading expe-

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footnote references to Townsend's Narrative, etc., in same place, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, the editor. That there was exaggeration and distortion of facts in some of the printed accounts purporting for example, to quote verbatim the speeches of the indians, is beyond question. See The Evolution of a Lament, T. C. Johnson (pseud. T. C. Elliott), Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, p. 195.

[11] Mowry, Marcus Whitman, p. 37. In the Advocate of March 22, 1833, p. 118, appeared an article headed "Hear! Hear! Hear! Who will respond to the call from beyond the Rocky Mountains." This was signed by Fisk and brought immediate response.

[12] H. K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 40.

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dition to the Pacific coast, for transportation of the missionary party.[13] The principal goods, garden seeds, books, farming utensils and household effects of the missionaries were forwarded by Wyeth's brig, the May Dacre, while the missionaries proceeded overland. Jason Lee was accompanied from the Atlantic seaboard by his nephew, Daniel Lee, and by Cyrus Shepard, of Lynn, Mass. The latter had been engaged as teacher and from the time of his arrival in Oregon until his death January 1, 1840, he was the mainstay of the mission's educational plans. Philip L. Edwards, of Richmond, Mo., was also engaged as teacher, and Courtney M. Walker of the same place, was retained as clerical assistant under contract for one year.[14] Wyeth's plan to travel with the fur trading caravan of Capt. William L. Sublette, and the naturalists J. K. Townsend and Thomas Nuttall, gave the party a total strength of seventy. The expedition left Fort Independence, Mo., April 28, 1834, and was at the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain trappers on Ham's Fork, a branch of the Colorado of the West, June 20, 1834, where a stay of twelve days was made, and at this point Sublette and his men left the Wyeth and Lee expedition and turned to their fur trading and trapping.

Later it made a similar stay at the site of Fort Hall on Snake River, at which place the missionaries received a company of indians from the Columbia River country led by a young chief Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats, known as "Lawyer," who made it known that the visitors would be welcomed by the natives as teachers of religion. This camping place on Snake River was near the mouth of the Portneuf and here Captain Wyeth remained with those who formed his own company to begin the erection of Fort Hall. It was July 27, 1834, at this picturesque spot, surrounded by a congregation of mountain men and indians in the motley and rude garb of the wild west, that Jason Lee delivered the first sermon ever preached west of the Rocky Mountains.[15] An incident that impressed the missionary leader deeply was the generous action of two Cayuse indians who presented him with two white horses. "Surely," he wrote on his journal for July 30, 1834, "the hand of Providence must be in it, for they presented them because we are Missionaries, and at a time when two of our horses were nearly worn out. This if I mistake not augurs well for our ultimate success among these generous red men."[16] Notwithstanding this incident, opportunity for settlement in the immediate vicinity did not seem favorable, and moreover the goods of the expedition were on board the May Dacre, so the missionaries continued their journey toward Fort Vancouver. The ex-

[13] "Two indian boys of the Flathead tribe were brought to Massachusetts by Capt. N. J. Wyeth on his return in 1833 from the first trip to Oregon, and he kept them until he returned to the west in 1834. Jason Lee induced Captain Wyeth and the two indian boys to attend a mass meeting in Broomfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston, in November, 1833. Wilbur Fisk, Jason Lee and Captain Wyeth spoke, and the two indian boys were introduced and created great enthusiasm—all of which led to an offering of $120 for the mission to the indians." (Bashford, The Oregon Missions, p. 24.) Lee was kept in the eastern states nearly a year waiting for the emigrant train, putting in the time addressing churches and raising money for the enterprise. He also visited Washington and secured the endorsement of President Jackson and the secretaries of state and war. (Id., p. 40.)

[14] For sketches of the members of the Lee party and biographical information concerning them, see H. W. Scott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 253. The History of the Oregon Country, by H. W. Scott, and compiler's annotations by Leslie M. Scott, Vol. I, pp. 207-228.

[15] After the sermon the company went from the service to a horse race. One of the men was thrown from his horse and killed.

[16] Diary of Rev. Jason Lee. Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 242.

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pedition was now greatly reduced in numbers, and proceeded in company with Captain Stuart. Thomas McKay also accompanied the party for a few days, and on leaving presented them with some sugar and flour which was a welcome contribution.

On the way to Fort Walla Walla, they fell in with a band of Cayuse indians who were friendly and who urged the missionaries to stay, presenting them with four horses for which Jason Lee made return with suitable presents. But after a brief visit at the encampment the party pushed on to Fort Walla Walla with Captain Stuart, and soon had the satisfaction of reaching the end of their journey at Vancouver. The party had been nearly five months on the way.[17] At Vancouver the question of location was prayerfully considered and it was finally decided, on the advice of Doctor McLoughlin and after a preliminary exploration journey by Jason and Daniel Lee, to locate upon the Willamette River.

The Flatheads, whose name had first aroused interest in the new missionary endeavor, were destined not to receive the benefits of religious teaching at this time. Doctor McLoughlin explained to the Lees and their party, as he says in his autobiography, that "it was too dangerous for them to establish a mission (in the Flathead country); that to do good to the indians they must establish themselves where they could collect them around them; teach them first to cultivate the ground and live more comfortably than they do by hunting, and as they do this teach them religion; that the Willamette afforded them a fine field, and that they ought to go there and they would receive the same assistance as settlers."[18] The Hudson's Bay Company officers furnished the newcomers with facilities for examining promising situations and supplied them with men, boats and provisions for their journey. They then proceeded up the Willamette Valley to a point on the east bank a few miles north of the present site of Salem, where they set up their tents in a patch of melons and cucumbers in the garden of one of the French-Canadian settlers, Joseph Gervais, who had come west with the overland Astors. Here was an entrancing prospect. A broad, rich river bottom stretched along the stream for many miles, well watered and supplied with timber. The first house they built was located some distance above, and was of unhewn logs, into which they moved their goods while the roof was only partially completed.[19] Cyrus Shepard, whose health was poor, had been left behind at Vancouver, where he taught a school at the post. Among Shepard's pupils were three Japanese sailors, survivors of the crew of a junk that had been wrecked on the coast.[20] The remaining members of the Lee

[17] The Mission Record Book gives the date of arrival as September 15, 1834. The party was in charge of the representatives of Hudson's Bay Company and had the use of one of the company's boats for the journey down the Columbia from Walla Walla. The voyage of ten days was prolonged by strong head winds. The Mission Record Book under date September 15, 1834, makes this entry: "Were hospitably entertained by the Gentlemen at the Fort. Slept in a house this night the first time for one hundred and fifty-two nights."

[18] Or. Pioneer Association Transactions, 1880, p. 50; see also H. W. Scott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 356; J. W. Nesmith in an address before the Oregon Pioneers in 1880 presented the McLoughlin autobiographical sketch in Doctor McLoughlin's handwriting furnished by his descendants. (p. 26.) Lee's Journal says: "The governor of the Fort seems pleased that Missionaries have come to the country and freely offers us any assistance that is in his power to render."

[19] The first school was near the east bank of the Willamette opposite what is now Wheatland. P. L. Edwards was teacher.

[20] Shepard after a year at Vancouver took charge of the school of the mission, and P. L. Edwards opened a school at Champoeg.

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party became woodsmen, carpenters, rude blacksmiths and husbandmen in turn. "Men never worked harder or performed less," wrote Daniel Lee of this period.[21] The first storm caught them with a roofless building; before the next one they had a roof over part of the house and a piece of the floor laid. Jason Lee with his jack-knife whittled sashes for the windows out of rough timber and carved a pair of wooden hinges for the door. The company got flour from Vancouver, which they made into unleavened cakes; they bought peas from the settlers; there was pork in the stores brought from Boston in the May Dacre; the missionary cows gave a little milk, and venison was obtained occasionally from the indians. In the spring about thirty acres of land were broken and fenced, and planted with seed furnished by Doctor McLoughlin. Jason Lee himself salted six barrels of salmon.

In such primitive surroundings and sustained by so plain a fare, Lee opened his school, not waiting for the building to be completed before he began to receive pupils. The benefits of the mission were proffered to children of the white settlers as well as indians. Indeed, as to its work among the latter, the mission was disappointing from the beginning. Three native children were received the first winter. An Umpqua lad was left there by his people in the spring of 1835 to receive instruction in farming, and his death from consumption in that summer almost brought deadly vengeance on Shepard and Daniel Lee.[22] A trapper named Shangarette died leaving three orphans and a number of slaves and Jason Lee added these to his family, but only on condition that the enslaved should be free, "and in the mission equal with those they once served."[23] Two of these acquisitions tired of mission life and went away, and Daniel Lee found it in his heart to say that this was "some relief in a case in which there was so little to hope," for already disease was making serious inroads, and the success of the school among the natives was in question.

The summer of 1836 saw some twenty-five children from the valley and east of the mountains added to the school, which by this time was sadly overcrowded. There was an epidemic of a malady resembling diphtheria, and another of malaria. Both the Lees were stricken and Daniel Lee found it necessary to go away for his health. Worst of all, from the point of view of the devoted missionaries, the deaths which had occurred among the indian pupils caused the place to be avoided by the very ones for whose benefit it had been primarily founded. Little was accomplished for the indian children and nothing at all for adult indians. Some interest in religion, however, was awakened among the whites, several revivals were held, and a number of converts were reported.

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[21] Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 128.

[22] "Of the fourteen children received into the home the first year, five died, five through fear of death ran away, and of the remaining four, two died in the second year. * * * Twenty-five more children were received into the home in 1836, and sixteen of these fell ill, apparently of malaria, but the disease proved to be a form of diphtheria. Through lack of accommodations and also in order to separate the sick from the well, all the stricken ones were kept in a single room, and the death rate was fearful." (Bashford, Or. Missions, p. 155.) This is based upon the original journal of the Mission which is in New York City. By 1842, eight years after the Mission was established, the indians had almost disappeared from the Willamette Valley, and this the missionaries ascribed to the ravages of small-pox and other diseases. See letters published in Christian Advocate and Journal, May 19, 1841, by Rev. A. F. Waller, and August 25, 1842, by Lee.

[23] Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 133.

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The instruction in the mission schools combined study and recitation with work upon the farm.[24]

Reinforcements were dispatched from the East in 1836 and again in 1837. The first party, which arrived in May, 1837, by way of Cape Horn, included Dr. Elijah White and wife and two children. He became an important figure, although soon after his arrival he returned East. It was his fortune in this way to bring the latest information direct from the Oregon Country at a time of national interest. He was appointed by President Taylor sub-indian agent, and led an important immigration to Oregon in 1842. In the reinforcement party of 1837 were Alanson Beers and his wife and three children; W. H. Willson, J. L. Whitcomb, Miss Elvira Johnson, also Miss Anna Maria Pitman, who soon afterward became Mrs. Jason Lee, and Miss Susan Downing, engaged to marry Cyrus Shepard. There were five women in all, and five children.[25] The second party arrived, also by sea, September 7, 1837, and consisted of Rev. David Leslie and his wife and three children, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins and Miss Margaret Smith. Thus aided, Jason Lee's first thought was to extend his work. He visited Nisqually upon Puget Sound. He chose as the site for a branch mission the point called Wascopam, now The Dalles, and placed Daniel Lee and Mr. Perkins in charge. The Wascopam mission seemed to be temporarily successful with the indians, but presently backsliders began to outnumber converts. The indians were unable to comprehend the orthodox conception of the efficacy of prayer. Their depredations led Daniel Lee at one time to make provision for armed defense; eventually the mission was written down a failure. It was occupied by the Methodists until 1847, when it was tendered to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and occupied for a short time in that year by a youthful nephew of Dr. Marcus Whitman. The American Board quitclaimed the property to the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1859. The station ceased in 1847, however, to be used for missionary purposes.

Jason Lee had been advised that Miss Pitman would be a suitable wife and she had been given to understand by the missionary society that marriage to Mr. Lee would be a possibility. Cyrus Shepard and Miss Downing were already engaged. The Journal of the mission shows a triple wedding, including the two pairs just named and also Charles J. Roe, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, and Nancy McKay, a half-breed daughter of Captain McKay. On this occasion there were baptisms and admissions into the church and a sermon by Jason Lee on the sanctity of marriage. It was, however, but a few months after this that, moved by a profound sense of duty to his trust, Lee decided to return to the East for additional help, and to ask particularly for practical farmers and mechanics. In this he had the support of his co-workers, who joined in signing a declaration showing the necessity. He left his young wife

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[24] Doctor McLoughlin, under date March 1, 1836, sent a letter to the Mission containing a donation of £26, contributed by the following Hudson's Bay men: John McLoughlin six, Duncan Finlayson, six, James Douglas, five, Benj. McKenzie, two, —— Boulton, two, George T. Allan, two, John M. McLoud, three pounds. (Mission Record, p. 16.)

[25] The Misses Johnson and Pitman and Mesdames White and Beers were the first American white women in the Willamette Valley. Mrs. Jane Beaver, an English woman, had arrived at Vancouver the previous year with her husband, Rev. Herbert Beaver, Chaplain of Hudson's Bay Company. The visit of the English woman, Jane Barnes or Burns, at the mouth of the Columbia in 1813 has been mentioned in Chapter XX supra.

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reluctantly, and accompanied by P. L. Edwards, began the long overland journey March 15, 1838.

The decision of Jason Lee to make the overland journey in person, in 1838, for further reinforcements was important in other respects than its effect on the missionary enterprise. On this journey Lee was the bearer of a memorial drawn up in Oregon, asking for the protection of the United States Government, and in his efforts to obtain financial support for his cause he delivered several lectures which served to develop interest in the Oregon Country. He had taken two young Chinook boys with him and also three half-breed sons of Capt. Thomas McKay; one of the former, who became ill, he left in Peoria, Illinois, for a time, from which incident sprang the organization early in 1839 of the "Peoria party" of immigrants under the leadership of Thomas J. Farnham. This expedition disintegrated on the way, only a few of its original members reaching the Willamette settlements in that year, but Farnham on his return to Illinois afterward became the bearer of another memorial from the settlers to Congress, reiterating their desire for protection of the Government of the United States. Farnham also wrote several popular books which further kept the Oregon question in the public mind, some of them appearing in more than one edition and having a large circulation.[26]

The memorial conveyed by Jason Lee, and a letter that he wrote to Caleb Cushing, member of Congress from Massachusetts, in reply to the latter's request for further information, marked the merging of the missionary into the colonizer. There were, he said in this letter, two things needful for the protection and prosperity of the settlers. These were a guarantee from the Government that possession of the land they had taken up and the improvements made upon it would be granted to them, and secondly, the authority and protection of the Government and laws of the United States to regulate the intercourse of the settlers with each other. He believed that if these advantages were bestowed, most of those who were then attached to the mission would remain as permanent settlers in the country. To secure these objects he did not suppose that "much of a military force" would be necessary, for almost all of the settlers in the Willamette Valley had signed the memorial. He closed with this prediction: "The country will be settled, and that speedily, from some quarter, and it depends very much on the speedy action of Congress what that population shall be, and what shall be the fate of the indian tribes in that territory. It may be thought that Oregon is of little importance; but rely upon it there is the germ of a great state. We are resolved to do what we can to benefit the country; but we are constrained to throw ourselves upon you for protection."[27]

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[26] Peoria party narrative, Or. Pioneer Trans., 1896, p. 92. Among the members arriving in Oregon were Thomas J. Farnham, W. Blair, Robert Shortess, Sidney Smith, Francis Fletcher, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, and Ralph L. Kilbourne.

[27] Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 173. See his citation. Also in Hines' Missionary History. In the twenty-first annual report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1840), the importance of the Oregon Mission was discussed and it was said that because of its remoteness from all civilized society, except a few settlers at Willamette, and the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, and because of the difficulty of getting supplies of food and clothing there, the plan had been adopted of providing mechanics, farmers, physicians and school teachers, so that the missionaries themselves might be able to pursue their appropriate work. This report recites the departure and safe arrival of those sent out on the Lausanne, October 9, 1839, and speaks particularly of a letter from Doctor White just prior to their sailing, in which the progress and prosperity

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Jason Lee thus succeeded in placing the political aspect of the Oregon movement before Congress at the same time that he was laboring to overcome opposition in the Board of Missions to continuance of the work—opposition based on the ground of its great cost. On his way east he had been overtaken at Westport, Mo., by a messenger sent by Doctor McLoughlin with news of the death of his wife and her newly-born son, which had occurred June 26, 1838, shortly after his departure from Oregon.[28] Having succeeded in the main object of his journey and persuaded the Mission Board to extend further aid, he subsequently married Miss Lucy Thompson, of Barre, Vt., and returned by the ship Lausanne, in chartering which the board is said to have received pecuniary assistance from the secret service fund of the Federal Government.[29] The Lausanne's company included, in addition to Lee and his wife, seven missionaries, all accompanied by their wives, as follows: Rev. Joseph H. Frost, Rev. William W. Kone, Rev. Alvan F. Waller, Rev. J. P. Richmond, Rev. Gustavus Hines, Rev. Lewis H. Judson and Rev. Josiah L. Parrish. The practical foresight of the board is shown in this personnel, for Richmond was a physician, Judson a cabinet maker and Parrish a blacksmith. George Abernethy, who afterward was governor under the provisional government, came as steward of the mission. Besides these there were Dr. Ira L. Babcock, and four farmers, six mechanics and four teachers. The entire expedition, including children, numbered more than fifty, and is known in the missionary annals of Oregon as the "Great Reinforcement." It arrived in Oregon June 1, 1840. It was received with customary cordiality by the Hudson's Bay factor at Fort Vancouver, who made provision for the entertainment of all the members. This accession to his working force enabled Lee to carry into effect at once some of his cherished plans for extension of the missionary endeavors into other parts of Oregon.

But in another particular the arrival of reinforcements was important.

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of the Mission is described, showing a powerful influence upon the population generally, both white and indian. The report adds: "Though it makes no part of the objects of the society to found a colony in that region of the country, but simply to send the blessings of the gospel to those who are or may be there, yet we doubt not that this mission will contribute greatly to build up a Christian colony in the Oregon territory which will tell favorably on the future destinies of the inhabitants." (pp. 11-12. Research Library of Foreign Missions Conference, New York.) In the Annual report of the following year the success of the mission is emphasized, and Dr. White's return with his family "owing to misapprehension" of his obligations to the Board, and a disaffection toward the superintendent, is noted. (Id. 1841, pp. 12, 14.)

[28] Hines, Missionary Hist. of Northwest, p. 256.

[29] Bancroft, Hist. of Oregon, Vol. I, pp. 176-7, cites Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, one of the passengers on the Lausanne, as authority for the statement that this subsidy amounted to $50 for each passenger and that the matter was kept secret, so that Parrish himself did not learn of it until he had been seven years in Oregon. William D. Fenton in Oregon Hist. Quarterly, Vol. VII, p. 236, says that the fact was not revealed until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain by the Ashburton Treaty of June 15, 1846, but does not give his authority. He probably followed Bancroft. The earliest reference is a letter of Rev. G. H. Atkinson of November 20, 1858, set out in full in Marshall's Acquisition of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 46, where the story takes the form of a subsidy of $100,000.00 of "Secret Service Money" given Lee at Washington to induce the Methodist missionaries "to come to Oregon as colonists when there was danger the English would get the country." The whole story is doubtful, although Marshall seems to credit the Bancroft version (Id, p. 53), as does also Bashford, Oregon Missions (pp. 170 and 277), while others assert the amount paid was $5,000. (Hines, Missionary History of the Northwest, p. 201; Atwood, The Conquerors, p. 67; Pacific Christian Advocate, April 20, 1904.)

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The mission population now consisted of more than forty adult Americans and some fifty children. Lee's assignment of Richmond to establish a Methodist mission at Nisqually on Puget Sound gave that district its first American home. Frost was detailed to Clatsop, at which point during Lee's absence Solomon Smith, one of the premissionary arrivals, had held out hope of a successful undertaking. Hines and Kone were designated for service among the Umpquas, but this mission on further investigation was found impracticable and was not established. "The indians," says Rev. H. K. Hines, "were few and scattered, degraded and cruel. They were evidently dying away and as a people without hope and without remedy. Though a mission might save individuals, as a people they could not be saved. * * * They were darkly, terribly, certainly doomed."[30] Both the Nisqually and Clatsop stations were later abandoned. Waller, after remaining for a time to assist at the mission in the valley, was sent to Willamette Falls, now Oregon City, where he erected a substantial residence. This formed the center of a considerable settlement and led to a movement late in 1842 for a church, which was built by subscription and opened for public service in 1844. It was the first building erected exclusively for religious purposes in Oregon.[31]

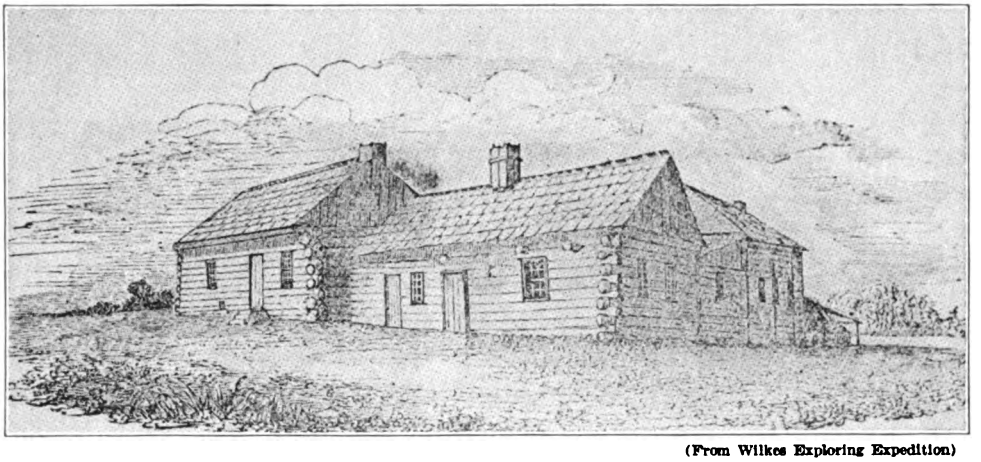
Meanwhile Lee expanded his plans for the indian manual training school, which was removed in 1841 with the original missionary headquarters, to Chemeketa, now Salem, the capital of Oregon. With the assistance of the mechanics who had come on the Lausanne, Lee was free to plan more ambitiously. By January, 1842, he was able to lay before his co-workers a scheme for establishment of a school for the white population of the country and to obtain their approval for it. The projected school was to be known as Oregon Institute. The missionaries here acted in their private capacities, and not as representatives of the parent organization. Among those who attended the meeting was the Rev. Harvey Clark, an independent Congregationalist missionary, who had come across the mountains in 1837 intending to labor among the indians, without the support of the American Board. Clark had been unsuccessful in making a start, and had settled on a claim in the Willamette Valley, part of which he subsequently donated toward the founding of Tualatin Academy, from which arose Pacific University at Forest Grove. The Oregon Institute, initiated at Jason Lee's house, later acquired the Methodist indian

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[30] H. K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 225.

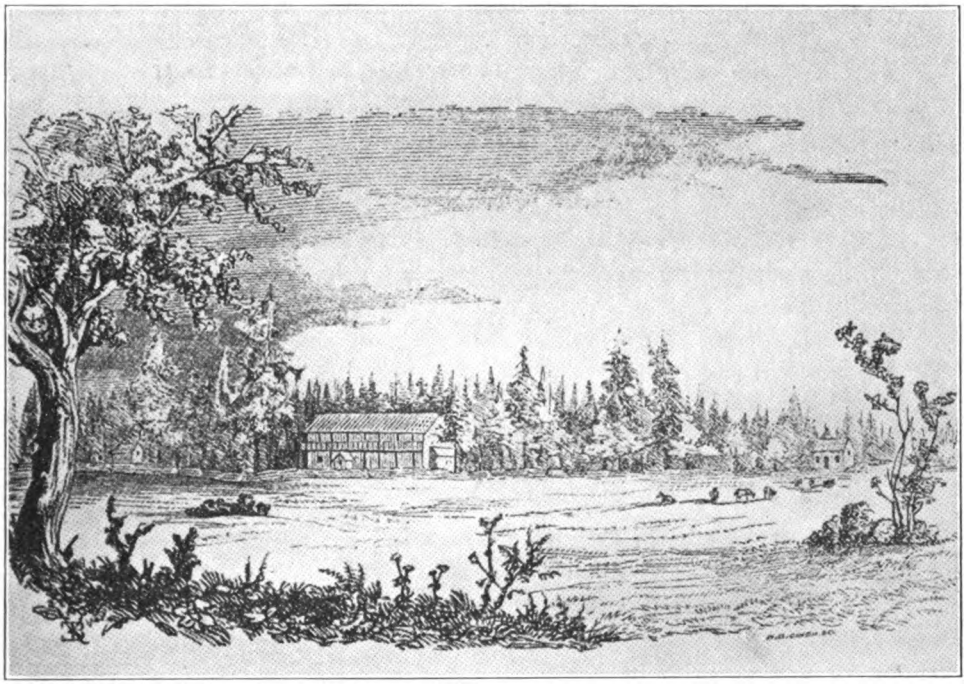
[31] Waller, in spite of the fact that McLoughlin had given a site for the Mission building upon the McLoughlin land claim at Willamette Falls, set up a claim in opposition, and asserted ownership of all the McLoughlin land claim except Abernethy Island. He was represented by an attorney named John Ricord. The letters of Jason Lee and Waller indicate that Lee was cognizant of the plan, which was to secure this valuable property for the Mission. The controversy was settled after Lee's departure, by written agreement. The documents are collected and set out in full in Holman's Dr. John McLoughlin, but there is one additional letter bearing on the subject still unpublished, written by Lee to Waller under date of June 29, 1843, in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society. The last mentioned letter refers to Waller's determination "to hold on and get the entire claim if possible," and indicates that this was "satisfactory" to Lee. Lee paid $250 for Waller to his attorney after Lee had left Oregon for the east by way of Hawaiian Islands and Mexico. And after reaching Washington he wrote "Met a favorable reception there [Washington] and there is every reason to expect that the land claimed will be cheerfully accorded to us. * * * Please tell Bro. Waller that his claim is filed in the Office of the Commissioner General Land Office. This will probably secure his claim, though the Supreme Court will probably take no action till an Oregon Bill passes." (Holman, as cited, p. 223.)

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(From Wilkes Exploring Expedition)

FIRST METHODIST MISSION OF THE WILLAMETTE, TEN MILES BELOW SALEM, 1841



METHODIST MISSION AT THE DALLES, 1840

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industrial training school for $4000 and became Willamette University. These were the beginnings of higher education in Oregon.

Mission work in the Willamette Valley, however, had now passed its zenith. Jason Lee on his return from the East had observed a striking diminution of the native population. Disease and death had almost destroyed the tribes. By 1842, when he conceived the idea of an educational institution for the whites, immigration of a different character was beginning to give a new aspect to the Oregon situation, while the Mission Board, removed by the width of a continent from participation in local problems, was urging a showing of results. How many indians had been converted to Christianity as the product of its vast expenditure? Was the need of so many missionaries in Oregon as great as it had been represented to be? The board, enquiring thus, in July, 1843, appointed Rev. George Gary to succeed Jason Lee as superintendent of the Oregon missions. This was without notice, and Lee meanwhile had resolved to return East by ship. He first learned at Honolulu of the intended change. Without waiting for the arrival of Gary, he took passage by way of Mexico to the United States, where after arriving he devoted the few remaining months of his life to seeking vindication and to pressing the cause of the Americans in Oregon upon the attention of the authorities at Washington. He died March 2, 1845, at Lake Memphremagog, Canada. His body was returned to Oregon in 1906, and given permanent burial at Salem, the scene of his early labors.[32]

The period in which Lee toiled was a time of small beginnings. His mission, which he founded with only four assistants in 1834, brought to Oregon upwards of seventy persons, many of whom became permanent settlers and constituted the nucleus of a commonwealth. It is improbable that his primary motive was to assist in asserting the sovereignty of the United States in the new territory, but this grew upon him in his later years. It is now agreed by impartial historians that he was unselfish, that he sought no personal emoluments, and that he was inspired throughout by missionary zeal. His political conceptions grew with his realization of failure of his indian project. It is worthy of note that his letter to Caleb Cushing, January 17, 1839, written from Middletown, Conn., in elaboration of the Willamette Valley Settlers' Memorial, dealt with the issue of emigration exclusively, and his later comprehension of Oregon's future needs is revealed by the fact that much of the time between his final return East and his death was devoted to obtaining subscriptions for Oregon Institute, to which he also bequeathed a portion of his scanty means.

It would be a very narrow view of the Methodist Mission in Oregon to assume that because the original object of converting the indians to Christianity resulted in disappointment, and was abandoned within little more than a decade, it was therefore a failure. Lee after his personal defeat was

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[32] His remains were buried at Lee Mission Cemetery at Salem, and appropriate memorial services were held June 15, 1906. On October 26, 1920, a life size oil portrait was presented to the State of Oregon at the Hall of Representatives in the State Capitol where it was unveiled and given a permanent place over the speaker's desk. Chief Justice Thomas A. McBride made the presentation speech, and Governor Ben W. Olcott responded in behalf of the state, addresses being also delivered by Mrs. Maria Campbell Smith, the first female white child born in Oregon, and by Robert A. Booth, Willis C. Hawley and Edgar B. Piper, editor of the Oregonian.

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still able to write to the head office of the society: "On one point I have not a shadow of doubt, namely that the growth, rise, glory and triumph of Methodism in the Willamette Valley are destined to be commensurate with the growth, rise, and prosperity of our infant and rapidly increasing settlement." This was in October, 1843, and his prophesy has been abundantly fulfilled as the subsequent history of the church will show. But in a different way the importance of these early missions becomes apparent in Oregon history.[33]

Lee had, as already stated, gone to Washington before his first expedition to the Oregon Country in 1833. At that time he secured the support of President Jackson and of the secretaries of state and war. The actual settlement of the country claimed by both the United States and Great Britain became as time went on a matter of importance in the eyes of a few far-seeing statesmen at Washington, although during this period there were many who failed to appreciate its advantage. Lee continued to maintain relations with the Government in the years 1838, 1839 and 1840. The actual part the Methodists had in establishing a provisional political state and in urging the federal authorities to extend the laws and the protection of the United States to this region may be detailed in a more appropriate place in this narrative, but one who had given especial study to the matter has estimated that while three of the several petitions from the settlers transmitted to the Government were drafted by Methodists, no less than nine of the twenty-six measures which the Government inaugurated, including four of the nine bills introduced into Congress, were in some measure connected with Methodist initiative.[34] However this may be, it will not be lost sight of that with the great flow of immigrants that arrived in Oregon in 1843, due in no small degree to the missionary movement of the Methodists and others, the region south of the Columbia River became inevitably American; and that though for many years prior to that date Great Britain would willingly have compromised the boundary dispute by the adoption of the Columbia River as the international boundary, it was to the Methodist Mission and settlement at Nisqually at the head of Puget Sound, as well as to the fact that over a thousand Americans had taken up homes in the Oregon Country at large, that the claims north of the Columbia, which Great Britain continued to maintain to the time of the treaty in 1846, were finally relinquished and the boundary was fixed by agreement at forty-nine degrees, where it still remains.

Charges have been made that the Methodist missions, beginning with fine altruism and deep religious fervor, soon degenerated into gross commercialism and materialism.[35] But while this was admitted by the church itself in with-

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[33] For a sketch of Methodist development in Oregon, see The History of the Oregon Country, Scott, Vol. I., p. 298.

[34] Bashford, Oregon Missions, p. 277.

[35] "The peculiar circumstances under which this mission was established, especially the strongly marked indications of Providence which led to the measure, are familiar to all. Such indeed was the sensation produced in the Church by the visit of the Flatheads to this country, in search of the white man's God, that the involuntary expression burst forth in every direction, 'Surely this is the finger of God.'" (Twenty-fourth Annual Report, Missionary Society, M. E. Church, 1843, p. 11.) Joseph Williams, who visited Oregon in 1841 was an itinerant preacher. He published a book at Cincinnati in 1843 giving an account of his travels, and commented therein upon the materialism and lack of spirituality of the missionaries in Oregon. Of Lee he said: "I believe it is brother Lee's intention

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drawing Lee from the field, he fearlessly confronted the Missionary Society, July 1, 1844, upon his arrival in New York and was able to convince many not only that his course was what had been agreed upon in advance, but that the spiritual and religious results were worth while. It is said that at the conclusion of Lee's address his personal vindication was complete, and that probably had not Rev. George Gary already been sent out to the field the society would have continued Lee in charge of the mission. But he announced his willingness to return and serve under Mr. Gary. His death, however, soon put an end to his endeavors.

The one charge against this faithful minister that time has justified in a degree is in his connivance in Rev. A. F. Waller's mean attempt to get the valuable land claim of Doctor McLoughlin, a fact established by his letters, as already shown. In spite of Doctor McLoughlin's numerous acts of kindness to the missionaries, one of which still fresh in Jason Lee's memory, being the special courier expedition dispatched to overtake Lee and bear to him the sad news of the death of his young wife and her babe, Waller with the support and assistance of Lee employed a lawyer and issued a proclamation denouncing McLoughlin's right to hold the valuable claim at the falls of the Willamette. And although McLoughlin had already given a site for the proposed Methodist Church building, Lee aided Waller in the proceedings against McLoughlin, in which it was asserted that he was not a citizen of the United States, and moreover did not make his home on the land when he took possession. The dispute was soon settled, and Waller received $500 for a release of his interest, moving away to The Dalles. At the same time and by the same agreement the site for the church was confirmed by Doctor McLoughlin, Rev. David Leslie acting in behalf of the church. The only extenuation that can be urged is the one made by Mr. Waller in his proclamation, but Lee's letters leave the conviction that he hoped for Waller's success.[36]

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to do good for the heathen, but it seems he has a great deal of business on hand, which seems a hindrance to the work of religion. They have had some kind of a school heretofore, but I believe not to much purpose.'' (Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-2, p. 56.)

[36] The following extract from a letter written by Gary to an eastern correspondent under date December 8, 1846, has never been published. It shows the condition of the Methodist missions at that time:

''* * * We have heard that the boundary line in this Territory is settled between the American and British governments: this is good news to us, as we feared we might be shut in, by a war between these two good and great nations. I suppose there are many Mexican privateers floating on the seas in the route home; perhaps it is a favor to us, that we still remain here. We shall probably remain here, until my successor arrives; of his appointment and starting for this distant land, you will probably be apprised months before we know anything of it. I have some hope, he is now on the way. I have performed all the special work that was anticipated in my appointment. The Mission is now freed from its secular incumbrances, in all the white settlements. We have a farmer at the Dalles, which is our only station among the indians, and it is nearly one hundred miles from any white settlements. Our hope of these indians at the Dalles, is not very clear and strong, but as yet we do not feel clear to give them up; they have suffered in their principles and habits amazingly, from being on the route of the emigrants over the Rocky mountains; and they are at a point, where the emigrants formerly have had to stop for weeks, to get a chance to take a river passage from that place. A road is now opened by land, so as to be a very great relief to this station. I have no doubt but the establishment of the Methodist Mission here has had a very great tendency to hasten on the settlement of this Territory, with white inhabitants. This white population is a mixed mass, I assure you;

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The Catholic missions, which were first established in the Oregon Country in 1838, occupy a somewhat different historical relation by reason of the traditional attitude of the pioneer Catholic fathers toward temporal affairs. The priests were nominally indifferent to the future political disposition of the region, though some of them being British subjects, it is natural to suppose that their private sympathies, if they had any, would have been with the Hudson's Bay Company, whose employees and ex-employees constituted the nucleus of the earlier Catholic congregations. They were not settlers; rather they were ministers to the spiritual needs of settler and indian. The priests concerned themselves hardly at all with the manner of living adopted by the natives, they engaged in no secular activities such as establishment of industrial training schools in which the indians were expected to learn the white man's ways, and they were not a factor in subsequent immigration and settlement. Nevertheless, the very circumstance that they did not thus run counter to indian predilections in temporal matters may have enhanced their spiritual influence. They brought with them a better understanding of indian character than was possessed by the early Protestant missionaries, and their methods were better calculated to excite the wonder and captivate the imagination of these child-like people. While therefore the Protestants were laboring to reform the indians' social and economic situation, the priests were content if they had reason to believe that they had saved souls. So, too, since clearly they had not come as settlers and since they brought no families with them, and aroused no apprehensions over future possession of the land, they had fewer obstacles to overcome in their purely sectarian endeavors. Ultimately, these priests, and those who reinforced them, became for the reasons stated a potent religious influence among the indians themselves.

The call for Catholic spiritual counsellors originated with the Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley and the attaches of the Hudson's Bay Company. These joined in July, 1834, and again in February, 1835, in petitions to the Catholic bishop of the Red River settlements asking for religious teachers. No priests could then be spared, but a promise was given that help would be obtained from Europe as soon as possible. The priests chosen for service, however, were two Canadians, Rev. Father Francis Norbert Blanchet, who had spent his early religious life among the peaceful Acadians and the docile Micmac indians of New Brunswick, and who was designated as vicar-general, and Father Modeste Demers, his assistant. The two priests left Montreal in May, 1838, and reached Fort Vancouver, November 24, 1838, after a voyage as perilous as any ever undertaken by pioneers in the wilderness. They were convoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company overland express from Montreal, which also brought a number of other travellers. Among the latter were an English tourist named Banks, and his wife who was the daughter of Sir George Simpson, and also the English botanist Wallace and his wife. One of the boats of the brigade was wrecked in the Little Dalles of the Columbia and twelve of its company of twenty-six were drowned. The dead included Banks and Wallace and their wives. The priests were spared.

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it needs the gospel to shape and mould it. I think the gospel has done a great deal, in restraining, and guiding this chaos of minds. The labors of the missionaries now have an open field here, and every now and then, we see instances of good, from these labors, which promises fruit unto everlasting life." (Ore. Hist. Soc., Mss.)

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On their way down the Columbia the Catholic missionaries made stops at Colville, Okanogan and Walla Walla. The natives professed much interest in the coming of the "black gowns" of whom they had received vague accounts from distant tribes and from the Iroquois who had settled among them; a number of baptisms were performed, and the priests were greatly encouraged from the very beginning, although they afterward discovered that there was reason to discount early indian manifestation of interest in religious works. At Fort Vancouver a preliminary census accounted for twenty-six Catholics, including the Canadian voyageurs and the Iroquois; there were twenty Catholic families in the Willamette Valley and four on the Cowlitz. Father Blanchet lost no time in visiting the Willamette Valley settlement, whither he proceeded in January, 1839. He baptised a number of both whites and indians that winter. He married, according to the nuptial rites of his church, the Canadians who had taken indian wives in the method of more primitive customs, and precipitated considerable theological controversy by remarrying several who had been previously married by the Methodist ministers.

Branch missions were established on the Cowlitz and at Nisqually on Puget Sound. In connection with Father Blanchet's visit to the latter point he met on Whidby Island "with savages already acquainted with certain practices of the Catholic Church, although they had never seen a missionary."[37] Missionary work was carried forward in the upper Columbia River Country, although the two priests were much alone. Rev. P. J. DeSmet, sent in 1839 to the Flatheads, found to his great surprise that Oregon already possessed two Catholic missionaries, and hearing good reports of the western field he returned to St. Louis for further aid. This resulted in the assignment of two priests and three lay brothers, who did not, however, reach the lower Columbia until the autumn of 1843. Two priests, Fathers A. Langlois and J. B. Z. Boldoc, who had been denied passage by the Hudson's Bay express in 1841, but who came from Canada by way of Cape Horn in 1842, established a school for boys at St. Paul in the Willamette Valley. DeSmet unexpectedly made his appearance at Fort Vancouver in 1842, after an overland voyage the perils of which were reminiscent of the earlier experiences of Blanchet and Demers. On the way down the Columbia the barge in which he was travelling was upset. Fortunately for him, he had left it a short time before the accident, as he desired to walk along the river bank, but five of his fellow travellers were swallowed up in the rapids. Afterward a trip to Europe by DeSmet resulted in the sending of a substantial reinforcement from Belgium, four priests, a lay brother and six religious sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. These arrived in a chartered vessel which entered the Columbia River on July 31, 1844. The sisters were sent to open a convent school on French Prairie, which was named St. Mary, and with the arrival of the party of 1844 the school at St. Paul was strengthened, DeSmet having brought material aid, as well as additional persons to help in the work. This school was named St. Joseph in honor of the patron saint of Joseph Laroque of Paris, who had furnished Father Blanchet with funds for its foundation.

Father Demers who had succeeded Blanchet as vicar-general was withdrawn from the Cowlitz in 1844 and placed at Willamette Falls, or Oregon City, then growing in importance as a center in consequence of establishment

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[37] Oregon Missions, by P. J. DeSmet, p. 34.

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of a provisional government in Oregon, and on account of the influx of settlers which had begun to assume a new aspect in 1843.[38] Blanchet went to Quebec for consecration as archbishop, and from there made a voyage to Europe, and was so successful in arousing religious interest that when he returned in 1847 by sea he brought with him twenty-one additions to the missions in Oregon, including three Jesuit priests, five secular priests, three lay brothers and seven sisters of the same order that had previously sent recruits to Oregon. About this time Rev. George Gary, successor to Jason Lee, was closing out the secular affairs of the Methodist missions, and Archbishop Blanchet made an offer for the property of the Oregon Institute, which was refused. Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, brother of the Archbishop Blanchet, was made bishop of Walla Walla and Father Demers was created Bishop of Vancouver Island. The new bishop of Walla Walla arrived at Walla Walla, September 5, 1847, a little less than three months prior to the massacre at Waiilatpu. With him came Rev. Father J. B. A. Brouillet as vicar-general, and eight other assistants.

The ecclesiastical province was by this time fully established, its personnel then including, in addition to the archbishop, three bishops, seventeen or eighteen Jesuit and Oblate fathers, thirteen secular priests and thirteen sisters of the Order of Notre Dame of Namur. The girls' school of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's College for boys had also been founded. The Catholic, like the Protestant missionaries, had a large number of lay brothers in addition to the clerical. Work among the indians was being carried on throughout the territory, although, in common with the work of the Protestant mission, suffered reverses east of the Cascades as the result of the indian wars following the Whitman massacre and the wars which that tragedy precipitated. Archbishop Blanchet, who figured so largely in these events, was a man of foresight and executive ability, and continued to serve in his high office until 1881, when he resigned it to his coadjutor, and died June 18, 1883, at the age of eighty-seven years. It was through the wise policy followed during his successful administration that the church became a strong factor of influence for peace and safety.

An evangelical instrument employed by the Catholic fathers almost from the beginning was deeply significant as showing Father Blanchet's early conception of the nature of the indians' intellectual processes. It became known as the "Catholic ladder," and was extremely well designed for the purpose of making concrete the lessons which the fathers desired to impress upon their charges, a bit of pedagogy analogous to the use of pictures and nature symbols in the instruction of young white children. "The great difficulty," says Blanchet in his Historical Sketches, "was to give them an idea of religion so plain and simple as to command their attention. * * * and which they could carry back with them to their tribes. In looking for a plan, the vicar-general imagined that by representing on a square stick the forty centuries before Christ by forty marks; the thirty-three years of our Lord by thirty-three points, followed by a cross; and the eighteen centuries and thirty-nine years since by eighteen marks and thirty-nine points, his design would be pretty well answered, giving him a chance to show the beginning of the world, the creation, the fall of the angels, of Adam, the promise of a Savior, the time of His birth, and His death upon

[38] Oregon was erected into an apostolic vicariate by Pope Gregory XVI on December 1, 1843. Later it was divided into an ecclesiastic province with three sees, namely at Oregon City, Walla Walla and Vancouver Island.

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the cross as well as the mission of the Apostles. The plan was a great success. After eight days of explanation the chief and his companions became masters of the subject. * * * and started for home well satisfied with a square rule thus marked.[39] The "ladder" was afterward developed into the form of a chart, printed on strong paper reinforced by cloth, about five feet long by two and a half feet wide, and its use spread rapidly. The Protestant missionaries countered with a "ladder" of their own, in which the history of the Catholic Church was depicted in a less favorable light. The missionary history of the period bears a good deal of evidence of sectarian bitterness. Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, a Catholic historian, probably was justified, however, in his conclusion: "It is certain that this concrete and pictorial presentation of religion was much better suited to the savage than the abstract and doctrinal methods employed by the Protestant missionaries, and it achieved more success.[40]

Another group, comprising four Protestant clergymen and one lay worker, and their wives, were independents who had been infected by the prevailing religious fervor and believed that they could sustain themselves in the indian country, or that the natives would support a mission in exchange for the benefits of spiritual leadership and education. The theory proved barren and all these independent missionaries, especially the women, endured hardships which were unrequited by any realization of accomplishment of their original purpose.

Rev. J. S. Griffin and his wife and Rev. Asahel Munger and his wife were fitted out in 1839 by the North Litchfield Congregationalist Association of Connecticut, which appears to have been dissatisfied with the work of the American Board. These missionaries attached themselves to an American Fur Trading Company expedition to the mountain country. Munger was already married, while Griffin found a bride in Missouri on the way to the rendezvous, marrying her after an exceedingly brief courtship. The Griffiins spent the winter of 1839 at Lapwai, the Mungers remaining at Waiilatpu, both being employed at carpenter and blacksmith work. Munger showed signs of derangement on the way west and again at the Whitman Mission, and an effort was made to return him to his home, but this failed. He later attached himself to the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley. Becoming obsessed with the idea that the indians needed only a miracle to induce them to embrace Christianity, he impaled himself on a nail above the forge in his blacksmith shop and was so badly burned that he died in a few days. The Griffins made an excursion into the upper Snake River Country which was unproductive, were helped by the Hudson's Bay Company agent at Fort Boise, and found their way to Fort Vancouver, settling in 1841 on a claim near the present town of Hillsboro in the Willamette Valley. Griffin became pastor, in 1842, of the first Congregational Church organized in Oregon, the first Church of Tualatin Plains. He was present at the meeting, May 2, 1843, at Champoeg, at which the provisional government was formed, and voted in favor of the organization, but he was rejected as a

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[39] The foregoing is cited by Father Edwin V. O'Hara in Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon, p. 85, from Blanchet. Full accounts of the Catholic Oregon Missions are set out in the annual Rapports sur Les Missions du Diocèse de Québec. The Blanchet "ladder" is given in facsimile in the Notice sur les Missions du Diocèse de Québec qui sont secourues par l'association de la Propagation de la Foi (Quebec, January, 1842, No. 4).

[40] O'Hara's Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon, p. 41. A notable accession to the Roman Catholic faith was Dr. John McLoughlin, November 18, 1842, for although born of Catholic parents it seems that he had affiliated with the Church of England until that date.

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member of the Legislative Committee on the ground that as a clergyman he ought not to participate in secular affairs.[41]

The other party consisted of Rev. Harvey Clark, Rev. Alvin T. Smith, and P. B. Littlejohn, a layman, also Congregationalists, who had conceived a similar impracticable scheme of missionary endeavor without the support of a home board. Failing to find a field for usefulness among the indians they settled on the Tualatin Plain. Clark and Smith participated in the organization of the provisional government. Mr. and Mrs. Clark particularly were self-denying and indefatigable in their work of education. Clark, who was present at the meeting held January 17, 1842, at the home of Jason Lee, at which preparations were made to establish a school for white children, was a member of the committee that selected the site for the school. He was employed as teacher by the Methodists, taught the children of settlers in his own cabin, and was an instrument in the founding of Taulatin Academy, which flourished for many years and out of which grew Pacific University, the second institution of higher learning in point of time of its beginning in the Oregon Country. A large part of the land on which they made their home was given by the Clarks to the endowment of this university. Clark also succeeded Griffin, in 1845, as pastor of the Congregational Church, which in that year was removed to Forest Grove.

It still remains to describe the Whitman and Spalding Missions east of the Cascades, which had an important part in the history of Oregon Country. But these will require a separate chapter.

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[41] The Diary of Asahel Munger and wife is printed in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, p. 387, with a note relating to these missionaries.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE WHITMAN MARTYRS

Missionary zeal was not restricted to the Methodist and Catholic denominations. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had taken note of the reported desire of the indians of the Rocky Mountain Country for spiritual guidance, and in May, 1834, soon after the Methodist Missionary Board had resolved to act, the American Board designated three commissioners to explore the new country and report on its needs and select a site suitable for a mission. Rev. Samuel Parker, of Ithaca, N. Y., was one of these, and he with his companions left in May, 1834, for the West, arriving at St. Louis too late, however, to join the fur trading caravan setting out that season for the Rocky Mountains. Deeming it inexpedient to travel unattended, Parker's companions went to labor among the Pawnees, while Parker himself returned to the states. He was on the ground earlier in the spring of 1835 and obtained permission to travel with a brigade of the American Fur Company. The board meanwhile had appointed as his associate Dr. Marcus Whitman, of Rushville, N. Y., a lay physician with strong missionary inclinations, and these two journeyed together to the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain trappers on Green River. At that point a party of Nez Percés who had previously heard of the coming of Jason Lee, met the missionaries and requested them to establish a station in the Nez Percé Country. This convinced the travellers of the interest of the natives in religion, and Doctor Whitman turned back to obtain reinforcements. W. H. Gray, who came out with Doctor Whitman in 1836 as a lay member of his mission, says that this decision was hastened by incompatibility of temperaments of the two men, Parker being less adapted to the rough ways of the West than was Doctor Whitman.[1] However, there is little doubt that both men were actuated by a common desire to advance the missionary cause. Doctor Whitman here was entrusted by the Nez Percés indians with two boys with whom he returned East to submit a preliminary report to the American Board, while Parker, guided by the Nez Percés, continued his westward journey. Exchanging his Nez Percés guides at Fort Walla Walla for canoemen of the Walla Walla tribe, and these in turn for Wascos at The Dalles, he reached Fort Vancouver, October 16, 1835. Here he passed the winter as the guest of the chief factor, who supplied him with facilities for making the exploration he desired. He visited the pioneer establishment of Jason Lee that

[1] "The peculiarities of Messrs. Parker and Whitman were such that, when they had reached the rendezvous on Green river, in the Rocky mountains, they agreed to separate, not because Doctor Whitman was not willing and anxious to continue the exploring expedition, in company with Mr. Parker, but because Mr. P. could not 'put up' with the off-hand, careless, and, as he thought, slovenly manner in which Doctor Whitman was inclined to travel. Dr. W. was a man that could accommodate himself to circumstances; such as dipping the water from the running stream with his hand, to drink; having with a hunter's knife (without a fork) to cut and eat his food; in short could rough it without qualms of stomach."—Gray's History of Oregon, p. 108.

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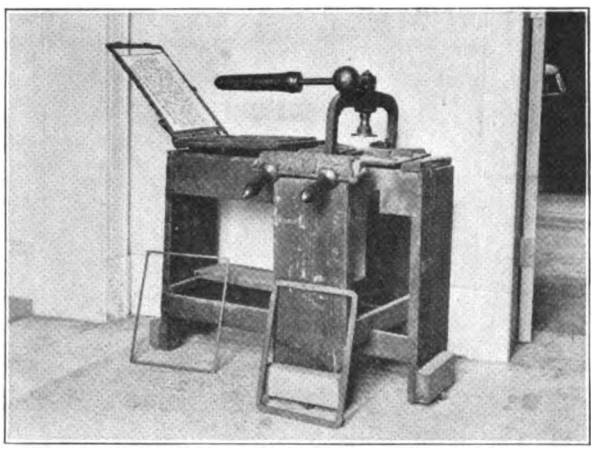
autumn and was favorably impressed by Lee's situation. "Their facilities for providing for their schools," he wrote after his return, "are good, having an opportunity to cultivate as much excellent land as they wish, and to raise their necessities of life in great abundance, with little more labor than the scholars can perform for their support. The missionaries have an additional opportunity for usefulness, which is to establish a Christian influence among the white settlements. * * * The prospect is that the mission may lay a foundation for extended usefulness. There is yet one important desideratum—these missionaries have no wives. Christian white women are very much needed to exert their influence over indian females, * * * and the model, which is furnished by an intelligent and pious family circle, is that kind of practical instruction, whether at home or abroad, which never fails to recommend the gospel.[2] Parker is here revealed as one of the very first of the missionaries to comprehend the importance to the whites themselves of this new work. He made a trip down the Columbia River to its mouth on Wyeth's brig, the May Dacre, then beginning a return voyage, and returned up river to explore again the region east of the Cascades. He chose the site of the mission at Waiilatpu, a name that was the indian equivalent of Place-of-Rye-Grass, another tentative site at Lapwai among the Nez Percés, and one in the Spokane Country. Being satisfied by this time that missionary endeavors in the new country would be rewarded, he returned home by way of the Hawaiian Islands, arriving at Ithaca after an absence of more than two years.

Parker's belief that married missionaries were most efficient seems to have been also the view of the American Board, and this led Doctor Whitman before beginning his second journey to take as his wife Miss Narcissa Prentiss of Prattsburg, N. Y. With his bride and with Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding, who had just completed their studies at a theological seminary and were planning a mission to the Osages, and with the addition of W. H. Gray, Doctor Whitman joined another company of fur traders bound for the mountain country. The missionary expedition was outfitted with material for a blacksmith shop, and with a plow and various other implements, as well as seeds and clothing. On account of the ill-health of Mrs. Spalding, which made it difficult for her to ride horseback, Doctor Whitman procured a one-horse wagon, which achieved a place in history as the first wheeled vehicle to be driven as far west as Fort Boise, then a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, where it arrived as a two-wheeled cart, having been dismantled to meet the limitations of the trail. The entire party reached Fort Walla Walla September 1, 1836. The women were lodged at Fort Vancouver until shelter at Whitman Mission, erected on the site designated by Rev. Mr. Parker, and constructed of sun baked mud bricks, could be partly completed. This was not for long, however. A cabin had been so far built by December 10, 1836, that Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding took up their residence there, and that date can be said definitely to mark the beginning of the work of Whitman Mission. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were the first white women to make the journey overland to the Pacific coast.

Whitman and Spalding meanwhile had gone to Lapwai, about ninety miles

[2] Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains, p. 175. The Mission Record Book shows by its entries that Parker's stay with the Lees was November 26-28, 1835, during which period there was a death and burial of one of the indian children living at the institution. In his own book he describes the epidemic disease among the Oregon indians.

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MISSION PRINTING PRESS

Brought to Oregon in 1839 from Honolulu and used at Lapwai Mission on Clearwater River.

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east of Waiilatpu, and about ten miles from the present site of Lewiston, Ida., where they chose the site for another mission and where Spalding began work among the Nez Percés, while Whitman returned to the less tractable Cayuses and Walla Wallas at Waiilatpu. Both men soon built up farms of considerable extent, aided by the labors of the indians. Spalding in particular developed a talent for agriculture, though he is said to have been handicapped by infirmities of temperament and to have manifested a non-cooperative spirit. Ground at both establishments was broken and fenced, and the natives were taught the use of agricultural implements. Grist mills were constructed. The indians clung to the primitive method of threshing grain by tossing the sheaves into a corral and driving wild horses over them until the grain was beaten from the heads, after which they would wait for it to be winnowed by the wind, but they soon learned that there was economy of labor in taking it to the mission mills to be ground. By comparison with the indians of the Willamette Valley, however, they were wanderers and it was difficult to attach them to the soil. Both Whitman and Spalding persisted, and in due time extended their farming operations, though at the expense of their primary purpose of spreading the gospel among the natives. They were also partly successful in persuading the indians to breed cattle, from stock which was procured in the East. Sheep from the Hawaiian Islands were added to the herds of cattle and the indians received a share of them. In a material sense the natives ought to have regarded themselves as prosperous, but it was difficult to convince them of the necessity of work.

In the autumn of 1838 Gray, who had gone home the previous year, returned with a bride, and also with reinforcements for the Mission, these consisting of Rev. Cushing Eells and his wife, Rev. A. B. Smith and his wife, and Cornelius Rogers. These were the only reinforcements to reach Oregon sent by the American Board. As the magnitude of their task became apparent to Whitman and Spalding they joined in another appeal to the board to strengthen their forces and Walker and Eells were sent North to establish a station at Tsimakain, near Colville, at another site selected by the thoroughgoing Parker on his scouting trip in 1835. Smith and his wife settled at Kamiah, where among other activities they devoted themselves to preparing a Nez Percés lexicon and grammar. The first printing press ever set up in the territory reached Lapwai in 1839, being the gift of the native mission at Oahu. Mrs. Whitman meanwhile started a school for the indian children at Waiilatpu, while her husband trained some of the more intelligent adults as assistants in his Sunday School.

The indians were troublesome from the first, and responded reluctantly to all efforts to improve their condition. Jason Lee, on his way home to the eastern states in 1838, was impressed by the success of Whitman and Spalding in controlling their wards, but Lee by that time was beginning to doubt the aboriginal capacity for absorbing civilization. "The indians," he wrote from Walla Walla, April 25, 1836, to Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins, "have acquired a good deal of scripture knowledge. I asked them a great number of questions through Dr. S., most of which they answered very readily. * * * But still he has his troubles with them. The truth is they are indians; though they are certainly superior to those upon the Willamette, and though his things are as much exposed as can be, they steal nothing." He described the disciplinary measures adopted by his fellow missionaries and

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approved them. "Both Mr. W. and Mr. S.," he added, "use high-handed measures with their people, and when they deserve it let them feel the lash. Now, my Dear Brethren (for I mean this letter for you both) be strong in the Lord, be firm, and let not the indians trifle with you, let them know that you must be respected, and whenever they intentionally transgress bounds, make them feel the weight of your displeasure. * * * Mr. S. assembles his indians morning and evening for prayer in front of his house, and sings with them in native and reads a chapter in English, and sometimes gives a little instruction. Besides this he has family worship in his own room. His people lose three-fourths of their own time for want of a little showing. They may have done more by being separate than they could have done together, but still it was rather a rash measure to put themselves so entirely into the hands of the indians when there was not absolute necessity for it. Mr. S. did not tell me, but Mr. Pambrun says he was obliged to fly to his double barrel gun to protect himself from some rascals who were laying hold of him. But whatever can be said in reference to the past, it is evident that their operations will move tardily and sluggishly unless they have reinforcements in future. They give no clothing to the children, and have not advanced far in teaching to read. A few read indifferently in English and a less number in native."[3]

The missions, however, were far from self supporting and their difficulties were not understood by the American Board, whose sole experience with a foreign missionary venture had been limited to experiments in Liberia and Hawaii. The Walla Wallas, in the vicinity of Waiilatpu, were "in general poor, indolent, sordid, but avaricious; and what few have property, in horses and herds, are proud, haughty and insolent." So Elijah White described them in a letter to the commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington.[4] The Cayuses, though less numerous, were more formidable, being brave, active, tempestuous, and warlike. The Nez Percés alone formed an honorable exception, being better disposed toward the whites and their improvements in the arts and sciences, but the three tribes had become united by intermarriage and strengthened by community interest and by apprehension of the future encroachments of a white population. The missionaries had endeavored to accomplish much in a short time; the indian was not to be hurried; and the expedients adopted by the newcomers were ofttimes unsuited to indian character. The missionaries were repeatedly insulted. Whitman, Spalding and Smith were assaulted, and on one occasion a party of indians pulled Doctor Whitman's ears and hair, and threw his hat three times in the mud at his feet. Smith and Gray, and their wives, and Rogers, left the missions in 1841 and 1842. Instead of sending the further reinforcements that had been hoped for, the prudential committee of the American Board dispatched a letter, which was delivered by Dr. Elijah White, who returned in 1842 with a party of immigrants, directing that the stations at Waiilatpu and Lapwai be closed and only the one at Tsimakain continued. If the order of the Board had been carried out, only Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Eells and Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Walker would have remained. Doctor Whitman believed that the Board had erred gravely in its judgment in favor of the Spokane indians as against those farther south. The message was delivered at Waiilatpu in September, 1842. On the 26th of that month a meeting of all the

[3] MS. Oregon Historical Society.

[4] Cited by Gray, History of Oregon, p. 219.

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missionaries remaining in the field was held at the Whitman Mission to discuss the crisis that confronted them. Doctor Whitman, notwithstanding past dissensions, resolved to start at once for the East and if possible to save the situation.[5] Accompanied by A. L. Lovejoy, a member of Elijah White's immigrant expedition of 1842, he left Waiilatpu, October 3, 1842, on a journey that at that season would have daunted even a seasoned mountain man.[6]

It took them only eleven days to reach Fort Hall, a distance of 600 miles, and as Doctor Whitman would not travel on Sunday this was an average of sixty miles a day. Reports of trouble in the indian country being communicated to them at Fort Hall, they pushed south over the Great Salt Lake, Taos and Santa Fe route. Intense cold and blinding snow were experienced between Fort Hall and Fort Winte, but at the latter point they got a new guide and pushed on to Uncompaghre, on the Grand River, then in Spanish territory. They were compelled to take refuge in a ravine for four days from another storm, after which they went into camp to wait for a change of weather. The guide said that the snow had so changed the appearance of the country that he did not know the way and they returned to Uncompaghre for a new guide. The doctor led the way across a perilous ford of the swiftly running Grand River and by hard traveling they reached Taos in about thirty days. Here they learned that a party of fur traders who were ahead of them would be leaving for St. Louis in a few days and Doctor Whitman left Lovejoy and the pack animals behind and pushed on with only the horse he was riding, some bedding and a small allowance of provisions. He lost his way and Lovejoy and the guide reached the rendezvous ahead of him. He finally found his bearings and arrived much exhausted, attributing his misfortune to the circumstance that he had departed from his rule not to travel on Sunday. Undoubtedly his choice of the southern route alone had made his trip at that season possible. He proceeded without further untoward incident to St. Louis, to Cincinnati and to Ithaca, and at the last mentioned place he was welcomed by Rev. Mr. Parker. After a trip to New York and Washington, he proceeded to Boston, where he was received without cordiality by the American Board, who were inclined to censure him for having left his station without permission. A picture of Doctor Whitman as he appeared at this time is obtained from a letter by a contributor in the New York Spectator, April 5, 1843, of which the following is an excerpt: "We also had one who was the observed of all, Dr. Whitman, the missionary from Oregon. He is in the service of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. Rarely have I seen such a spectacle as he presented. His dress should be preserved as a curiosity; it was quite in the style of the old pictures of Philip Quarles and Robinson Crusoe. When he came on board and threw down his traps, one said, 'what a loafer!' I made up my mind at a glance that he was either a gentleman

[5] Whitman took with him the following resolution which shows the object of his winter journey—"Resolved, that if arrangements can be made to continue the operations of this station, that Dr. Marcus Whitman be at liberty, and advised to visit the United States, as soon as practicable, to confer with the Committee of the A. B. C. F. M., in regard to the interests of this mission.

(signed) "E. Walker, Moderator,
"Cushing Eells, Scribe,
"H. H. Spalding.

"Waiilatpu,
September 28, 1842."

[6] Lovejoy had reached the mission a month before and now consented to return east with Whitman. He came again to Oregon in 1843.

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traveller, or a missionary; that he was every inch a man and no common one was clear. The Doctor has been eight years at the territory, has left his wife there, and started from home on the first of October. He has not been in bed since, having made his lodging on buffalo robe and blanket, even on board the boat. He is about thirty-six or seven years of age I should judge, and has stamped on his brow a great deal of what David Crocket would call 'God Almighty's common sense.' ''[7]

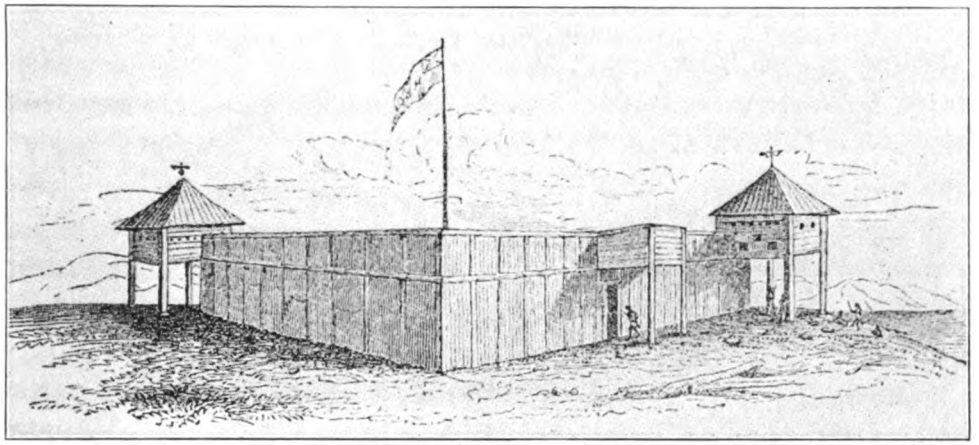
The true motive of Doctor Whitman's winter ride was long the subject of controversy, but the evidence is now regarded as complete that he undertook it to save the mission, and not, as has been assumed by some, for political reasons associated with extension of the authority of the United States over the Oregon Country.[8] He was successful in his purpose. The American Board withdrew its order closing the missions among the Cayuses and the Nez Percés, it permitted Spalding to remain in the West, and it gave its assent to a plan of inducing emigration from the East, in the view that through settlement of the country around the missions the indians would receive an object lesson in civilization while the missionaries would obtain the moral support of a religious community. The westward movement had been stimulated by introduction of a bill in Congress by Senator Linn of Missouri, in December, 1841, authorizing construction of a line of forts from the Missouri River to the "best pass for entering the valley of the Oregon," and immigration was already under way when Doctor Whitman reached St. Louis on his return trip, but he gave valuable aid to the large company of settlers who started west in the spring of 1843. This was the first important immigration into Oregon and it numbered among its members several who afterward became prominent in the history and development of the territory, including Peter H. Burnett, J. W. Nesmith, Jesse Applegate, Daniel S. Holman and others. The immigrants held a meeting at the rendezvous at Independence, May 18, 1843, appointed a committee to see Doctor Whitman and adopted rules and regulations. Burnett was elected captain and Nesmith orderly sergeant, and Capt. John Gantt, a former army officer, was engaged as guide as far as Fort Hall. Gantt fulfilled his mission, and at Fort Hall Doctor Whitman proffered his services, and those of several Cayuse indians who had met the party at the fort, to act as guides for the remainder of the journey. His offer was accepted and the trip was made without accident. He proceeded in advance of the immigrants from Grande Ronde on hearing that Spalding was ill. Travel by ox teams was then in the experimental stage. "Dr. Whitman," says Peter H. Burnett, "assured us that we could succeed, and encouraged and aided us

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[7] Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 169.

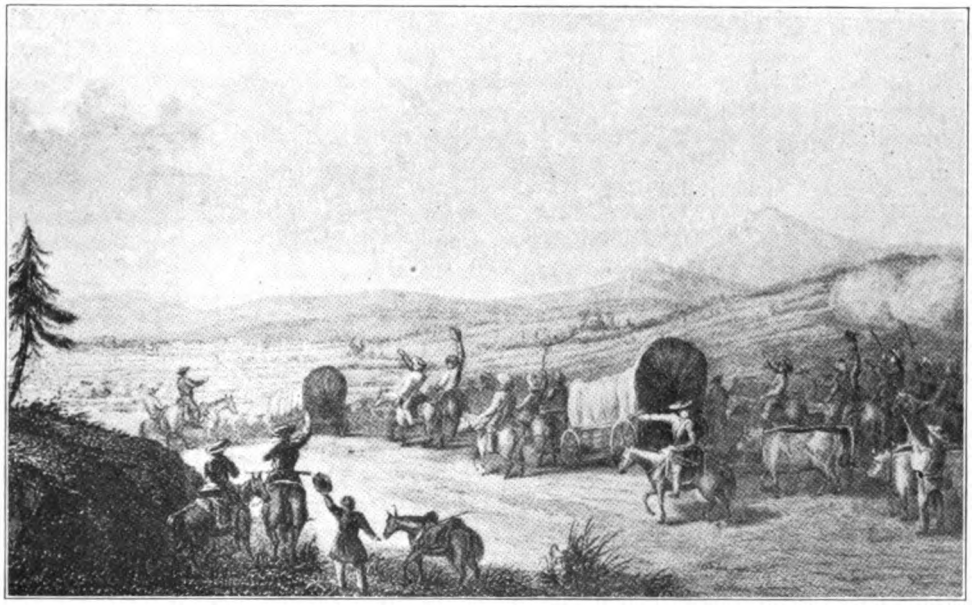
[8] No circumstance in Oregon history has given rise to so much controversy or has been the subject of so much attention by historical writers as the Whitman controversy, but it has practically been set at rest by the publication of Marshall's Acquisition of Oregon, in which the whole subject is minutely examined and the arguments of advocates of the theory that "Whitman saved Oregon" are refuted, and the arguments of opponents of that theory are corrected and reinforced. Almost as important on the same side of the controversy, was Professor Bourne's article on the Legend of Marcus Whitman, in Amer. Hist. Review, January, 1901. A judicial review of the authorities is in Bishop James W. Bashford's Oregon Missions, Chapters XIV and XV. A series of articles in the Oregonian by H. W. Scott, demonstrate that Oregon was not saved by Whitman. (See these articles, and comprehensive annotations by Leslie W. Scott, in The History of the Oregon Country, Vol. I, pp. 223-238, 302-306.)

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(From Wilkes Exploring Expedition)

FORT WALLA WALLA, IN 1841



(From an old print)

IMMIGRANTS AT THE END OF THE TRAIL

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with every means in his power."[9] Thus the company, numbering more than eight hundred persons, reached the Whitman Mission, and later, dividing into independent companies, made its way to the Willamette Valley. Doctor Whitman performed a valuable service for the immigrants of this year, and the station at Waiilatpu was a stopping place for travelers during the remaining years of its existence.[10] In 1844 there were left at the mission the seven children of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Sager, the parents having died on the way across the plains. Doctor Whitman received them, and subsequently, by an order of court signed by J. W. Nesmith as probate judge of Oregon, dated September 8, 1844, was appointed their guardian.

Doctor Whitman by this time had formed a clearer conception of the mission as a means of preparation for the coming of the whites, as his hospitality to travelers over the trail and his policy toward the indians showed.[11] A letter written by him on May 16, 1844, to his parents reflected his views. "As I hold the settlement of this country by Americans rather than by an English colony most important," he said, "I am happy to have been the means of landing so important an immigration on to the shores of the Columbia, with their wagons, families and stock, all in safety." He added: "I have no doubt the greatest work is to be to aid the white settlement of the country and help to found its religious institutions. Providence has its full share in all these events. Although the indians have made and are making rapid

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[9] Recollections of an Old Pioneer, p. 117. For a description of the immigration of 1843, see chapter XXX infra.

[10] "It has always been known that under the direction of Mr. Whitman the mission was a great assistance to the immigrants in the matter of furnishing supplies, and that great suffering would have been incurred in many cases if it had not been for the existence and policy of the mission. No one, however, but an eye witness could adequately impress upon us the sacrifices with which this was often accomplished. Mr. Hinman recollects that during the winter of 1844 the family at the mission had nothing in the way of meats for their own use but the necks of the beef, which were made eatable by boiling, while the better parts were distributed among the immigrants. Mrs. Whitman was not always so long-suffering as her husband, and would sometimes protest that it was not fair that the immigrants should get all of the best parts, while only the leavings were available for the family. To these protests Mr. Whitman would reply, in a jesting tone, that he could stand the scolding of his wife far better than he could stand the complaints of the immigrants, and so it went on through the winter. Mr. Hinman, also as commissary, would sometimes protest against giving supplies to immigrants who could pay, but who misrepresented their condition. His orders, however, were always to take the people at their word, and if they said they had no money to take their notes. Supplies were never refused, and if they could not be paid for they were practically given."—Reminiscences of Alanson Hinman, Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 2, pp. 268-9.

[11] The Whitmans early realized the change that was coming over the character of missionary work in the west. For example, Mrs. Whitman wrote to her father, on April 12th, 1844: "It must appear singular to friends at home to hear of the return of so many missionaries from Oregon. So it seems to us; but we have not the discouragements which our friends of that Mission have. The Indians of the Willamette and the coast are diminishing rapidly; but they have another work put into their hands. Settlers are coming into the country like a flood and everyone of them need the gospel preached to them as much as the heathen."—Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions for 1893, p. 61. Doctor Whitman himself wrote to his father from Waiilatpu, on April 8th, 1845: "No country now open to settlers presents such a field of enterprise, as this near vicinity to the Pacific Ocean offers a large promise of commercial advantage. The salubrity of the climate is such here that I am every year only the more and more admiring it. * * * I have had much to do with supplying immigrants for the last two years."—Id, p. 69.

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advance in religious knowledge and 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 and the Mission. What Americans desire of this kind they always effect, and it is equally useless to oppose or desire it otherwise. To guide, as far as can be done, and direct these tendencies for the best, is evidently the part of wisdom. Indeed, I am fully convinced that when a people refuse or neglect to fill the designs of Providence, they ought not to complain of the results; and so it is equally useless for Christians to be anxious on their account. The indians have in no case obeyed the command to multiply and replenish the earth, and they cannot stand in the way of others doing so. A place will be left them to do this as fully as their ability to obey will permit, and the more we can do for them the more fully will this be realized. No exclusiveness can be asked for any portion of the human family. The exercises of his rights are all that can be desired. In order for this to its proper extent in regard to the indians, it is necessary that they seek to preserve their rights by peaceable means only. Any violation of the rule will be visited with only evil results to themselves."[12]

While Doctor Whitman was thus engaged in administering to the temporal and spiritual needs of both races, the mission was treacherously attacked November 29, 1847, by indians whom he had befriended. Doctor Whitman was called to the door of his room on the pretense of consultation about a sick indian and while he was talking was struck on the head from behind with a tomahawk. The indians then overran the mission, killing on every hand and taking women and children prisoners. Fourteen persons were murdered, including Doctor Whitman and Mrs. Whitman, two of the Sager boys whose guardianship the doctor had assumed, Andrew Rogers, a young immigrant who had remained at the mission to study the ministry, four men who were shot or stabbed on the day the massacre began, two who were discovered in hiding on the second day and slain, two men who were dragged from their beds and slaughtered on the eighth day afterwards, and one man who fled to Fort Walla Walla, where admission was refused him, and who was never afterward heard from. Fifty-three women and children were held captive, the women and girls being subjected to indescribable indignities, until they were ransomed by Peter Skene Ogden, factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, who was notified of the massacre by the trader at Fort Walla Walla and who employed the artifices of frontier diplomacy and knowledge of indian character supported by the traditional influence of the Hudson's Bay institution.

The causes of the massacre were various. It is an interesting theory that one of these was the age-old practice of the indians to exact the penalty of death of their "medicine men" who did not succeed in effecting a cure. Measles and dysentery had been epidemic and there were sinister whisperings among the natives that disease had been introduced by the doctor as a means of exterminating them and acquiring their lands. Then, too, the meaning of the constantly increasing stream of immigration had not escaped the indians. A

[12] Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1893, pp. 64-5. In this letter Doctor Whitman speaks of the indians as follows: "The indians are anxious about the consequence of the settlers among them, but I hope there will be no acts of violence on either hand. An evil affair at the Falls of the Wallamett resulted in the death of two white men killed and one indian. But all is now quiet."

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mixed-blood Delaware named Joe Lewis, who had been taken in at the mission because he seemed to be perishing, had fomented trouble by giving further circulation to the story that the doctor was killing them with his medicine. The son of Peu-Peu-mox-mox, chief of the Walla Wallas, had been wantonly killed at Fort Sutter in California, where he had gone to buy Spanish cattle for the tribe; his death had aroused profound bitterness and had not been avenged. But it also is probable that previous treatment of indians in the eastern states by the United States Government had aroused apprehensions of those in the West. The Government had not always been prompt to keep its promises and there was dissatisfaction, for example, among the Wyandottes and the Osages with the reservations that had been allotted them. Wandering indians and mixed bloods had communicated this intelligence to the indians of the mountains, who saw in the incoming tide of settlers only the doom of their race.[13] Apprehension thus nurtured was inflamed by a series of events of which the company at Waiilatpu were the innocent victims.

While the provisional government had been set up by the settlers of the Willamette Valley in 1843, without military organization or pecuniary resources, nevertheless it was preparing to put troops in the field to avenge the massacre and if possible forestall a general uprising, which would have threatened the Willamette Valley. Ogden left Fort Vancouver, on December 7, 1847, with a small party, paying toll in bullets as was the custom to the indians at the portages. He arrived at Fort Walla Walla on the 19th. Here he called a council of the principal men of the tribes, and warned them that if they precipitated war with the Americans every indian would have cause to repent his rashness. He concluded by offering to ransom the captives but refrained from promising immunity to the offenders. The chiefs agreed to his proposal after long deliberation and the survivors of the massacre were delivered to Ogden on December 29th. The Spalding party at Lapwai that had been spared through the intervention of friendly Nez Percés, also proceeded down the river with Ogden, leaving Fort Walla Walla just as news was received that the troops of the provisional government had taken the field. The ransom was paid by Ogden in blankets, guns, ammunition, cotton shirts and tobacco, and was equivalent in value at that time to about four hundred dollars. The provisional troops later gave battle to the indians, killing one who had boasted of having scalped Mrs. Whitman, and also taking five prisoners, who were afterward tried, convicted and hanged.[14] The massacre resulted in the abandonment of the missions and also of the project which Doctor Whitman had entertained of establishing an educational institution at The Dalles. Thus the chapter of mission-

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[13] Doctor McLoughlin's Autobiography (Or. Pioneer Trans. 1880, p. 53), narrates a conversation he had with Doctor Whitman in which the latter told of talk of this kind by a Shawnee indian named Tom Hill who had told the indians that the Americans had been allowed by the Shawnees to settle among them and "Now the Shawnees have no lands," and who urged the indians at Walla Walla to allow no Americans to settle.

[14] The negotiations with the Cayuses resulted in the peaceable surrender of Telau-ka-ikt, Tamahos, Giaa-shetuc-teas, Clokomas, and Kiamasumkin at The Dalles. They were tried at Oregon City, May 23, 1850, before Judge Orville C. Pratt and jury. They were represented by counsel and objected to the jurisdiction of the court, claiming that at the time of the murder, the United States laws did not apply in the Territory. The prosecutor was Amory Holbrook, and the foreman of the jury was F. W. Pettygrove. The trial developed the fact that Whitman had been repeatedly warned but had refused to take steps to avoid the tragedy. The verdict found all of the defendants guilty and they were hanged June 3, 1850.

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ary endeavor by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Oregon Country was closed.

Doctor Whitman's attempt to establish a mission has a larger place in the history of the section than would be ascribed to it if it had been but another of the many American failures in gaining a foothold there. The tragedy and the wide publicity given to the facts, full of pathos and of horror, stirred intense interest in the man and his work. The remarkable horseback journey of 150 days in the winter time is to be compared only with the journey of Ebberts and Meek in 1847-8, which will be described in a subsequent chapter. It is not surprising therefore that in the course of time he came to be recognized as a national hero, or that the actual facts came to be expanded into a story more or less untrue. Mr. H. W. Scott has said concerning Whitman: "He was apotheosized through his fate. Hero worship, stimulated by religious or ecclesiastical devotion, has created his legend or myth, which in earlier and less critical times would doubtless have passed unchallenged. But in our age written and printed records are preserved, and the mythopeic faculty of the human mind receives checks and corrections unknown to the composition of the Homeric poems or portions of the Biblical narrative. But the tendency to hero worship and love of the marvellous will never be wholly eliminated from the mind of man. Before the invention of writing and the use of printing, people forgot their actual history—so uninteresting was it,—and remembered only the fables they had built upon it." [15]

The origin and purpose of Whitman's ride, the status of the Oregon question, relating to the sovereignty and occupancy of the country at that time; Whitman's influence in changing the national policy toward holding Oregon to the present national boundary; and Whitman's real relation to the great overland movement of settlers in 1843, have all been subjects of critical historical study of late years, so that an impartial decision may now be rendered based upon the documentary evidence contemporaneous with the events themselves.

The migration westward was stimulated by the printing and dissemination of Congressional reports and documents, including the memorials of the first settlers that had been carried east by Lieutenant Slacum, and was aided by Jason Lee's campaign in 1838-9, and also by the numerous articles in the newspapers of the period. The very fact that measures were pending in Congress to provide a free land grant to men over eighteen years of age of a square mile in area was in itself enough to stir interest, but Doctor Whitman's announcement that he would, on returning in the spring, aid in piloting the expedition, had an influence upon the immigration of 1843. It was much larger in numbers than the immigration of any previous year.

There is little doubt as to what was Doctor Whitman's purpose in beginning his famous ride to the East, October 3, 1842, for Mrs. Whitman, September 30, wrote a letter to her parents which was carried by him on the journey, and in this she said: "He wishes to cross the mountains during this month, I mean October, to reach St. Louis about the first of December." Obviously, if he could reach the East as early as possible, and could accomplish his errand with the church authorities and persuade them to reverse their decision and support the mission and send supplies, he would be able to return during the summer months; but should he remain at the mission until spring when traveling across

[15] Oregonian, September 3, 1902.

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the continent would not be such an arduous undertaking, he would lose a whole year and he could not return with a caravan and the supplies necessary for the mission before the summer of 1844. In another letter written to her brother on April 13, 1843, Mrs. Whitman said: "Husband's presence is needed very much at this juncture. A great loss is sustained by his going to the states. I mean a present loss to the station and indians, but I hope and expect a greater good will be accomplished by it. We are so far off that to send by letter and get returns was too slow a way for the present emergency."[16] It needs no hypothesis of a patriotic intent to save Oregon from the British to account for his decision to leave for St. Louis at once, as that was the very thing decided upon in the conference with his associates and for which they furnished their joint resolution of September 28, 1842, already quoted; and it is apparent from the resolution itself that the urgency was to visit the United States as soon as practicable to confer with the board in regard to the interests of the mission.

Doctor Whitman himself made no claim of having rescued the pending treaty from a sacrifice contemplated by the President and cabinet, as was afterwards asserted by overzealous advocates. He believed his fame to rest upon other services. He says in his letter to the American Board, November 1, 1843, after his return to the mission: "If I never do more than to have been one of the first to take white women across the mountains, and prevent the disorder and invasion which would have occurred by the breaking up of the present emigration, and establishing the first wagon road across the border, to the Columbia river, I am satisfied." In fact in a later letter he states specifically what service he rendered to the Government. The letter was written to Rev. L. P. Judson, November 5, 1846. In it Doctor Whitman said: "I had adopted Oregon as my country, as well as the indians for my field of labor, so that I must superintend the emigration of that year (1843), which was to lay the foundation for the speedy settlement of the country if prosperously and safely carried through; but if it failed and became disastrous, the reflex influence would be to discourage for a long time any further attempt to settle the country across the mountains, which would be to see it abandoned altogether. * * * I have returned to my field of labor, and on my return brought a large immigration of about a thousand individuals safely through the long, and the last part of it an untried route to the western shores of the continent. * * * It is quite important that such a country as Oregon should not on the one hand fall into the exclusive hands of the Jesuits, nor on the other under the British government."

It will be seen from this letter that Doctor Whitman makes no claim to have had any agreement with President Tyler to the effect that the latter would be governed by the success of the immigrant expedition of 1843 in the important duty of negotiating or signing a treaty with Great Britain regarding the Oregon Country, although it has sometimes been claimed that such an agreement was one of Whitman's chief services to the nation. That he made no such claim for himself is further shown by another letter of April 1, 1847, to the American Board, in which he again asserts that his service was in successfully guiding the expedition of 1843, and shows that the influx of American settlers, over-

[16] Or. Pioneer Trans., 1893, p. 161.

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coming the British in the country by sheer force of numbers became "the foundation of the late treaty between England and the United States."[17]

While there can be no doubt that Doctor Whitman by his letters (and his friends and admirers in argument in after times), claimed too much credit for inducing the immigrants of 1843 to take their wagons across the continent, and for his own services in guiding them over the plains and through the mountains, he was helpful to them in both particulars. It is not necessary to credit him with having influenced the Government to modify the treaty with Great Britain, to recognize his services indirectly to his country. While he did not originate the great flow of settlers that started westward in 1843, or induce many of them to undertake the journey, he did encourage some of them to go; and while he was not their leader or guide throughout the long journey, or the discoverer of the route followed, he did lead them and their wagons from Fort Hall to the Grande Ronde River, some 300 miles of the long journey. Wagons had been taken through to Walla Walla before him, but no wagon had been taken west of Fort Hall to Fort Boise until by his encouragement on this occasion the attempt was made, and they were then successfully brought to Waiilatpu.[18] The successful journey to Oregon made by such a large number not only stimulated interest in Oregon, and insured a majority of Americans in the disputed territory, but doubtless strengthened the determination of the Government to insist upon American rights, and it influenced the democrats to put the Oregon issue in their national party platform in 1844. The services of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman need no exaggeration at the hands of any historian. They were leaders in religion and education in the inland empire district; their precept and example, and their ministrations to the sick and the needy, both native and white, crowned at last by the death of martyrs, leaves their fame imperishable upon the annals of the West. If mistakes were made they were trifling in comparison with the grandeur and the nobility of their lives of self-sacrifice and of devotion to the cause of righteousness and of humanity.

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[17] Dr. John Fiske, in an address before the Oregon Pioneers in 1892, at Astoria, spoke in praise of Whitman's services; afterwards his remarks were revised, and as finally published contain this conclusion: "But we should do him a great injustice to ascribe to him projects of empire for which neither his words nor his acts give any warrant, which necessitate the appropriation to him of the labors of others and require an entire misreading of our diplomatic history in regard to the territory of Oregon." (Transactions, Or. Pioneer Ass'n, 1892, p. 58.) The original address was printed in the Oregonian, May 12, 1892, but after further consideration he modified it, as above. (See article by Leslie Scott, giving both statements, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 100.)

[18] Wagons had been used for some years on the Sante Fe trail; Ashley and others had taken cannon and wheeled vehicles through the South Pass, and wagons had been taken to Fort Hall, Idaho, from Wind River; from 1830 wagons were used on the Oregon trail as far as Wind River; and in 1840, Dr. Robert Newell, Joseph L. Meek and another had taken three wagons from St. Louis to Walla Walla by another route.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENT

There was no law in Oregon in 1840 suited to the temper and the aspirations of the few Americans then residing in the territory. The British Government had been first to recognize the need of some form of civil organization, by extending the laws of upper Canada over the British subjects residing in the region under the convention of joint occupancy, and by granting jurisdiction to the Hudson's Bay Company over its attachés, but no corresponding measures had been adopted by the United States Government to meet the needs of American colonists. In the whole of the vast region west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Spanish possessions, there was, from the American viewpoint, neither authority to enforce peace and order, nor machinery for the administration of civil affairs. It was, indeed, a realization of the need of government in civil rather than in criminal affairs that precipitated the movement which resulted in the first political organization. Among the few resident Americans there was a growing feeling that one way to forestall British claims to the country would be to set up a local government not under control of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the region at this time, and particularly in the Willamette Valley, there were four classes of residents, in addition to the natives. The former attachés of the Hudson's Bay Company, chiefly Canadian-French who had taken indian wives, had been accustomed to the rule of the company; their mode of life was simple, their material wants were few, they were at peace with the indians, and on good terms with their neighbors; they were not much given to examining the future, and they were on the whole content with conditions then prevailing. The active employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, a second group, wholly under the direction of the company, opposed organization, partly because they were sufficiently served as to civil administration by act of the British Parliament of July, 1821, which had extended the authority of the company and the laws of Canada over them and their concerns, and partly because of the general policy of the company, whose interests were best served by preserving the region for hunting and fur-trading. The missionaries, chiefly Methodists, constituted a third important factor in the population. These were Americans. There was, fourth, a small but growing number of independent settlers. These included a few who had come to the country as early as the time of the Astor enterprise, and others who came with Nathaniel Wyeth and Ewing Young. They included also at least four men who had ventured north from California and who had escaped a massacre by the Rogue River indians, one having been a previous survivor of the tragic encounter of Jedediah Smith with the Umpquas.[1] There were in addition a few Rocky Mountain trappers,

[1] These were John Turner, Dr. William J. Bailey, George Gay and John Woodward. Turner was a survivor of both encounters. For biographical sketches, see The History of the Oregon Country, Scott, Vol. II, p. 236.

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who had been thrown out of employment on the abandonment of the mountain field by the American Fur Company. The Americans then in Oregon, as a class, brought with them inherent capacity for social organization. They were inclined to be content neither with the semi-feudal system then prevailing where the Hudson's Bay Company held sway, nor with total absence of authority, such as would have been implied by refusal to accept the conditions of existence prescribed by an alien institution. They maintained a certain definite attitude of independence, while holding to the idea that the largest freedom is realized under the forms of democratic government.

The Oregon Country had not been absolutely without law, however unsatisfactory it was. Under Hudson's Bay authority an indian had been tried for murder at Fort George, and had been executed. The Methodist missionaries had established a kind of court, and in 1839 had designated two of their number to act as magistrates. This was done entirely without the cooperation of the settlers, but the latter had realized the need of some species of government and had tacitly acquiesced. A number of cases had been presented to these magistrates for adjudication, and in one instance a settler, T. J. Hubbard, had been tried for murder and acquitted, on the ground of self-defense.[2]

The settlers in the valley had addressed a petition to the United States Congress in 1840, declaring that they had "no means of protecting their own and the lives of their families, other than self-constituted tribunals, originated and sustained by the power of an ill-constructed public opinion and the resort to force of arms."[3] In this petition, which had been committed to Thomas J. Farnham, of Peoria, Illinois, for transmission to Washington, the signers set forth not only the growing need of protection of law but also the importance to the United States of the region in which they dwelt. These petitioners had put emphasis on their want of protection against crime. Desirability of administration of civil law had not then appeared to them so plainly. There existed in fact a force of public opinion not wholly inadequate to cope with mere violations of the common proprieties. A man, for example, who had stolen a number of hogs and had been betrayed by the circumstantial evidence of certain incriminating bones found in his dooryard, had paid for the animals. In the case of Young's distillery and its abandonment, it had been shown that

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[2] Himes and Lang, History of the Willamette Valley. The authority for the statement was Rev. David Leslie, who presided at the trial, and who related the incident in the hearing of Mr. Himes. Rev. Gustavus Hines, one of the missionary party at that time, says, in his History of Oregon, p. 417: "Up to 1840 the number of people in the colony was so small, the business transactions so limited, and the difficulties so few, that the necessity of organizing the community into a body politic, did not appear to be very great, though for two years persons had been chosen to officiate as judges and magistrates." The Journal of the Methodist mission under date October 13, 1835, has this entry, showing that Doctor McLoughlin was looked to for the exercise of certain governmental authority by the missionaries as well as others: "J. Lee, gone to Campement DuSable to settle the affairs of the late Louis Shangarati and bring his family to this place, having been appointed thereto by Dr. McLoughlin." Shangarati had died leaving a number of children and some slaves.

[3] Senate Document, Twenty-sixth Congress, 514. Lieutenant Slacum carried the first petition in 1836, prepared by Lee, asking for the establishment of a territorial government by the United States. Lee carried another petition to Washington when he went there in 1839; and while he was still in the east a third petition was prepared in the Willamette Valley by Rev. David Leslie and signed by some seventy persons urging immediate extension of the authority of the United States. The third petition was presented to the Senate by Senator Linn, June, 1840.

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men valued the good opinion of their neighbors. A frontier system of extemporaneous justice might have sufficed for instances like these; it was inadequate, however, for an issue such as arose with Ewing Young's death, which occurred February 15, 1841, when the problem of administering his estate presented itself.

The first meeting to consider the adoption of a code of laws, was held at the American Mission House at Champoeg, then the principal settlement in the Willamette Valley, February 7, 1841.[4] The meeting appears to have been informal, and but scant record has been left, but it seems to have been intended chiefly for discussion of preliminaries, such, perhaps, as those which may have preceded the preparation of the petition forwarded to Congress in the previous year. Rev. Jason Lee presided, and "in a short speech in which his remarks seemed to be carefully considered, and in a manner which indicated that he felt oppressed by the grave responsibilities of the hour, he advised the selection of a committee for the purpose of drafting a constitution and code of laws for the government of the settlement south of the Columbia."[5] Little else was done, apparently, except to recommend that the people consider the question so presented, but the death of Young eight days later made the need for early action manifest.

Young had taken possession of a land claim which constituted practically the entire Chehalem Valley and he had been the first settler on the west side of the Willamette River. A man of strong initiative and boundless enterprise he had already begun to accumulate property. He had constructed a sawmill, and the cattle he had brought from California had multiplied. He was therefore the wealthiest independent settler in the Oregon Country. His neighbors fully understanding that there was neither a method of selling and transferring title or an authority for appointing an administrator to care for the cattle, began to realize the necessity of a probate court and a system of laws to govern the estates of deceased persons. There were no known heirs, and it was a question what could be done with the property. There was no state or government to which it would pass by escheat. The common instinct of neighborliness dictated action, yet no individual felt himself authorized to assume responsibility. Undoubtedly there were informal discussions among those who gathered at the obsequies on February 17, 1841, to pay the last formal honors to a respected fellow-resident, for after the funeral service the settlers remained to confer. There was agreement that laws were needed to facilitate the settlement of estates, if for no other reasons. Rev. Jason Lee presided again at this meeting, while Rev. Gustavus Hines, another of the missionaries, was named as secretary, and the selection of a committee of seven to draft a constitution and a code of laws for the government of the region south of the Columbia was recommended. It was also suggested that settlers north of the Columbia River not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company be admitted to the protection of the laws of the proposed government on making application.[6] The

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[4] For note on Champoeg, the origin of the name and its historic importance, as well as description of the dedication of the place in 1918, where there is now a state owned building and park, see compiler's note in Scott's Hist. of the Or. Country, Vol. II, p. 221.

[5] J. Quinn Thornton, Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions for 1875, p. 50.

[6] J. Quinn Thornton, Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans., 1875, p. 53. This is sometimes designated as "The primary meeting of the people of Oregon." There were no settlers north of the Columbia not connected with Hudson's Bay Company, unless those missionaries in what now

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meeting then adjourned until the following day to give the participants opportunity for consultation and to insure a larger attendance.

Nearly all the male settlers in the valley were present at the meeting, February 18, 1841, at the Methodist mission house. Rev. David Leslie presided on this occasion and Sidney Smith, an immigrant with the Peoria party of 1839, and Rev. Gustavus Hines were chosen secretaries. The committee of organization was chosen and Rev. Father F. N. Blanchet was made chairman of the committee. His colleagues were Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. Gustavus Hines, Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, David Donpierre, M. Charlevon, Robert Moore, Etienne Lucier and William Johnson. Desire for cooperation and conciliation is shown by the composition of this committee, which represented the various elements in the young community. Blanchet was the natural leader of the Catholics and then presumably in sympathy with the aspirations of the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as with his Canadian fellow countrymen; three were Methodist missionaries; three were French-Canadians; one, Moore, was an American settler who had started from Peoria with Farnham in 1839 but had left the original party on account of a disagreement over Farnham's leadership; and Johnson, a former Englishman, was an independent settler. American citizens and British subjects, Protestants and Catholics and those of no religious predilections were represented. As a matter of policy the election of a governor was deferred,[7] and Dr. Ira L. Babcock of the missionary party was meanwhile appointed supreme judge with probate powers; George W. LeBreton, who had come to the country on the brig Maryland with Capt. J. H. Couch in 1840, was chosen as clerk and recorder; William Johnson, high sheriff; Zanie (or Xavier) Ladaroot, Pierre Bellique and William McCarty, constables, and Joseph Gervais, William Cannon, Robert Moore and Rev. L. H. Judson, constables.[8] It was directed that until a code of laws should be framed Doctor Babcock should act in accordance with the laws of the State of New York. There was not a copy of the New York code in the territory, a fact, however, that seems not to have deterred action. The settlers adjourned to meet June 1, 1841, at the "new building near the Catholic church," which was St. Paul where the Catholic mission was located. The people thus had their first practical lesson in the organization of civil government in a new territory. Doctor Babcock appointed Rev. David Leslie administrator of Young's estate. This was done April 15, 1841.

The committee, however, failed to report at the appointed meeting in June, at which Leslie again presided. It then appeared that there was not to be that

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is Eastern Washington and at Nisqually in the Puget sound district may be so described. The meeting proposed an ambitious and top-heavy organization with a governor, supreme judge with probate powers, three justices of the peace, three constables, three road commissioners, an attorney-general, a clerk of the courts, a recorder, a treasurer and two overseers of the poor.

[7] "Tradition indeed affirms that the reason for this extraordinary instruction was found in the fact that it was even then ascertained that no man could get a majority of the votes. The effect of this proceeding was practically to unite in one man both the executive and judicial functions." (Thornton, Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1875, p. 53.)

[8] This is according to the list given by Thornton, who, by error, included Gervais in the justices of the peace as well as among the constables. As to LeBreton, Thornton says: "He had been accustomed to good society, was agreeable in manners, intelligent in conversation, and in religious profession a Roman Catholic. This last named fact caused him to be elected to conciliate our Catholic brethren." He adds that William Johnson's selection as high sheriff was with a view to like effect upon our English cousins. Id. p. 54.

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hearty unanimity that had been hoped for, that Father Blanchet had not called the members together, and, in fact, that he was not in favor of organization. At any rate he was not willing at that time to commit himself. Years afterward he denied that he had absolutely opposed a government, explaining that he had merely counseled that the time was inopportune. He added in further explanation and justification that he had told the settlers that as Commodore Charles Wilkes had been commissioned by the Government of the United States to visit Oregon and to make a report, and as his arrival was expected in the near future, it would be well to await until his advice could be secured. Subsequently he explained that this advice "was by no means an act of opposition, but on the contrary an act of prudence, which the commodore approved at St. Paul on June 7th, on the ground that the country was too young."[9] At the meeting, Blanchet's failure to cooperate had a discouraging effect, and the committee was instructed in accordance with the suggestion to confer with Wilkes. It was also suggested that Doctor McLoughlin be consulted. Thereupon the meeting of settlers adjourned to the Methodist mission house on the first Tuesday in October, and it was recommended that the committee that would have the labor of drafting the constitution and code of laws meet on the first Monday in August.[10]

The adjourned meeting, however, was not held in October, and presumably the drafting committee never acted. Except for the continuance of the nominal authority of Doctor Babcock, and of the justices of the peace and constables who found nothing to do, this early experiment in government may be said to have come to naught. Both Lieutenant Wilkes and Doctor McLoughlin advised against proceeding further with the plans for organization.[11] Wilkes made a tour through the Willamette Valley, in the course of which he found that "these people were quite alive on the subject of laws, courts, and magistrates, including governors, judges, etc."[12] Among those whose homes he visited was William Johnson, a member of the committee. "Johnson," wrote

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[9] Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 151. Elaborating his explanation the writer adds: "And also a later occasion, when he begged that his name be erased from the committee. that was in no sense out of opposition, but for want of time. In a word, let all comprehend that the Catholic missionaries understood too well the delicacy of their position in this new and unsettled country to commit such imprudent blunders."

[10] By reconsidering the vote adopting the report of the nominating committee, this meeting annulled the election of the officers. It seems, however, that Doctor Babcock continued to be supreme judge, and in the meantime having appointed an administrator for Young's estate, caretakers were put in charge of the property, as Wilkes notes in his published narrative.

[11] McLoughlin's attitude has been thus described: "Dr. McLoughlin, at first, was not in favor of establishing a government, unless it was absolutely an independent one and merely for mutual protection. The movement was controlled by men, some of whom he knew were unfriendly, if not openly opposed or hostile to him or his company. Among these were several Methodist missionaries, with whom he had trouble in relation to his land claim at Oregon City. He had reason to fear that his right to his land claim might be interfered with by such a government. That his fears in this respect were justified is shown by the land laws adopted by the Provisional Government July 5, 1843." (F. V. Holman, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 104.)

[12] Wilkes, Vol. IV, p. 348. Wilkes found Johnson was an old naval man and had been on the Constitution at the time of the capture of the frigate, Guerriere. They had much in common and Wilkes much enjoyed the visit with the old salt. He met there Cannon, who was with Lewis and Clark, besides Moore and George Gay whom he describes in terms not altogether complimentary.

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Wilkes in his report to his Government, "trapper-like, took what I thought the soundest view, saying that they yet lived in the bush, and let all do right, there was no necessity for lawyers or magistrates." Wilkes also conferred with Father Blanchet. "He spoke to me much about the system of laws the minority of the settlers were desirous of establishing, but which he had objected to, and advised his people to refuse to cooperate in," says Wilkes in recounting his interview, "for he was of opinion that the number of settlers in the Willamette Valley would not warrant the establishment of a constitution, and as far as his people were concerned there was certainly no necessity for one, nor had he any knowledge of crime having been yet committed."[13] Wilkes proceeded to the Methodist mission, observing on the way that a "patent threshing machine" belonging to the mission "stood in the middle of the road." A committee of five, principally lay members of the mission, waited on him to ask his views regarding the advisability of the pending movement. "After hearing attentively all their arguments and reason for the change," he observed, "I could see none sufficiently strong to induce the step. No crime appears yet to have been committed, and the persons and property of settlers are secure. Their principal reasons appear to me to be, that it would give them more importance in the eyes of others at a distance, and induce settlers to flock in, thereby raising the value of their farms and stock. I could not view the subject in such a light, and differed with them entirely as to the necessity or policy of adopting the change.[14] Wilkes held that there was "want of right" so to act, because those wishing laws were in fact "a small minority of the settlers," because necessity did not yet appear, because "the great difficulty they would have in enforcing any laws and defining the limits over which they had control" would be likely to engender discord, and "the larger part of the population being Catholics, the latter would elect officers of their party, and they would thus place themselves entirely under the control of others." He suggested further that "any laws they might adopt would be a poor substitute for the moral code they all now followed," and urged "the unfavourable impressions it would produce at home, from the belief that the missions had admitted that in a community brought together by themselves they had not enough of moral force to control it and prevent crime, and therefore must have recourse to a criminal code." Wilkes here curiously overlooked the civil aspect of government, which was indeed the phase that had been called to critical attention, and he dwelt exclusively on restraint of crime, that was the matter of relatively lesser moment. However, he also noted the scantiness of population and could not "avoid calling attention to the fact, that after all the various officers they proposed making were appointed, there would be no subjects for the law to deal with."[15] Here he may have hit upon a more cogent reason for opposition to the scheme of organization. There was a not-inconsiderable element, connected with neither of the principal factions, who gravely doubted the ability of the settlers to bear the pecuniary burdens of even the simplest form of government. The people were few in number and were widely scattered; they were not affluent, engaged in felling forests, cultivating fields, and in other ways giving their attention to supplying their immediate wants. To

[13] Wilkes, Vol. IV, pp. 249-50.
[14] Id. p. 351.
[15] Id. p. 335.

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such as these the prospect of taxation, however slight, was far from agreeable, while the necessity for organization seemed to them remote. They had long lived without law and were willing so to continue. However, they were not a lawless element, in the sense in which the term is commonly employed. Conscious of their own good intentions, and relying on their own capacity for dealing with their problems, they desired only to be left in enjoyment of their Arcadia. This sentiment was at various times to find expression in the course of early efforts to establish and maintain a political state.

Wilkes also advised the people to "wait until the Government of the United States should throw its mantle over them." He was afterward told that these views determined a postponement of the meeting. He made a cursory inspection of Ewing Young's farm, which he found to be much out of order, although two persons had been put in charge of it at wages of a dollar a day. The farmhouse was entirely open and everything seemed to be going fast to ruin. Young's sawmill on Chehalem Creek had been partly washed away by a freshet, and there was no money to erect it again, if that had been thought desirable. The cattle enterprise had prospered while Young lived, as is manifest from a report to Wilkes concerning the investment which Lieut. William A. Slacum had made in the company at the time of his visit in 1837. Slacum, as has been told, had furnished $500 of the capital of the concern. The administrator of the Young estate now made a division of the property and eighty-six head of cattle were put aside as Slacum's share, after a due proportion for losses and accidents had been deducted. Slacum's share of the increase in four years was estimated at sixty-three head, although the herds had received no care except to be driven into pens at night for protection from predatory animals. As Slacum had died after leaving Oregon, at the request of his nephew, who was a midshipman on Wilkes' vessel, his share was sold and Doctor McLoughlin paid $10.00 a head for the cattle. The Willamette Valley was now well supplied with livestock, which were fast increasing in numbers. A ship sent by Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, in command of Capt. John H. Couch, had arrived in 1840 with a supply of merchandise, and an American store had been established at the Falls of the Willamette.[16] New issues involving property were arising. Though still isolated, the Americans in the territory were prospering. Their natural inclination toward government was intensified by the desire to see their earnings properly safeguarded and the title to their property protected.

The organization about this time of a circulating library and a debating society contributed to the general movement in this direction. The Multnomah Circulating Library was created by donation of a few books then in possession of the residents and a fund was collected and sent to New York for the purchase of others. This resulted in increased desire for social improvement and furnished additional opportunity for practice in cooperation. The Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club, formed in the winter of 1842-3, met regularly at Willamette Falls, especially during the winter months, and discussed topics covering a wide range of popular interest. Here organization of government was broached again. At one of the meetings Lansford W. Hastings, a recent

[16] Capt. John H. Couch's first venture was in the Maryland. The voyage was not a financial success, but his owners at once outfitted the Chenamus, with which he made a second voyage to Oregon in 1842. He settled in Oregon, taking up a land claim and laying out a part of the City of Portland thereon.

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arrival, who at about that time was employed by Doctor McLoughlin as his attorney, offered a resolution declaring that "it is expedient for the settlers on this coast to establish an independent government," which was warmly debated, and when it was put to a vote according to custom, there resulted a decision in favor of the affirmative.[17] At a subsequent meeting a resolution was offered by George Abernethy, a lay member of the mission party who afterward was to become provisional governor, declaring it inexpedient to form an independent government "if the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within the next four years." A decision for the affirmative here resulted, nullifying the moral effect of the vote on the first resolution. Meanwhile Dr. Elijah White, who had been sent to the country with the first reinforcements to Jason Lee, and who had returned east after a quarrel with Lee, and had reappeared in the territory in 1842 bearing a commission from the United States Government as sub-agent for the indians west of the Rocky Mountains, now began to make his presence known. In the course of one of the debates he had stated that he would cordially support any measure looking toward the establishment of an independent government, provided the people would elect him governor. White had been involved in an acrimonious controversy with his former fellow missionaries, and had aroused a good deal of bitterness by his exceedingly liberal construction of the authority conferred upon him by his commission as sub-indian agent, so that this declaration, even if made in a spirit of pleasantry, conveyed a suggestion by no means agreeable to his enemies.

The meeting of June 7, 1841, already referred to, seems to have resulted in nothing more than to substitute W. J. Bailey for Blanchet on the standing committee. It is said that the meeting then adjourned until the first Thursday in October, but there is no record of any meeting on that date, and it is evident that there was a cooling off in the ardor for creating a real government. Judge Babcock's action regarding the property of the Young estate was sufficient to meet the immediate requirement, and it seems probable that the reluctance of Doctor McLoughlin and the Catholics to join in making an effective organization had its counterpart at the Methodist mission, where Lee himself had become doubtful of the wisdom of going far with any plan of local self-government especially as there was some hope that the United States would soon take steps to organize the territory under the American flag. The interest at Washington at this time really was not keen, being manifested principally in the introduction of legislative measures regarding the occupancy of the Oregon Country that never were passed. But for a time the settlers were inclined to await the determination of the constantly debated question of sovereignty.

The first attempt at political organization therefore came to nothing of permanent character. There had been four meetings, but none of the officers took up duties, excepting the judge who was a physician by profession, and who had appointed an administrator but who was not even in possession of a

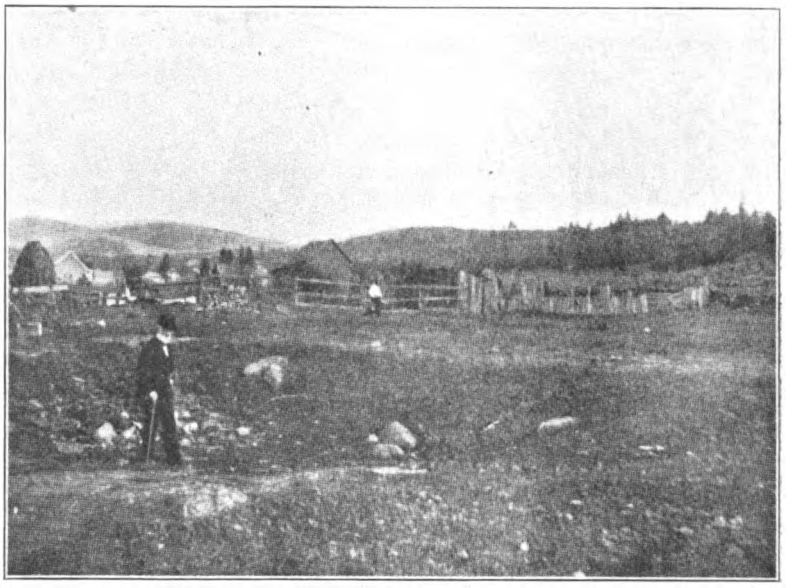
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[17] The idea of forming an independent government upon the Pacific coast was not a new one. Several American statesmen, beginning with Thomas Jefferson, had advocated it, and at one time a proposal to unite with California in creating an independent Pacific coast state received some attention. Bancroft expresses the opinion that several of the settlers in 1843 had the possibility of an independent state in mind in the legislative transactions of that period, and he refers also to a statement made by McLoughlin to Alexander Sampson as to the attitude of the colonists on this subject. (Bancroft, Hist. of Oregon, pp. 441-3.)

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JOSEPH L. MEEK
First marshal of Oregon and special messenger to Washington after the Whitman Massacre, 1848.



SITE OF THE FIRST BUILDING ERECTED IN EASTERN OREGON —THE METHODIST MISSION ERECTED IN 1838 AT THE DALLES

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volume of the New York statutes he was supposed to apply. The plan was allowed to die, and it seemed impossible to unite the various elements of the young community, which it is estimated comprised some one hundred and thirty-seven persons, including thirty-four white women and thirty-two white children.[18] But the effort was not to be given up without further consideration. The problem was to find some common ground upon which all could stand. Meantime, W. H. Gray, a carpenter and teacher sent out to the American Board mission in 1836, came down from Walla Walla, having resigned as secular aid there, and he was employed in a similar capacity at Oregon Institute in 1842. This institute was formed in that year by the Methodist missionaries as a school for the children of white parents, and was located near the site of the present city of Salem. Gray brought together an informal meeting at the institute February 2, 1843, and for a time he seems to have been the active spirit in the organization of the settlers. The ostensible purpose of this meeting was to adopt measures for the extermination of predatory animals. Here was a topic of utilitarian interest on which all might unite, for there was perhaps not a settler possessing livestock in the whole country who had not suffered loss from this cause.

If the estate of Ewing Young had been an object lesson in what might happen in case of death of property owners, the killing of cattle by wolves and wildcats was a matter of more immediate concern. Even those who regarded the extension of government as inopportune agreed that protection against wild animals was desirable. When, therefore, the meeting was held, a committee of six was appointed to call a general meeting of the settlers on the first Monday in March following. This committee, again chosen with discrimination in view of the various elements in the community, included three influential settlers—a Rocky Mountain hunter and two Canadian-French residents who had come to the country with the overland Astorians under Wilson Price Hunt. They acted in accordance with the instructions, and having made a thorough canvass of the still sparsely settled neighborhood, announced a general meeting at the house of Joseph Gervais for March 6, 1843. This constituted the first positive step in the organization of a local government. The two assemblages of February and March, 1843, have come to be known in the history of Oregon as the first and second Wolf Meetings. The American population of the territory at this time was a little less than 250, and these were widely scattered. The government that they now formed has generally been designated as the Provisional Government.

Doctor Babcock, the quondam probate judge, and who subsequently had discouraged the idea of organizing a more formal government, presided at the first wolf meeting, but at the second the presiding officer was James O'Neal, a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's second expedition, who owned a copy of the statutes of Iowa, and some other law books. The committee appointed at the first of these meetings made a report favoring immediate measures for the destruction of all wolves, bears, panthers and such other animals as are known to be destructive to cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, and recommended a scale of bounties. Fifty cents was to be paid for a small wolf, $3.00 for a large wolf, $1.50 for a lynx, $2.00 for a bear and $5.00 for a panther. Indians were to receive half as much as whites. An assessment of $5.00 was levied on each

[18] George H. Williams, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, p. 98.

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member, with provision for a commission of five per cent for collection. There being practically no money in the country, it was resolved that drafts on Fort Vancouver, the Methodist mission and the milling company at Oregon City be received in payment of subscriptions. But when this business had been transacted the real purpose of the movers was revealed in a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, for the appointment of a committee of twelve to "take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for civil and military protection of this colony." This organization committee consisted of Dr. Ira L. Babcock, Dr. Elijah White, James O'Neal, Robert Shortess, Dr. Robert Newell, Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, Thomas J. Hubbard, Charles McRoy, William H. Gray, Sidney Smith and George Gay. Growth of interest was already beginning to be reflected in the appearance of new names in these official proceedings. The committee met at Willamette Falls, now Oregon City, a few days later, many of the principal men of the neighborhood attending its deliberations.[19] The American community even then was not of one mind. Jason Lee and George Abernethy now opposed organization of a government, as "both unnecessary in itself and unwise in the manner proposed."[20] However, the organization committee resolved to call a formal meeting to be held at Champoeg May 2, 1843, "to consider the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony."

On May 2, 1843, the assembly convened as called by the organization committee of twelve. It was attended by both Americans and the British. Champoeg, then known as "Cham-poo-ick," and also by its French name, "Campment du Sable," or "place of sand," was the only region along the Willamette River and down the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean where any considerable expanse of open prairie bordered on navigable water. It was one of the few places where a wagon could be driven to the stream without going through a forest. This had influenced Doctor McLoughlin in recommending it as a place of residence for servants of his company whose terms had expired and who did not desire to return to Canada, and these earliest settlers had formed here the nucleus of a farming community. Later, for convenience in its agricultural and merchandising operations, the Hudson's Bay Company had established a station there. Later arrivals in the country, drawn by conveniences of trade and transportation, had located in that vicinity. The memorable session was held in a small house on the open prairie that extends back from the river bank. Doctor Babcock presided and Gray, LeBreton and Wilson were chosen as secretaries. The committee made its report outlining a plan, but a motion to adopt the report was lost. "Considerable confusion existing in consequence,"

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[19] Dr. John McLoughlin had platted the townsite, which he called Oregon City, but the Methodists continued to call the place Willamette Falls, until by legislative action the name Oregon City was legally adopted.

[20] J. Quinn Thornton, Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions for 1875, p. 61. W. H. Gray, who was present at the meeting says in History of Oregon, p. 268: "We found Rev. Jason Lee and Mr. Abernethy disposed to ridicule the proposed organization as foolish and unnecessary. Rev. Jason Lee in his argument illustrated the folly of the effort, by telling us of a company of militia gotten up somewhere in Canada. He said 'the requisite notice had been given,' and all the people liable for military duty were present on the day to elect the officers required for the company. When they had elected all the officers, there was one private soldier left. 'Well,' says the soldier, 'you may march me, you may drill me, you may face me to the right, or to the left, or about face, just as much as you please, but for mercy's sake don't divide me up into platoons.'"

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say the official minutes, "it was moved by Mr. LeBreton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted; those in favor of the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a majority being found in favor of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew." [21] Thus runs the formal record of the proceedings of that historic day. As a matter of fact, however, it was not quite so simple as that; indeed, for a brief time the issue hung in the balance. The Canadian settlers who were opposed to the movement had intended to vote no on all motions proposed by Americans. A test motion indicated a probable majority of Americans, and LeBreton, who was popular with both factions, and who seemed to be well informed as to the tactics of the Canadian party, proposed a decisive stroke. W. H. Gray, who was present at the meeting, says that "by this time we had counted votes," and that LeBreton proposed that the meeting divide and count.[22] The motion was seconded by Gray, and then Joseph L. Meek, one of the trappers who had not long since been left without occupation by the breaking up of the American Fur Company, and who had recently come to the Willamette Valley, cried: "Who's for a divide? All for the report of the committee and an organization, follow me!" There was no mistaking Meek's meaning. The company fell into two groups: fifty-two were shown to be in favor of organization, while only fifty were opposed to it. "Three cheers for our side," cried Meek, and the Americans cheered lustily. Thus the story as generally told. However, the victory was not lightly won. There was among the Canadians a young man named F. X. Matthieu, who had received some republican training while in Canada, and in whom the spirit of rebellion against British rule burned fiercely.[23] He had been counted on by the Canadian party. When LeBreton offered his motion, and when Meek added his stentorian call for a "divide," fifty settlers immediately went over to the right side, leaving fifty-two Canadians,[24] but Matthieu, according to his own story, had made up his mind in Canada. He determined to join the Americans, and he carried with him Etienne Lucier, whom he had previously instructed in the principles of American government. The defection of these two from the Canadians settled the matter. Without Matthieu and Lucier the day would have been lost. With Matthieu alone the vote would have been a tie. The fortunate circumstance, therefore, that Matthieu had passed his first winter in the Willamette Valley at the home of Lucier on the bank of the Willamette River, became a determining factor in the outcome. Lucier's attitude in the beginning had been typical of that of a good many of the Canadian settlers, and so the manner of his conversion is worth recounting here. "Among the subjects of conversation with Lucier," it is recounted in Matthieu's Reminiscences, [24a] "were the laws and customs of the United States. The old Hudson's Bay trapper was quite suspicious,

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[21] Grover's Oregon Archives, p. 14. Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 280.

[22] Gray's History of Oregon, p. 279. Rev. Gustavus Hines, who was present at the meeting says on the division: "The motion prevailed, and a large majority being found in favor of organizing, the greater part of the dissenting withdrew." (Hines, Life on The Plains of the Pacific, p. 423.)

[23] He is said to have escaped from Canada after the rebellion of 1837-8 in which he participated. He was not favorable to British rule in Oregon.

[24] Reminiscences of F. X. Matthieu, by H. S. Lyman, Oregon Hist. Quar., Vol. I, p. 94.

[24a] P. 89.

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and had been told that our government imposed very heavy duties—such as placing a tax on windows. Matthieu was able to tell him that this was entirely a mistake. The laws of the United States were entirely just and liberal, and under them all men were equal; there was no tyranny." Thus the scale was turned by two Canadian settlers, without whose votes the organization of government would again have been indefinitely deferred.[25] The primary object of drawing together both factions in support of the plan to organize a more complete government could not be accomplished. The withdrawal of nearly one-half of those present was discouraging.

The defeated faction having withdrawn, the report was considered and adopted item after item, and then the meeting proceeded to elect A. E. Wilson supreme judge with probate powers, G. W. LeBreton clerk and recorder, Joseph L. Meek sheriff, and W. H. Willson treasurer. Four magistrates and four constables, a major and three captains were elected. The most important action taken, however, was the selection of a legislative committee of nine members, which constituted the first law-making body ever elected in the Oregon territory, and which was instructed to report at a public meeting at Champoeg, July 5, 1843. Their compensation was fixed at $1.25 per diem, money for their payment being raised by subscription. The major and captains were instructed to enlist men to form companies of mounted riflemen.

The composition of the pioneer legislative committee here chosen is worthy of especial consideration. Its members were David Hill, Robert Shortess, William H. Gray, Dr. Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, Thomas J. Hubbard, James O'Neal, Robert Moore and William M. Doughty. The last mentioned was a native of Connecticut, who had arrived in the territory in 1842, and who represented the new settler class. Shortess, a member of Farnham's Peoria party, who had come in 1840, was a man of considerable attainments, widely read, and then generally regarded as an American extremist. During the year 1843 he became active in having drafted and circulated a petition to Congress praying for extension of the authority of the United States over the new territory, in which the Hudson's Bay Company and Dr. John McLoughlin were

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[25] The names of those present and the alignment in the voting have been compiled with great care by Mr. George H. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society, no official record of them having been preserved at the time. He finds that of those voting in the affirmative, thirteen were Methodists, eight Presbyterians, six Congregationalists, six Episcopalians, five Catholics, three Baptists, and eleven of unknown church preference. Fourteen states of the United States are known to have been represented, New York, with ten former citizens, having the largest number. Canada, England, Ireland and Scotland contributed nine in all, and the former residences of seven are unspecified. All those who voted in the negative were French-Canadians and Catholics, but, says Mr. Himes, "after permanent organization, the majority of these men acted the part of good citizens by supporting the Provisional Government, and all became naturalized as soon as possible after the United States extended its jurisdiction over the 'Oregon Country,' March 3, 1849." The fifty-two who voted in favor of government were: Pleasant M. Armstrong, Dr. I. L. Babcock, Dr. W. J. Bailey, Alanson Beers, J. C. Bridges, Hugh Burns, Charles Campo, William Cannon, Harvey Clark, Medorem Crawford, Amos Cook, Allen J. Davie, William M. Doughty, George W. Ebberts, Francis Fletcher, George Gay, Joseph Gale, William H. Gray, John S. Griffin, Webley Hauxhurst, Adam Hewett, David Hill, John Howard, Joseph Holman, Gustavus Hines, T. J. Hubbard, William Johnson, L. H. Judson, George W. LeBreton, David Leslie, Reuben Lewis, Etienne Lucier, Francois X. Matthieu, Joseph L. Meek, William McCarty, Charles McKay, Robert Moore, John L. Morrison, Dr. Robert Newell, James A. O'Neal, J. L. Parrish, John Edmunds Pickernell, James R. Robb, Osborne Russell, Robert Shortess, Alvin T. Smith, Sidney Smith, Solomon H. Smith, Calvin Tibbetts, David Weston, A. E. Wilson, Dr. W. H. Willson.

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denounced, and the condition of the colony was depicted as desperate and the peril from encroachment of the British interests extreme.[26] Dr. Robert Newell was a Rocky Mountain trapper who had seen service with Smith, Jackson and Sublette, and had brought the first wagon from Fort Hall to the Willamette Valley.[27] Beers was a blacksmith, a lay member of the first reinforcement of Methodists sent to Jason Lee in 1837. Hubbard, a member of Nathaniel Wyeth's second expedition in 1834, had been a leader in the community and had organized a cattle company, the second in the Willamette Valley, the agents of which had narrowly escaped massacre by the Rogue River indians in an attempt to reach California overland in 1840. O'Neal, also of Wyeth's party of 1834, was one of those who aided in driving to Oregon the cattle bought in California by Ewing Young. Moore, a Pennsylvanian, had served in the War of 1812. He afterward founded Linn City on the west bank of the Willamette River, nearly opposite Oregon City. William Doughty, formerly a free trapper, had arrived in the Willamette Valley in 1841. Such was the legislative committee, and as was to have been expected, the committee was strongly American in its national inclinations. O'Neal's copy of the statutes of Iowa, which was bound with the text of the Ordinance of 1787 for government of the Northwest Territory, supplied the committee with a convenient model for shaping its deliberations. The organic act adopted verbatim many phrases from the Ordinance of 1787 and from the organic laws of Iowa.

Oregon's first legislative hall, also the first on the Pacific coast, was a room in the granary of the Methodist mission at Willamette Falls, supplied without charge by the missionary authorities. This granary was a one story and a half frame structure, about sixteen feet by thirty, in which one end had served for church and school, the remaining space on the lower floor being used as a warehouse for grain. There were sleeping and storage quarters on the upper floor. The building was unpainted and was of the box house construction commonly used by the later pioneers, with its boards upright. In this structure the committee met, beginning May 16 and continuing four days. It then adjourned until June 27, 1843, and concluded its work the next day. It elected Robert Moore chairman and George W. LeBreton secretary. Early in its deliberations it resolved to sit with open doors. The result of the several sessions was the preparation of an organic act for submission to a public meeting of all the citizens the 5th of July following.

The probable attitude of the missionary leaders was not generally known at this time. Lee and Abernethy at a previous meeting, as has been said, had expressed doubt of the wisdom of the plan of government. An interesting sidelight on the devices resorted to by the government party is found in the calling of a patriotic meeting July 4, 1843, the day before the scheduled public assembly for the consideration of the legislative committee's report, and in an invitation extended to Rev. Gustavus Hines to deliver the principal address. Mr. Hines, however, "dwelt principally upon the subjects of temperance, the glorious deeds of our forefathers on the other side of the Rocky mountains,

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[26] This petition is set out in full in Gray's History of Oregon, p. 292, and in Documents of Twenty-sixth Congress, 1st session; Elwood Evans says that Abernethy wrote this petition, but he did not sign it, and quotes Shortess. (Hist. Pac. Northwest, p. 243.)

[27] For a good sketch of Newell's life and services see Elliott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 106. Also Scott, The Hist. of the Or. Country, Vol. II, p. 226, where biographies of many of the men of these meetings are collected.

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and the influence and blessings of the day."[28] Nevertheless, Hines was elected chairman of the public meeting on July 5, 1843, by acclamation, when Doctor Babcock failed to attend. There was a relatively large attendance of Americans, and a few of the independent French-Canadian settlers participated in the proceedings. A greater number of the latter stood aloof, and some let it be known that they would not submit to authority so constituted. Perhaps this feeling of opposition was due to their suspicion that one of the objects of the meeting was to establish a system of land laws in partisan spirit. If this was the ground of the opposition it was justified. For the principal enactment was regarding land claims, which limited entries of individuals to six hundred and forty acres, and there was one proviso 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"; and another that "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."[29] The first was designed to enlist the support of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, in the movement, since it was feared that without their support the government would fail. The second was directed against the claim of Doctor McLoughlin at Willamette Falls, and was championed by the most radical of the opponents of the Hudson's Bay Company. Both of these features show the control of the missionary group at this date, but the law was amended in the next year, after the first great influx of new settlers. The provision as to the executive was contained in section two of article five of the proposed organic law, which provided that "the executive power shall be vested in a committee of three persons, elected by the qualified voters at the annual election." Hines denounced the proposed body as a "hydra-headed monster in the shape of an executive committee," and hinted at a "repetition of the Roman Triumvirate —the Caesars upon the throne." This section was adopted, however, Jason Lee and most of the missionary party assenting. Of course this was crude and unworkable, and it was not long before a single executive was provided for by amendment. Incidentally, the assemblage voted to reduce the marriage license fee of $3.00, as fixed by the legislative committee, to $1.00. The Iowa statutes were in general decided on as the basis for government of the young colony.[30] It was also voted to purchase the several law books of James O'Neal, these to be the property of the community. O'Neal had just been elected a justice of the peace for the Yamhill District. There is no means of knowing what law books were included in the purchase, but it has been supposed that among them was the only volume of the Iowa code then in the colony.[31]

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[28] William H. Gray, History of Oregon, p. 346.

[29] Article IV, Land Laws of 1843. (Gray, p. 359.)

[30] The minutes of the meeting of July 5, 1843, contain the following: "Moved and carried to adopt the remainder of the judiciary report, viz.: to adopt the laws of Iowa as recorded, by amending them so far as to retain the fees in New York for jurors and witnesses instead of those of Oregon (probably Iowa is meant) territory." Oregon Archives, p. 24.

[31] On this point we have the statement of J. Quinn Thornton (Oregon and California, Vol. II, p. 31) where he says, alluding to the people: "They were, too, without either books (excepting one copy of the Iowa Statutes), to which to refer for assistance in framing their laws or the press upon which to print them when framed." Gray, referring to a resolution that had been adopted at the meeting of settlers at the Methodist mission June 18, 1841, to the effect that until a code of laws be drafted by the legislative committee and adopted by

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It is peculiarly true of this first public assemblage of the Oregon colonists that they were strongly inclined to self assertion and to join freely in debate upon every public issue. The spirit which led to the town meeting of New England and more anciently to the wittengamot of their Saxon ancestors had descended upon them. There were few lawyers in the territory at the time, but every man assumed to be a judge of right and wrong. The proceedings of the legislative committee had been openly conducted and generally discussed by the colonists. It has been intimated indeed that one reason why the formal records of those meetings were so far from complete is that those who were charged with writing the minutes were so engrossed with the discussions of the day that they had small time for clerical employment. The settlers were fully informed as to every stage of the proceedings, and, in the culminating meeting for the adoption of the code and for election of officials, debate was unrestrained.[32]

It is noteworthy, therefore, that the first organic law of the territory, designed to have force "until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us," guaranteed "freedom of worship, trial by jury, habeas corpus and the sanctity of private contracts." Adopting verbatim the language of the Ordinance of 1787, it declared that "religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." "The utmost good faith," said the law, "shall always be observed toward the indians, their lands and property shall never be taken away from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty they shall never be disturbed, unless it be in just and lawful wars, authorized by the representatives of the people." Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for punishment of crime, was prohibited. Every "free male descendant of a white man," inhabitant of the territory at the time of its organization, was declared eligible to vote, and as to subsequent immigrants a residence of six months was made precedent to citizenship. No provision was made for levying a tax, in deference to the prevailing poverty of the residents, but a voluntary subscription was made to defray immediate and necessary expenses, and fees were prescribed for recording legal instruments and for certain other public services. The subscription paper then put in circulation read: "We, the subscribers, hereby pledge ourselves to pay

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the people, Ira L. Babcock, the supreme judge, be instructed to act "according to the laws of the State of New York" (citing Hines, p. 419), says: "I query whether there was a single copy of the laws of that state in the country for ten years after the last resolution was passed. I know there was none at the time and only a single copy of the laws of Iowa two years after; hence Ira L. Babcock was lawmaker, judge and executive to the settlement, just as much as John McLoughlin was to the Hudson's Bay Company." There is a strong probability that Babcock had never read a lawbook. There was not, so far as has ever been disclosed, a copy of the New York Statutes in the territory.

[32] From Joseph Shafer, History of the Pacific Northwest (1918), p. 162: "Here we have another illustration of the well-known American Method of forming a government by 'Compact' or agreement. Two hundred and twenty-three years earlier, when the Pilgrim Fathers met to draw up their 'Mayflower compact' this principle was employed for the first time in American history, and soon afterward the early colonists of Connecticut followed it in their 'Fundamental Orders.' When at a later time, American pioneers crossed the Alleghenies to eastern Tennessee, and found themselves beyond the jurisdiction of any seaboard state, they formed the 'Watauga Association.' Similar pioneer governments were created in Kentucky, on the Cumberland River, and elsewhere. The Willamette settlers were following in the footsteps of their ancestors."

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annually to the treasurer of Oregon Territory the sum affixed to our respective names for defraying the expenses of the Government: Provided, that in all cases each individual subscriber may at any time withdraw his name from said subscription, upon paying up all arrearages and notifying the treasurer of the colony of such desire to withdraw." This informal method of meeting the costs of government was employed for some time afterward, but the legislative committee in 1844 as will be seen in the next chapter found it desirable to provide for taxation, without, however, assuming the right to confiscate the property of those who refused payment.[33]

Lastly, the vast region known as Oregon was divided into legislative districts. The first of these comprised all the country "south of the northern boundary line of the United States, west of the Wallamet or Multnomah river, north of the Yamhill river and east of the Pacific ocean." The colonists, by fixing the Willamette River as the eastern boundary of the district, making no express provision for extension of the line northward from the mouth of the river, avoided precipitating the issue. There was not then an American citizen residing north of the Columbia River, and there were few outside of the Willamette Valley.[34] The Champoeg district was bounded by a "supposed line drawn from the mouth of the Haunchauke (Pudding) River, running due east to the Rocky mountains," on the west by the Willamette River, on the south by the boundary line between Oregon and California, and on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains. This district alone, then populated by some two hundred Americans, comprised a veritable empire, and included large parts of what are now the states of Oregon and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. The assemblage elected David Hill, Alanson Beers and Joseph Gale as members of the executive committee provided for by the organic law. Hill and Beers had served as members of the committee which framed the law. Gale was a former free trapper who had come to Oregon in 1834 by way of California, another of these intrepid adventurers of whom the earliest community was so largely composed.

The Provisional Government was now established. There was thus created a government, republican in substance, grounded upon the broadest principles of democracy. The paternalism of the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had served for more primitive times, was now to give way to the plan insisted upon by the American settlers, a plan of government by

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[33] The expedient adopted in 1844 took the form of a section of the revenue law which read: "That any person refusing to pay tax, as in this act required, shall have no benefit of the laws of Oregon, and shall be disqualified from voting at any election in this country." "We knew that Americans were devotedly attached to two things: Land and the privilege of voting," says Peter H. Burnett (Recollections of an Old Pioneer, p. 205). * * * "By this provision we plainly said to each citizen substantially as follows: 'If you are not willing to pay your proportion of the expenses of this government, you cannot sue in our courts or vote at our elections, but you must remain an outlaw. * * * If you can do without our assistance, we certainly can do without yours.' "

[34] The Methodist missionaries at Nisqually at the head of Puget Sound, had already left that post. They had located there in 1840, but Dr. J. P. Richmond and wife returned East in 1842, and W. H. Willson and wife were in the Willamette Valley. On August 18, 1845, the Vancouver District was created, to include "all that portion of Oregon Territory lying north of the middle channel of the Columbia river," and was given one representative. (Mss. Laws, 1845, in Or. Hist. Soc. Lib.; also p. 22 of Or. Acts and Laws, Phemister.)

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majority rule. Under the old system progress was hampered, for however beneficent the intentions of the baronial factor of the company, it was to the interest of the fur trade to hold a close monopoly and to discourage competition. There was a fundamental difference between maintaining this vast domain for trade in the pelts of fur-bearing animals and in devoting it to the needs of civilization.

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CHAPTER XXIX

UNDER PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Prior to the great immigration of 1843 the political organization lacked much of being an effective instrument. While there was little reason to make laws and less reason to attempt to enforce them, the obligation to obey sat lightly upon the little community. The state rested as yet upon good natured acquiescence in a more or less useless contrivance which nobody took too seriously. When for example, the carpenter, Dawson, violated the proprieties by indulging in a fist fight, and Sheriff Meek was sent to represent the majesty of the law and to arrest him in the name of the infant commonwealth, his scorn and defiance manifested itself by an attempt to wield ax and jack plane, the tools of his trade, as weapons of defense. Meek's superior skill and strength at last convinced him that resistance was useless, and he began to realize that there actually was a government, whereupon he declared that "as he had to submit every other man must."[1] The incident, trivial as it seems, illustrates the attitude of the settler toward the first government, which after all was but a loose organization that could last only as long as it did not seriously attempt to govern. But the problem assumed a different aspect with the arrival of the immigration of 1843, which in the autumn of that year added between seven and eight hundred Americans to the population, principally in the Willamette Valley.

These immigrants had started from the frontier as a single caravan, but for convenience of the journey had divided into four companies, those most encumbered with livestock and other impedimenta travelling in the rear. They were chiefly from the prairie states of the Middle West, although many of them had come originally from farther East. They were impelled by various motives to seek homes in a new land. Many had suffered from inability to get crops to market after they had raised them, and were attracted to the Willamette Valley not only by accounts they had read concerning the fertility of the soil, but also by its proximity to ocean transportation. The possibility of trade with the Orient, which had figured conspicuously in the proceedings of Congress in the time of Floyd, had not been lost to sight. There were hard times in the East in the early forties, and the promise of the pending Linn land bill was alluring. Almost without exception these immigrants came West in the hope of improvement in their material condition. Neither the missionary motive, an important element in the decade immediately preceding, nor pure love of adventure, was the controlling motive with them. They were average Americans of the period, in whom an enlightened self-interest might be depended upon for guidance in broadening the scope of the government their predecessors had begun.

"For a time it seemed doubtful if the new arrivals, so greatly out-numbering

[1] Peter H. Burnett, Recollections of an Old Pioneer, pp. 173-4.

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"THE PIONEER" (A. PHIMISTER PROCTOR, SCULPTOR), UPON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON AT EUGENE

(Gift of Joseph N. Teal)

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those settlers already in the territory, would acknowledge a government of so questionable origin as that of July, 1843. Some of them favored an independent state on the ground 'that if the country becomes a territory of the United States it will be so remote from the seat of government that it will be very difficult for them to get the laws made that they require.' "[2]

A new element predominated in the territory when the first general election was held in May, 1844, and this resulted in a complete turnover in the government. The executive committee then chosen was composed of Dr. W. J. Bailey, Osborne Russell and Peter G. Stewart. Stewart was one of the immigrants of 1843. Russell, an old mountain man but a newcomer to the territory, received 244 votes; Stewart received 140, and Bailey, who represented the old-timers, seventy. But Alanson Beers, of the mission party, received only forty-nine and the rest of the votes were scattering. Joseph L. Meek was again elected sheriff, receiving 143 votes of a total of 146 cast for that office. Dr. Ira L. Babcock was reelected supreme judge, with eighty-eight votes to thirty-nine for J. W. Nesmith, but November 11, 1844, he resigned, and in the following month Nesmith, who was one of the leaders of the immigrant train of 1843, was appointed to succeed him.[3] Philip Foster was elected treasurer and Dr. John E. Long recorder. The legislative committee, the first law-making body ever named by regular election in Oregon, was chosen by districts. Tualatin sent Peter H. Burnett, M. M. McCarver, David Hill and Matthew C. Gilmore; Clackamas, A. L. Lovejoy and Daniel Waldo; Champoeg, T. D. Keysur and Dr. Robert Newell. This was almost a clean sweep of the old administration, as only David Hill and Doctor Newell remained. No election was held in Yamhill County.

The growing colony seemed to realize its new responsibilities. Considerations of expediency which may have ruled the settlers in the formation of a government in 1843 had less application here. For example, the issue of Canadian or American numerical preponderance in political matters had been settled by the trend of events. The missionary party was less influential than formerly, and there was on the other hand a strong sentiment of hostility to the land law, and particularly the provision which permitted a mission to hold a township, or 23,040 acres of the domain. A sharp division between the old settlers and the new began to be discerned. The latter, having arrived late in the year, after a journey marked by innumerable hardships, failed at first to realize their rosy anticipations of the land of promise, and were prone to criticize. The scheme of government by executive committee was displeasing to newcomers, many of whom preferred a governor as the chief executive officer of a state. So, too, the slavery issue was alive, and the guarantee of the Organic Act of 1843, with its inclusion of the provision of the Ordinance of 1787, was unsatisfactory

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[2] Robert Carlton Clark, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 150, quoting McLoughlin and Burnett.

[3] Nesmith was appointed in December, Babcock leaving for New York by water. He received the nomination at the Champoeg Convention, and at the ensuing election in June, 1845, was unanimously reelected, his name having been on all the tickets. In writing to some friends and relatives in Ohio under date June 27, 1845, in comical vein, he tells of his elevation to the office of supreme judge at a salary of $500 per year, besides all the fees for probate business, which swells the amount to about $600, and adds that he is engaged in reading law, but that law books are scarce. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 380.) Wags have said that the precedent of these early days in electing to the Supreme Court judges who knew no law has been followed ever since, but there may be some exaggertion in this. The legislative appropriation for Doctor Babcock's salary as judge in December, 1844, was $60.

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to many.[4] The legislative committee which met June 25, 1844, therefore supplemented the organic act upon this point with an enactment requiring that all persons who had brought slaves into the country should remove them within three years and that free negroes should leave within two years, under penalty of being flogged by the constable, with repetition of the flogging every six months so long as they remained in the territory in violation of law. This act was never enforced and the legislative committee amended it in the following December by substituting for the flogging clause a provision that negroes who failed to leave the country should upon conviction be offered publicly for hire to the "person who will obligate himself to remove such negro or mulatto from the country for the shortest term of service." The law was repealed in toto, however, in 1845.[5]

The legislative committee in 1844 passed also a prohibitory liquor law, being moved thereto in some measure by conflict between the authority of officers of the Provisional Government and that of Dr. Elijah White, who had construed his commission as sub-indian agent as conferring general powers of law enforcement. White had been acting under a provision of the statutes of Iowa prohibiting sale of liquor in indian territory, and under its provisions he confiscated the first still set up openly in the territory since W. A. Slacum and Jason Lee had persuaded Ewing Young to abandon his enterprise in 1836. But there was friction as a result of this dual assertion of authority. Sentiment of the colony was largely in favor of enactment and enforcement of a prohibition law by the local government. A total abstinence society called the Washington Temperance Society was formed in 1847, the list of members being headed by Joseph Meek who was a notorious drinker.[6]

The policy of government this year, 1844, was outlined by the executive committee in a formal message which was expressive of the general feeling of the community that the Government at Washington had been unduly dilatory in extending its authority over the region. "The United States," said the message, "have held out inducements to their citizens, and indirectly encouraged the settlement of the country by them. Consequently we are now improving the country by the consent, but without their protection; and it is self-evident that every community has a right to make laws for their mutual benefit and protection, where no laws exist." "It was under these impressions," also said the executive committee, alluding to the bill introduced in Congress by Senator Linn, "that the settlers in this territory established a form of government last year and adopted such rules and regulations as were at that time deemed necessary for the protection and prosperity of the colony. * * * In view

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[4] This provision, taken verbatim from the Ordinance of 1787, was: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." In May, 1844, in a proceeding before Robert Moore, justice of the peace, an attempt was made to deport one "Saul, a man of color." He was turned over to Dr. Elijah White, sub-indian agent, who was at loss to know what to do with him. (Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 393.)

[5] Mss. Laws, Or. Hist. Soc. Also Or. Acts and Laws, 1845, p. 8. The executive committee in its message, December 16, 1844, had recommended that the act passed in June "be so amended as to exclude corporal punishment, and require bonds for good behavior in its stead." The majority of the legislative committee, according to Gray, were pro-slavery democrats, who ignored the spirit and principle of the anti-slavery clause of the Organic Act. (Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 378.)

[6] Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 109.

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of the present state of affairs * * * we would recommend to your consideration the adoption of some measures for the support of the government."[7] The committee proposed a light tax, the vesting of the executive power in a single person instead of an executive committee, and amendment of the laws of Iowa to suit the particular circumstances of the colony. It called attention to the impropriety of vesting the powers of supreme, district and probate judge in one person. The committee also, in deference to widespread demand by the newly arrived immigrants, advised that the land laws be amended. Land having furnished the motive for a substantial part of the immigration of 1843, it was natural that this should now prove of paramount interest. The large grant allowed to missions was not the only feature that was causing dissatisfaction. There was objection also to the requirement, in a territory in which means of travel were uncertain, that new claims should be recorded within twenty days after their location, while old settlers were allowed a year in which to make their filings. The land act passed by the committee of 1844 at its June session omitted the requirement for recording claims, and the special grant to missions, and it enjoined the making of improvements with bona fide intention of occupying and cultivating the land—a measure aimed at land speculators. Under the former law, as Peter H. Burnett, one of the members of this legislative body, has explained, "a man, having a number of children, could record one claim in the name of each child one month before the annual arrival of new immigrants, and that record would hold the land for six months; thus forcing the late comers either to go farther for their locations or purchase the claims of his children."[8] The amended land act was supplemented at the December session by an act defining the word "occupancy" as requiring the claimant to reside on the land himself or to occupy it by the personal residence of his tenant. As a further measure of relief for those who had come late, it was provided that the settler might claim 600 acres on the prairie and forty acres in the timber, the parts not necessarily adjoining.

This legislative committee was also confronted with the problem of raising revenue to support the Government. Voluntary contributions had not proved dependable as a source of funds, and many of the new settlers, especially, did not feel bound to pay. To meet this situation, without antagonizing those whose support was desired, and also perhaps being still in some doubt as to the full extent of its physical power to enforce its decrees, the committee hit upon the plan of levying a small tax, the law containing a proviso that "any person refusing to pay tax, as in this act required, shall have no benefit of the laws of Oregon, and shall be disqualified from voting at any election in this country." Thus the lawmakers reached two vulnerable spots in the armor of the average American. By depriving him of his franchise, and by denying him the protection of law against any trespasser who might file an adverse claim upon his home, it supplied a strong incentive for sharing in the burdens as well as the benefits of government.[9]

The Legislature this year, 1844, also made provision for the construction of a jail, a matter less significant as indicating a social need than because of the method by which the enterprise was financed, and because it involved the first formal exercise of governmental function in the escheat of estates. Here

[7] Cited in Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 131.

[8] Recollections of an Old Pioneer, p. 203.

[9] Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 394.

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again the estate of Ewing Young, whose death had laid the foundation for the new order, figures in the proceedings. The property had been administered by successive judicial officers. No heir had claimed it. It was brought to attention by passage of a bill directing the executive power to appoint an administrator to close the business of the estate and pay the moneys collected to the treasurer of Oregon. Out of these funds the sum of $1,500 was appropriated to build a substantial log jail at Oregon City. The government of the territory, however, pledged its good faith for payment to Young's heirs, if any should appear, of any money so collected. Doctor McLoughlin donated the site, and the jail was subsequently built at a cost of $1,175. An interesting sidelight on the financial situation of the time is contained in a petition presented to the legislative committee in June, 1845, by thirty-eight citizens, praying that the funds be not employed as planned, lest the government "become too much involved." "We are unaware," said the petitioners, "at what moment a demand may be made upon this Govt. for said estate. If at an early date (as is very likely) we are certain, that in our present condition we shall be entirely unable to meet such demand. We have no doubt but that these demands when paid must be discharged in specie a sufficient quantity of which is not in the country. A sacrifice of our property must ensue."[10] Public officials in 1844 and in 1845 were not accustomed to dealing with large sums. The report of the territorial treasurer, December 18, 1844, for illustration, showed receipts from the collector of taxes of $313.21, from licenses of two ferries $40, and from one fine $5, a total of $358.21. The largest single item of the total of $115.38 expended was $60, the salary of Dr. Ira L. Babcock as judge.

The meetings of 1844 became of primary importance in preparing the way for a unison of the various conflicting elements in support of the Provisional Government. It has been seen that the French Canadians in 1843 withdrew from the meeting, and the government was really organized by the Americans. In 1844 this condition continued, and some of the new arrivals shared with the French Canadians the feeling that the government ought not to be set up. But there was special effort made by the Americans to overcome this antagonism and a meeting for this purpose was called, probably to be held in March, 1844.[11] On the other hand, in addition to those attachés of the Hudson's Bay Company who were controlled by its general policy, or who had no sympathy with the presumed national aspirations of the American party, there were some who viewed with suspicion if not apprehension the establishment of any system more complicated than that with which they were already acquainted. These held several meetings, which resulted in the framing of a so-called petition of the "Canadian citizens of Wallamet," addressed to "the

[10] Documents relating to the estate of Ewing Young. Edited by Prof. F. G. Young, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, p. 314. The message of the executive committee, December 16, 1844, had reported that the Government then had in its possession notes given by different individuals amounting to $3,734.26, proceeds of Young's Estate, and also recommended the erection of a jail. (Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 381.)

[11] At a meeting March 9, 1844, at the house of La Chapelle at Champoeg, held at the instance of the executive committee, because of an indian disturbance at Willamette Falls, March 4, a resolution was adopted for the organization of a volunteer company of mounted riflemen, to cooperate with other companies, to bring to justice all indians engaged in the affair of the 4th of March, and to protect lives and property against any attempt at future depredations. (Gray, Hist. of Oregon, p. 372.)

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American citizens, and particularly to the gentlemen who called said meeting." It was in fact the product of Americans as well as Canadians. Sentiments of cordiality and "desire of union and inexhaustible peace between all the people" were expressed, but anticipated laws and enactments were opposed. The remonstrators said that they did not intend to rebel against the measures previously adopted, but believed it would be sufficient for the magistrates already appointed to "finish their time." They objected to a provisional mode of government, and overloading the colony instead of improving it. "Besides," they continued, "men of laws and science are too scarce and have too much to do in a new country." However, they wished to be governed, if at all, either by a senate or a council, elected from all parts of the country; they hoped that the members would be influenced by love of doing good, rather than by hope of gain; they desired that unnecessary taxes of whatever kind might be avoided; they suggested that a militia would rather awaken the suspicion of the indians than increase the security of the settlers and also that the country should be considered for the time being free to all settlers, of whatever nationality. "The more laws there are," said the petitioners, "the more opportunities for roguery for those who make a practice of it," and "in a new country, the more men employed and paid by the public, the less remains of industry." [12] The petition was presented, but the copy received by the clerk was unsigned and no action was taken on it. Nevertheless, its results were beneficial in the end. The great increase of population made a better organization desirable, and efforts were made to remove the objectionable features and to draw together the opposing factions.

The Legislature of 1844 took the liberty of destroying the charter from which it derived its own powers, for at the session which convened December 16, it received and acted on a message from the executive committee advising that provision be made for a more permanent constitution, "constructed in such a manner as would best suit the local situation of the country and promote the interests of her citizens, without interfering with the real or pretended rights of the United States or Great Britain, except where the protection of life and property actually require it." It therefore prepared an amended organic law and submitted to the people the question whether there should be a constitutional convention. By a vote of 283 to 190 the voters at the general election, June 3, 1845, rejected the proposal for a convention. The issue, "Old organic law" or "Amended organic law," was voted on at another election held July 25, 1845, and the amended organic law was adopted, 255 to 22.[13] At the election of June 3, 1845, officers as provided for by the amended

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[12] Brown, Political History of Oregon, p. 95. The original petition was in the French language, evidently written by some one more familiar with French than English, and it is surmised that it may have been written by one of the Catholic priests, Langlois, who arrived at Willamette Falls, September 16, 1842.

A photostat reproduction, together with copies in English and in French are to be found in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 338. The originals in English and in French are at the office of the secretary of state at Salem. There were five names signed to the French version, two of the signers being immigrants of 1843. It was generally supposed that this document was prepared and presented in 1843, but recent research has demonstrated the fact that it was prepared in 1844 and was presented to a meeting of March, 1844, although the minutes of that meeting have not been found. (See Robert C. Clark in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 140.)

[13] The act under which the people were permitted to make their choice of organic laws

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act previously passed by the Legislature were chosen. This election was preceded by a convention held at Champoeg, at which A. L. Lovejoy was nominated for governor, but at the election he was defeated, and George Abernethy, steward of the Methodist Mission, who was then absent in the Sandwich Islands, received 228 votes and was elected.[14] Osborne Russell received 130 votes, Dr. W. J. Bailey 75, and Lovejoy, nominee of the convention, 71. John E. Long was elected secretary; Francis Ermatinger, treasurer; S. W. Moss, assessor; Joseph L. Meek, sheriff; J. W. Nesmith, judge, and Marcus Ford, district attorney. Members of the Legislature chosen at this election were: Clackamas District, H. A. G. Lee, W. H. Gray and Hiram Straight; Champoeg District, Robert M. Newell, J. M. Garrison, M. G. Foley and Barton Lee; Tuality District, M. M. McCarver, J. W. Smith and David Hill; Yamhill District, Jesse Applegate and Abijah Hendricks; Clatsop District, John McClure.

It will be noted here that the names of those formerly most active are already disappearing and that there is an infusion of new names from recent settlers. The election of 1845 is noteworthy for several reasons. It introduced Jesse Applegate as a member of the Legislature; and taken in connection with the message of the executive committee in the previous December, in which the phrase, "without interfering with the pretended rights of the United States or Great Britain," had been employed, the election of Francis Ermatinger as treasurer also had considerable significance. Ermatinger was chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company at Willamette Falls. Influences were already at work, under the leadership of Applegate, to obtain support of the Hudson's Bay Company for the new government. A comprehensive political programme, of which this was a feature, was carried to fruition during this year.

Undoubtedly there were advantages to both sides in the proposed arrangement. To the Hudson's Bay Company, it held out a prospect of protection against encroachment on its lands by Americans, it offered a method of collecting debts due the company, and it gave the company a means of bringing back deserting employes. On the other hand, from the American point of view, it meant an additional source of needed revenue, and an avoidance of a conflict of authority for which the provisional government was still not prepared. It also gave opportunity for extension of the limits of Oregon Territory over the region north of the Columbia River, thus giving not only the Hudson's Bay Company itself, but also any Americans who might lo-

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shows the simplicity of government then. It provided "that a true copy of the original organic laws of Oregon, without alteration or amendment, and a copy of said organic laws, revised and amended, be submitted to the people of Oregon at the several precincts herein mentioned, for them to declare which shall in future govern the territory." The next section declared that "it shall be the duty of the recorder to transmit together with the poll books to the several places of voting herein mentioned previously to the day of election, a true copy of the organic laws without and a true copy of the organic laws with amendments, which before the opening of the polls shall be read and explained to the people by one or more of the judges of said election." Section three provided: "The qualified electors so instructed shall proceed to vote viva voce for the instrument to which they give preference and the instrument so voted for receiving the highest number of votes shall henceforth be the supreme law of the land." Mss. of Laws of 1845, Oregon Historical Society. Also Oregon Laws and Acts, 1845, published by N. A. Phemister & Co., N. Y., 1921, at p. 6.

[14] Abernethy acquired the store and stock of goods belonging to the Mission when it disposed of its properties under the direction of Rev. George Gary, and he became a merchant at Oregon City.

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cate north of the river, an opportunity to participate in the government.[15] Overtures to this end were made and conducted by Applegate with the Hudson's Bay Company officials at Fort Vancouver. The latter on their part exacted a number of conditions. The company was to be taxed only on sales made to settlers, thus preserving its established privileges of trade with its own people and with the indians. A district was to be created north of the Columbia River, to be named Vancouver, after the company's principal post. All former rights of trade enjoyed by the company were to be maintained. The oath of office was to be so changed as to make it acceptable to British subjects as well as to American citizens.[16] The Applegate programme was carried out in full by the 1845 legislative body. In a letter written October 13, 1867, Applegate afterward explained that one of the purposes of the agreement, which also guaranteed the Hudson's Bay Company the peaceable possession of its posts and farms, was to leave the land not so occupied by the company open to settlement.[17] Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, sent in that year by the British Government to examine into conditions in Oregon, reported to the British secretary of state for the colonies: "Nor could (if we can express an opinion) a more judicious course have been pursued by all parties for the peace and prosperity of the community at large."[18] Doctor McLoughlin regarded the compact as one merely between the people of two nations living together in a country, free to both, to enable them to maintain peace and order among them, which could not be kept in any other

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[15] The executive committee in its message of December 16, 1844, had carefully asserted the claim of jurisdiction to 54° 40′ north, and had recommended that the northern boundaries of Tualatin and Clatsop counties extend to that limit. (Gray, Hist. of Or., p. 380.)

[16] A committee of the 1845 Legislature addressed a letter to Dr. John McLoughlin, August 14, 1845 (cited by Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. 1, p. 495), asking the direct question: "Do you think the gentlemen belonging to 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?" To this Doctor McLoughlin and James Douglas replied, August 15, 1845: "We * * * beg in reply to say that, 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, consent to become parties to the articles of compact, provided we are called upon to pay taxes only on our sale to settlers." It is also to be noted that McLoughlin recognized the strength of the argument for local self government a long time before this. In a letter, March 20, 1843, speaking of the attitude of Canadians that attended the Wolf Meeting of March 17, 1843, he said they "must admit the strength of the argument used by the Americans that they must, now that the people are coming here from different countries, adopt some plan to keep peace in the country, and while they, the Canadians, are bound, those who come from the states are amenable to no authority." Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 147. (Quoted by Robert C. Clark.)

[17] Applegate letter to Elwood Evans. Mss. in Oregon Historical Library. "This agreement," wrote Applegate, "which they entered into voluntarily, and their act was approved by their Board of Management in London, furnishes, in my opinion, the best argument that can be produced against the enormous claim to indemnity of the H. B. Co. and the P. S. A. Co. under the treaty of 1846. Under this agreement the H. B. Co. recorded, i. e., claimed to be protected in the possession of only nine sections of land at Vancouver, leaving all the rest of the country in that vicinity open to settlement."

[18] Report of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 10, p. 51

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way. "It would not," he added, "interfere with our allegiance. * * * We considered it our duty to accede to the request, and we pay duties merely on the articles we sell to the settlers, as other merchants, and on our stock the same as other farmers."[19] This view, too, was accepted by Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, who in their report to the British secretary of state for the colonies transmitted a copy of the amended oath of allegiance, with the comment: "The gentlemen of the H. B. Company appearing to us anxious that their motives should not be misunderstood in uniting with the Americans for the mutual protection of their property, or that their allegiance to the mother country should not be impugned."[20]

The legislative committee that met June 24, 1845, a month before the election at which the amended organic act was adopted, on motion of Applegate had subscribed to an amended oath, framed in accordance with the project then under consideration, to extend the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government. The oath was: "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, so help me God."[21] At this June session a memorial to Congress was drafted, giving information of the establishment of the Provisional Government, directing attention to the colony's want of protection against hostile indians and to the inadequacy of its revenues to meet an emergency, and praying that the United States establish a territorial government. "And we pray," the memorial said further, "that in the event you deem it inexpedient as a measure, or contrary to the spirit of existing treaties, to establish a territorial government in Oregon, that you extend to us adequate military and naval protection, so as to place us, at least, upon a par with other occupants of our country."[22] A resolution was introduced at this same session by J. M. Garrison of Champoeg to the effect that since the people had on May 2, 1843, resolved that no tax should be levied, no such tax should be provided for without the consent of the people having been first obtained. This resolution was never acted on. The Legislature proceeded to prepare the new organic law, already described, for submission to the people at the proposed election, July 25, 1845, whereupon it adjourned to August 5, and as stated the amended act was adopted at the polls. The Provisional Government was thus firmly established.

The new organic act of 1845 as so adopted more nearly resembled a constitution, and was better suited to the needs of a growing community, than its predecessor, but the compact with the Hudson's Bay officials, entered into for mutual protection, was not permitted to check the national aspirations of Americans in the territory. "We, the people of Oregon Territory," the preamble ran, "for the 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

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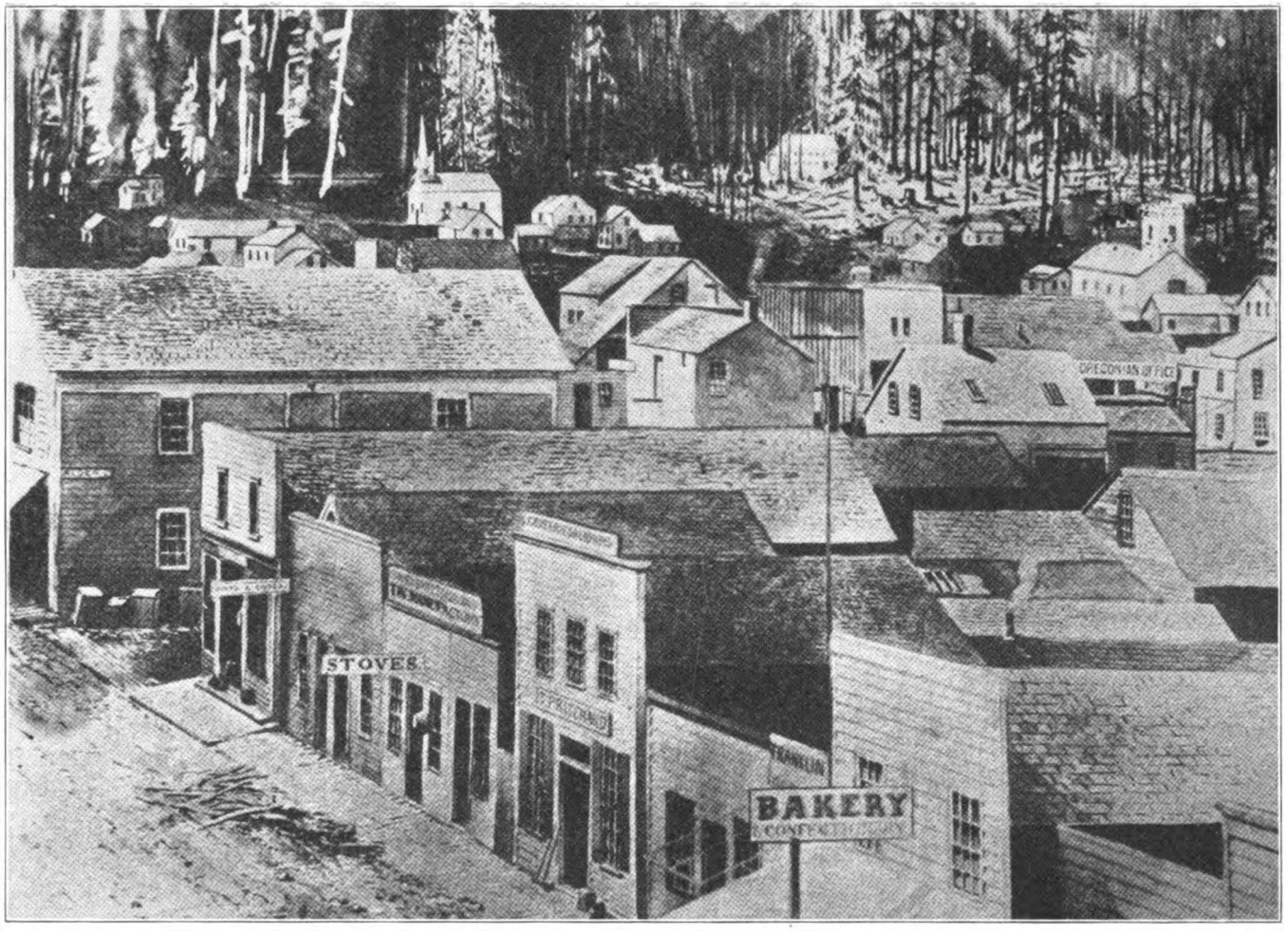
[19] Mss. Oregon Historical Society.

[20] Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 58.

[21] As the organic agreement then in force prescribed a form of oath in which there was no reference to Hudson's Bay Company, Applegate's proposal to substitute the new oath was illegal, but it was a part of the general plan to enlist support from Doctor McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay men.

[22] Oregon Archives, p. 79.

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PORTLAND STREET SCENE, 1854, LOOKING SOUTH FROM WASHINGTON STREET, AND SOUTHWEST ACROSS THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS SECTION OF THE CITY TO THE BUILDING IN THE DISTANCE AT THE CORNER OF JEFFERSON AND SEVENTH

The spire on the left is that of the First Congregational Church. The church to the right was the first church erected in Portland. That was the Methodist Church, built in the fall of 1850, on Taylor Street between Second and Third.

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us." "For the purposes of temporary government," was another significant phrase in the preamble. Religious freedom, the right of habeas corpus, trial by jury and proportionate representation were preserved. The language of the Ordinance of 1787 with respect to education was repeated. Slavery was forever prohibited. The legislative committee, a relic of the formative period of 1843, when the body was in fact a committee designated to prepare a code for submission to the electors, and when it possessed doubtful authority in matters of legislation, now gave place to a house of representatives, the first in Oregon. This was to be composed of not fewer than thirteen nor more than sixty-one members, and no more than five members were to be added in any year. The house was empowered to impeach officers of the territory for malfeasance, to create new districts, and to pass laws to raise revenue, either by levying and collecting taxes or by imposing licenses on mercantile establishments, ferries and other objects, to open roads and canals, and to regulate the intercourse of the people with the indian tribes. The supreme power to declare war, suppress insurrection and repel invasion and to create a militia was expressly bestowed on the house. It was empowered to "regulate" the introduction, manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, and to create a currency.

The executive was vested in a single individual; the judicial power in a supreme court and such inferior courts of law, equity and arbitration as might be established by statute. The oath of allegiance, formally incorporated into the organic act, was the same as that to which the members of the legislative committee, on the motion of Applegate, had subscribed. Article three, pertaining to land claims, reflected the changing circumstances of the community and the growing need of more uniform regulation of metes and bounds. Formerly, when land was plenty and settlers few, there had been lack of method; claimants were now required to conform boundaries as nearly as possible to the cardinal points of the compass and to make permanent improvements within six months of the time of entry, and no individual was permitted to hold more than 640 acres at one time, in square or oblong form. The officers chosen at the general election in June, 1845, were confirmed as the officers of the territory under the new organic law. Amendments might be proposed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the house of representatives and made public and voted on at the polls, after which concurrence of two-thirds of all the members chosen at the general election was required for their enactment.

The legislative committee, having, as already stated, adjourned pending action of the voters on the organic act, met again as a house of representatives at Oregon City, August 5, 1845, and early adopted a resolution proposed by Applegate setting forth that the inhabitants of the territory were not bound by acts not expressly authorized by the organic act, and consequently that no debt should be incurred without a vote of the people. This was protested by a minority as being an unwarranted imputation on the former government, but it was adopted by a vote of eight to four, and the principle of the referendum was thus again endorsed.[23] Another of the legislative activities of this session was the passage of a law against duelling, which arose out of a picturesque occurrence. On the sixth day of the session Applegate rushed

[23] The student will find in these early political institutions several precedents for the Initiative and Referendum.

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into the house, under considerable excitement, and moved that the rules be suspended to allow him to introduce a bill to prohibit duelling. The bill was read once for information and twice by title and ordered forwarded to the executive committee forthwith for approval. Within less than an hour after its introduction it had been signed and returned and had become a law. It then transpired that Dr. Elijah White had engaged in a personal controversy with Samuel M. Holderness, a citizen of peppery temperament, and the latter had declared his intention of calling Doctor White to account on the field of honor.[24] Passage of Applegate's bill forestalled the encounter and augmented Applegate's reputation as peacemaker and compromiser.

The legislative committee also adopted a resolution by Applegate further emphasizing the desire of the people that the protection of the laws of the United States be extended over them. "Adoption of the organic act by the people of Oregon," said the resolution, "was an act of necessity rather than choice, and was intended to give to the people the protection which, of right, should be extended to them by their government; and not as an act of defiance or disregard of the authority or laws of the United States." A copy of the organic law was included with the resolution. Congress was urged, in establishing a territorial government, to legalize the previous acts of the people so far as these might be in accord with the Federal Constitution.

So far as was within their power, the people of the territory already had given the seal of regularity to all the acts of their legislative committees. Looking backward, it is doubtful whether the original organic act adopted by the people in the mass meeting of July 5, 1843, had been intended to authorize legislation by committee; if this act had been retained without the amendment adopted by the voters at the election of July 25, 1845, when the direct question of ratification of previous legislation had been submitted, the effect in all probability would have been to nullify the acts passed by both of the legislative committees in 1844 and 1845. The legislative committee really had had its inception in the meeting at Champoeg, May 2, 1843, when the people delegated to a committee the function, not of legislation, but of preparation of an act for submission to the electors, which was done. It was upon some such theory or argument put forward by Applegate and some others that creation of a legislative committee by the original organic act was questioned, and it was claimed that the original organic act was designed not to confer continuing legislative powers upon this body, but only to create an instrumentality through which other laws, if deemed requisite, might be framed for final approval or rejection by the people who had affirmed the organic act itself. In adopting the amended law in 1845, however, the people of the territory now

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[24] Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 169. The author adds that Doctor White "had implored Mr. Applegate to introduce and rush the bill through, which purpose was accomplished to his great relief, as he was not celebrated for his courage." The act is entitled, "An Act to adopt the Law of Iowa Territory in regard to Duelling." (Or. Laws, Mss., August, 1845, p. 11.) Two years after this episode the following broadside was posted, headed by the title "To the World," and addressed to J. Quinn Thornton: "Having resorted to low, cowardly and dishonorable means for the purpose of injuring my character and standing, and having refused honorable satisfaction, which I have demanded, I avail myself of the opportunity of publishing him to the world as a reclaimless liar, an infamous scoundrel, a blackhearted villain, an arrant coward, a worthless vagabond, and an imported miscreant; a disgrace to the profession and a dishonor to his country." This was signed by James W. Nesmith.

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ratified the acts of the legislative committee which framed it, and the regularity of all laws previously enacted was thus confirmed.[25] A new district, called Vancouver District, was created by an act passed August 18, 1845, and approved by Governor Abernethy two days later, and this was in accordance with the understanding by which the Hudson's Bay officers acquiesced in the new government.[26]

A brush between the legislative committee and Dr. Elijah White enlivened the annals of the August session of the Legislature of 1845. The doctor, who was on the eve of returning East, was requested to convey to Congress a copy of the memorial, signed by the members of the committee, but the motion was afterward amended to omit the requirement for signature. Dr. Robert Newell also introduced a memorial asking Congress to reimburse Doctor White for expenses he had incurred in prosecuting his work as indian agent. It occurring later to some of the members that they had been too generous in indorsing Doctor White, a resolution by Applegate was adopted in which it was set forth 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 the territory." Speaker McCarver had signed the resolutions, notwithstanding the committee's resolution to omit signatures, and was ordered to take a leave of absence for the purpose of following Doctor White to Vancouver and "erasing his name from the said documents, to-wit: the organic law and the two resolutions in favor of Dr. White." Doctor White, however, refused to surrender the documents for the purpose and replied in a sardonic vein. "Being on my way," he wrote, "and having but a moment to reflect, I have been at a loss which of your two resolutions most to respect or which to obey, but at length I 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."

Doctor White then proceeded overland to Washington. But the legislative committee, not to be outwitted, ordered that the secretary prepare copies of the correspondence, together with affidavits charging Doctor White with having destroyed certain private documents. These were committed to Capt. J. H. Couch, who was about to sail for Honolulu, and were handed by Couch to the American consul there for transmission to Washington. They were in the possession of President Polk before Doctor White arrived at the capital.

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[25] Applegate Mss. letter in Oregon Historical Society: "The legislature of 1845 was not a 'creation of the government of 1843.' The legislature of 1844 was, but it * * * abolished the executive committee and made a legislature of I do not remember how many members in its place. It did many other new and unheard of things in legislation without consulting the people, and the people were indignant thereat. The people had no help for it but to hold an election under its laws, but all the rest of its acts were silently consigned to oblivion. The legislature of 1845 made haste to resurrect from the rubbish thrown over these the organic laws of 1843, and also to frame an amended organic law, and submit both documents to the people." The "Statute Laws of the Territory of Iowa enacted by the first session of the Legislative Assembly of that Territory" were adopted so far as applicable to the condition of the country and "in all cases not otherwise provided for by the acts of the People or the House of Representatives of this Territory" were again adopted at this session, making the third time. Mss. Laws in Oregon Historical Society Library; also Oregon Acts and Laws, 1845, p. 16.

[26] Mss. Laws, August, 1845, in the possession of Oregon Historical Society.

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At this session of August, 1845, an act to incorporate the Multnomah circulating library at Oregon City was adopted, "a very good circulating library," as J. W. Nesmith called it in one of his letters. The Wahoni Milling Company and the Columbia Transporting Company were also created, and these three were the first Oregon corporations.

The legislative committee at the 1845 session also attempted to meet the need of the territory for a medium of exchange by passing an act including in the list of lawful tender available orders, wheat, hides, tallow, beef, pork, butter, lard, peas, lumber or other articles of export of the territory. It also adopted a resolution declaring that "one of the principal objects contemplated in the formation of this government, was the promotion and prosperity of peace and happiness among ourselves, and friendly relations which have, and ever ought to exist between the United States and Great Britain; and any measure of this house calculated to defeat the same is in direct violation of the true intention for which it was formed." The committee then adjourned, August 20, 1845, closing another episode in the period of provisional government of Oregon. Summarizing its accomplishments, it will be seen that the government was now functioning under a fundamental act adopted by the people themselves, that amendments of the act were also the work of the people, that the executive committee had been supplanted by a governor and that governor elected by the people, while an oath of allegiance peculiar to the exigencies of the situation of the colonists had been adopted. Opposing interests had been reconciled. Property was secure and official machinery was running with little friction. Contracts were being enforced and debts collected with moderation.

The immigration of 1845 was the largest that had crossed the plains. Bringing almost three thousand new settlers to the territory, it doubled its population, and added to its perplexities, because while the newcomers were in the larger part home builders in intent, they arrived late in the year and few brought with them the means of subsistence while they were establishing themselves. In these circumstances the provisional legislature, no longer a legislative committee, found it expedient when it met December 2, 1845, to modify the law for the collection of debts, allowing numerous exemptions from sale under execution, and providing that no property should be sold for less than two-thirds of its actual value.[27] There was, too, a notable lack of money in the country. Primitive methods of barter and exchange prevailed. The line of division between old and new settlers became more marked. This distinction has been well described by one of the comparatively old settlers of two years before. "At any public gathering it was easy to distinguish the new from the old settlers. * * * They were dressed in broadcloth, and wore linen bosomed shirts and black cravats, while we wore very coarse, patched clothes; for the art of patching was understood to perfection in Oregon. But while they dressed better than we did, we fed better than they. Of the two, we were rather the more independent. They wanted our provisions, while we wanted their materials for clothing. They, seeing our ragged condition, concluded that if they parted with their jeans, satinets, cottons and calicoes,

[27] Applegate wrote that he still believed laws for the collection of debts, where no fraud is alleged, are injurious, and at a future day will be abolished in all civilized communities; but there were special reasons why they should not be enforced by provisional government. (Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 533.)

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they would soon be as destitute as we were; and therefore they desired to purchase our provisions on credit and keep their materials for future use. This did not suit us precisely. We reasoned in this way: that, if they wished to place themselves in our ruddy condition, they should incur the risk of passing into our ragged state—they should take the good and the bad together. We therefore insisted upon an exchange."[28] The Legislature in consequence passed an act regulating the currency, by which it made gold, silver, treasury drafts, approved orders on solvent merchants and good merchantable wheat, delivered at places where people were accustomed to receive wheat, a lawful tender for taxes and judgments rendered in the courts of the territory.

Governor Abernethy recommended in his message to the Legislature in December, 1845, that a militia be organized, a standard of weights and measures enacted and surveys made for a new road into the Willamette Valley. Even then the Willamette Valley was practically the only settled district. Only one settler lived on the bank of the Columbia from the Willamette to Astoria. The Legislature received several applications for authority to build toll roads, among them one from Samuel K. Barlow, who had successfully led a company of immigrants in 1845 to the Willamette Valley by way of Mount Hood. The work was so far along by August, 1846, that the road was available for the immigration of that year. The governor recommended that steps be taken to establish a seat of government, but for a while longer the Legislature continued to move from house to house as the requirements of occasion made necessary. The governor, however, was authorized to receive sealed proposals for donations to aid in the erection of public buildings. The Legislature also passed a prohibitory liquor law, which was vetoed by the governor. The revenue bill, passed under authority of the new organic act, levied a tax of one-fourth of one per cent for territorial needs; local taxes were left to be fixed by the county courts with the restriction that they should not exceed the territorial tax, with a poll tax of fifty cents on every qualified voter under the age of sixty years. Licenses for merchants, auctioneers and ferries, and fees for recording certain legal instruments were fixed. Taxable property was defined as consisting of town lots and improvements, mills, carriages, clocks and watches, horses, cattle, mules, sheep and hogs.

A post office department was created by legislative act and William G. T'Vault, editor of the Oregon Spectator, the first newspaper published west of the Rocky Mountains, became postmaster-general. The Spectator was an outgrowth of the Oregon Lyceum, the debating society which had played an important role in early efforts to organize a government.[29] On February 5, 1846, in the first issue of the Spectator, T'Vault advertised for bids for carrying of mails once in two weeks on two routes. The first, from Oregon City to Fort Vancouver, was all by water. The second, all traveled by a carrier on horseback, lay from Oregon City to Hill's, in Tuality County, thence to A. J. Hembree's in Yamhill County, thence to Nathaniel Ford's place in Polk County, to Oregon Institute, Champoeg County, and to the Catholic Mission and Champoeg, the carrier completing his circuit by returning to Oregon City.

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[28] Peter H. Burnett, Recollections of an Old Pioneer, pp. 179-80.

[29] The directors of the Oregon Printing Association, which brought out the Spectator, adopted the rule "that the press should never be used by any party for the purpose of propagating sectarian principles or doctrines, nor for the discussion of exclusive party politics." Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 109.

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T'Vault entered into a contract with Hugh Burns to carry mail from Oregon City to Western Missouri, the postage rate being 50 cents per letter, of which Burns was to receive one-fourth. The postal system was a failure, however, owing to lack of revenue.

In the election of members of the Legislature in 1846 the districts north of the Columbia River were represented for the first time. The members chosen were: Champoeg, Angus McDonald, A. Chamberlain, Dr. Robert Newell and Jesse Looney; Clackamas, Hiram Straight, A. L. Lovejoy and W. G. T'Vault; Clatsop, George Somers; Lewis, Dr. W. F. Tolmie; Polk, J. E. Williams and John D. Boone; Tuality, Joseph L. Meek, D. H. Lownsdale and Lawrence Hall; Vancouver, Henry N. Peers; Yamhill, Thomas Jeffreys and Absalom J. Hembree. Tolmie and Peers represented the Hudson's Bay interests, Tolmie being in charge of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's operations on Nisqually.

The Legislature, which met on December 1, 1846, was unaware that the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, fixing the forty-ninth parallel as the northern boundary of the United States, had been signed on June 15, preceding, but Governor Abernethy in his message made note of the year's formal notice previously given of the Government's intention to withdraw from the treaty of joint occupancy. Believing, he said, that the boundary question had been settled, he left to the Legislature the question whether it should adjourn, after transacting only such business as was of most pressing importance. He recommended revision of the liquor law, however, objecting that the power to regulate granted by the amended organic law did not include power to prohibit, and also that the provision that fines should be divided between the informer, the witnesses and the officials made the judges and witnesses interested partners in each case.[30] He recommended that "but one person, and that person a physician, be authorized to import or manufacture a sufficient quantity to supply the wants of the community for medicinal purposes." The Legislature responded by enacting a license law, which the governor returned unsigned with a message in which he urged submission of the question to the voters. "If the people say 'No liquor,'" wrote Governor Abernethy, "continue to prohibit; if they say, through the ballot box, 'We wish liquor,' then let it come free, the same as dry goods, or any article imported or manufactured; but until the people say they want it, I hope you will use your influence to keep it out of the territory." The Legislature passed the bill over the veto, by a vote of eleven to five.

By 1847 it had become known that the boundary controversy had been adjusted and that Oregon to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude was part of the United States. News of the signing of the treaty had traveled to Vera Cruz, thence across Mexico to Mazatlan, by approximately the route taken by Hall J. Kelley in 1833-4 and by W. A. Slacum in 1837. Thence it

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[30] The governor discussed the history of liquor legislation in the colony at some length. "We have, as a community," he said, "taken a high stand in the cause of temperance; among our earliest efforts may be found the abolishing of ardent spirits from our land, and to this, in a great measure, may be attributed our peace and prosperity. No new country can be pointed out where so much harmony prevailed in its first settlement as in this: laws, we had none, yet all things went on quietly and prosperously. I have no doubt if ardent spirits are kept within their proper bounds, we shall continue prosperous." Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 230.

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had been conveyed by the bark Fawn to the Sandwich Islands and from there had reached Oregon by the bark Toulon. There was nevertheless much uncertainty concerning territorial organization. Lively opposition to Governor Abernethy had grown out of political hostility to the missionary influence. A. L. Lovejoy was the non-sectarian candidate in the campaign this year. Considerable acrimony was developed in the canvass, however, one result of which was that Lovejoy failed to receive all of the non-mission votes, so that Abernethy was reelected, receiving 536 votes to 520 for Lovejoy. There was unusual political activity this year. The territory was now generally prosperous and, having had a taste of self-government, was unwilling to surrender any of its prerogatives. Rumors that President Polk would appoint an entire list of non-resident territorial officials had gained currency. The propriety of sending a delegate at once to Washington was widely discussed. It was desired that the Federal Government, having taken the colony under its protective wing, should proceed at once to foster the building of a railroad across the Rocky Mountains. The land question was much alive. Settlers who had located claims were concerned with having them recognized in accordance with established boundaries, rather than by new section lines and subdivisions. The first wagon train of the year to reach The Dalles arrived in August, 1847, and a large influx of settlers was expected.

Besides Governor Abernethy, the officers elected by the people this year were: Secretary, Frederick Prigg; recorder, Theophilus Magruder; postmaster-general, William G. T'Vault. The Legislature, still a single body, but grown to a membership of eighteen, consisted of the following: Champoeg County, W. H. Rector, W. H. Reese, A. Chamberlain, Anderson Cox and Dr. Robert Newell; Polk, J. W. Nesmith and M. A. Ford; Clackamas, Medorem Crawford, J. M. Wair and S. S. White; Yamhill, A. J. Hembree and L. Rogers; Tuality, R. Wilcox, David Hill and J. L. Meek; Clatsop, J. Robinson; Lewis, S. Plamondeau; Vancouver, H. W. Peers.

The preponderating event of this year and the one following was the Cayuse war. News of the Whitman massacre was received December 8, the day that the Legislature convened, and absorbed the interest of the colony. A company of riflemen was authorized by the Legislature immediately, but the government was without funds to equip it. In this emergency a loan commission, consisting of Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy and G. L. Curry, was appointed and addressed a letter to James Douglas, the chief factor at Fort Vancouver, inquiring what advances of funds they might expect, in view of the temporary nature of the Provisional Government. Douglas replied that his orders positively forbade him to grant loans for any purpose, but called attention to the force which had been equipped at the company's expense and sent, under the leadership of Peter Skene Ogden, to Walla Walla if possible to effect the rescue of the survivors of the massacre. The committee solved its part of the problem by giving personal notes for a total of $999.41, signed by Applegate, Lovejoy and Governor Abernethy, in payment for supplies. Other equipment for the troops was obtained on notes aggregating $1,800 given by Daniel Waldo and Joel Palmer, and all the notes were paid at maturity with money furnished by Waldo. Other donations were made by settlers, and by the Methodist Mission. Thus the Provisional Government, a year and a half after the signing of the boundary treaty, was compelled to rely on the generosity of a few private citizens to finance a military campaign. A rumor that the settlers contemplated making

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a forced levy on the Hudson's Bay establishment at Fort Vancouver caused James Douglas to dispatch a letter of inquiry to Governor Abernethy, who replied denying that this was intended, but noting that Ogden in his passage up the Columbia to rescue the Whitman survivors had paid the indians at the portages in powder and ball, in violation of an act of a previous Legislature making it unlawful to supply indians with munitions. Douglas replied, defending Ogden,[31] and contending that the law was ill-advised, since friendly indians, having emerged from the bow and arrow era, required ammunition for hunting, to prevent starvation. Ogden's counsel so far prevailed that the law was afterward repealed.

The Legislature sent a commission to treat with the Yakima chiefs, in an effort to obtain their promise not to unite with the Cayuses, and also to confer with the Deschutes indians for the same purpose. A local movement was started to send a delegation to the Mormon colony in Utah with an appeal for aid, but this was frowned on by Governor Abernethy. Meanwhile Joseph L. Meek was sent as a messenger to Washington with a memorial to Congress and a party of ten men was dispatched to California under the leadership of Jesse Applegate on a similar errand. Meek made his way overland by way of Fort Hall and reached his destination, but Applegate's party failed on account of the deep snows of the Siskiyous. The memorial carried by Meek explained the situation of the territory with respect to the indians, and its weakness as being "deficient in the grand essentials of war, such as men, arms and treasure." "For them," said the memorialists, "our sole reliance is the United States; we have the right to expect your aid and you are in justice bound to extend it."[32] Governor Abernethy had privately dispatched J. Quinn Thornton as a delegate to Washington in the preceding autumn, and Thornton, traveling by way of the Sandwich Islands, in due time reached the national capital, where, although without official standing, he was influential in guiding legislation for the government of the new territory.

The year 1848 was one of indian wars. A noteworthy political occurrence was submission to the people of the issue of "regulation" or "prohibition" of intoxicating liquors. At the same time there was also submitted to popular vote the question whether the county clerk of each county, instead of the secretary of the territory, should act as recorder of land claims. At the election

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[31] "When we consider the object of Mr. Ogden's journey to Walla Walla, and that the lives of sixty or seventy fellow creatures were dependent on the celerity of his movements," wrote Douglas, "it cannot be supposed that he would allow any minor consideration to weigh one moment in his mind against the great object of their preservation." Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 340. Governor Abernethy replied expressing satisfaction with Mr. Douglas' explanation, and both letters were published in the Oregon Spectator in order to allay local resentment, which was threatening until the reasons for Ogden's act of diplomacy were better understood.

[32] The memorialists also declared their position with reference to appointments to territorial offices. "As pioneers of the American population in the country," they said, "the present citizens have strong claims upon the patronage of the general government, and * * * it would be gratifying to have them filled by our fellow citizens; but as few of them of an equally deserving number can enjoy this mark of the approbation of our parent republic, and in view of your difficult situation, it is the opinion of your memorialists that it will be better for the future prosperity of our country, and the great mass of the people will concur with them in requesting that the important and responsible offices created here, such as the office of governor and the several judgeships, should be filled with men of the best talent and most approved integrity without regard to their present location."

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June 12, 1848, prohibition was carried by a vote of 700 to 683, a majority of 17, and the county clerk was made recorder of land claims by a large majority.[33]

An election of general officers was also held in 1848, but an exodus to the newly discovered California gold mines had set in and the territory was being rapidly depopulated, several members of the legislature joining in the rush. Vacancies were filled by special election. The officers elected were: Governor, George Abernethy; secretary of the territory, Samuel M. Holderness; treasurer, John H. Couch; auditor of public accounts, G. W. Bell; attorney-general, A. L. Lovejoy; territorial auditor, Theophilus Magruder; judge of the supreme court, J. Quinn Thornton; marshal, H. M. Knighton. The members of the last provisional legislature, who convened February 5, 1849, were: Benton County, J. C. Avery; Champoeg, W. J. Bailey, Samuel Parker, William Portius; Clackamas, George L. Curry, Medorem Crawford, A. F. Hedges; Clatsop, John Hobson; Linn, H. J. Peterson, Anderson Cox; Polk, Jesse Applegate; Tuality, Ralph Wilcox, David Hill, S. R. Thurston; Yamhill, A. J. Hembree, L. A. Rice, W. J. Martin; Vancouver, A. L. Lewis. Adjustment of the expenses of the Cayuse war, through an act to authorize the amounts due and to issue scrip as evidence of an obligation which it was confidently expected the Federal Government would assume, was one of the chief subjects coming before this session of the Legislature. Another was an act to provide for a coinage. Whereas a few years before the inhabitants had been embarrassed by total absence of a circulating medium, they now discovered themselves gravely handicapped by want of a standard for the gold which was pouring into the territory from California. Holders of this uncoined metal suffered constant loss by abrasion; precision of division was practically impossible. In less than two years, according to some estimates, gold of the value of at least $2,000,000 had reached Oregon. The coinage act passed February 16, 1849, allowed $16.50 an ounce for gold of virgin purity and fineness, without alloy, and provided for the establishment of a mint, for the coinage of five and ten-pennyweight pieces. The mint so authorized was never operated by the provisional government, as but two weeks after passage of the bill, Gen. Joseph Lane, who had been appointed territorial governor by President Polk, arrived and the period of provisional government came to an end. But the local need of the community for coins to avoid the inconvenience of using gold dust was supplied in some measure by private enterprise. The Oregon Exchange Company issued some coins of pure gold of five and ten-dollar denominations. They bore on the obverse side the figure of a beaver, above which were the letters "K. M. T. A. W. R. C. S.," and below was "O. T. 1849." On the reverse side was "Oregon Exchange Company. 130 Grains Native Gold, 5 D." or "10 pwts., 20 grains, 10 D." The initial letters are said to have been those of men who composed the company, Kilbourn, Magruder, Taylor, Abernethy, Wilson, Rector, Campbell and Smith. The dies for these coins were made by Hamilton Campbell and the press and rolling machinery by William Rector. The coins contained about eight per cent more gold than like denominations of United States money and quickly disappeared from general circulation when national money became more

[33] The vote on the liquor issue by counties was as follows: To regulate—Clatsop 93, Polk 64, Linn 93, Tualatin 119, Yamhill 134, Clackamas 28, Vancouver 22, Champoeg 130; total, 683. To prohibit—Clatsop 14, Polk 34, Linn 14, Tualatin 95, Yamhill 54, Clackamas, 223, Vancouver 27, Champoeg 239; total, 700. Brown's Political History of Oregon, p. 461.

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common in Oregon, but they served a purpose for a time, and in workmanship were a credit to the designers.[34] The issuance of such money may have been in violation of the federal constitution and laws, but no one was prosecuted. As was said by Judge Matthew P. Deady in deciding the case of Lownsdale vs. City of Portland, in 1861, in language that was afterwards quoted with approval by the Supreme Court of the United States:[35] "It is well known that at the time of the organization of Oregon Territory, an anomalous state of things existed here. The country was extensively settled and the people were living under an independent government established by themselves. They were a community in the full sense of the word, engaged in agriculture, trade, commerce and mechanic arts; had built towns, opened and improved farms, established highways, passed revenue laws and collected taxes, made war and concluded peace." These were the acts of a fully organized government, a government arising from necessity, but distinctly dependent upon the will of the governed.

The supreme court of the territory, after the provisional government had been superseded by the new organization pursuant to act of Congress, expressed the same view and said:[36] "Confessedly the provisional government of this territory was a government de facto, and if it be admitted that governments derive their 'just powers from the consent of the governed,' then it was a government de jure. Emigrants who first settled Oregon, upon their arrival here, were without any political organization to protect themselves from foes without or to preserve peace within; and therefore self-preservation constrained them to establish a system of self-government. Congress, knowing their necessities and withholding the customary provisions for such a case, tacitly acquiesced in the action of the people, and on the fourteenth of August, 1848, expressly recognized its correctness and validity. No reason can be imagined for holding that the people of Oregon, in 1844, had no right to make such laws as their wants required; for where the functions of government have not been assumed or recognized by any other competent authority, it cannot be denied that such a power is inherent in the inhabitants of any country isolated and separated as Oregon was from all other communities of civilized men. Some effort has been made to assimilate the laws in question to mere neighborhood agreements, but the argument seems to apply with equal force to the acts of all governments established by the people."



BEAVER-MONEY.

[34] For references to various articles in the Oregonian as to the beaver coinage, see Leslie M. Scott, in The History of the Oregon Country, Vol. I, p. 308.

[35] Stark v. Starrs, 6 Wall., U. S., p. 402.

[36] Baldro vs. Tolmie, 1 Or. Rep. 178.

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CHAPTER XXX

OFFICIAL VISITORS AND EARLY PATHFINDERS

The period following the establishment of the missionaries was one both of exploration and settlement, of gradual transformation of the ideals of those who had come to Oregon to labor among the natives and to improve their condition. The change was gradual at first, for it will be borne in mind that relatively little was known concerning Oregon in the more thickly settled East. The total population, aside from the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, was estimated by Rev. Jason Lee at the beginning of 1839 at slightly more than 100.[1] A few more or less, it did not matter, since although they were virtually isolated, they were able to sustain themselves. Their principal connection with the world was through trading vessels occasionally entering the Columbia River, that trafficked with the indians, perhaps took on a miscellaneous cargo of the products of the country, and went their way. However, by degrees these ventures in commerce began to exercise a new influence by creating desire and thus stimulating ambition, and by giving promise of an outlet for surplus natural commodities. Fully forty vessels visited the Northwest during the decade following 1830, and these afforded a means of contact, tenuous though it was, with the outside world.

As early as 1836, when Lieut. William A. Slacum visited the country, agriculture held out a promise of prosperity to the few independent settlers then living in the Willamette Valley. Slacum estimated that a large cargo of wheat, 5,500 bushels, could then have been procured from these settlers and that it would have found a good market in the Hawaiian Islands, the Russian settlements, or in Peru. He regarded the Willamette Valley as the finest grazing country in the world.

A memorable and picturesque event in this early period was the arrival in April, 1829, of the brig Owyhee, Captain Dominis, the first independent trading vessel to enter the Columbia River since 1814. The Owyhee was New England-built and Boston-owned, and her master, being a prudent sailor, declined to

[1] Lee wrote to Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, January 17, 1839: "In the Oregon Mission, of all ages, we have 25 persons; we are about to reinforce the mission with, say, 45 more; attached to the mission of the American Board, 16; settlers going out from the western states in the spring, missionaries and others, say, 20; in addition there are a number of men in the country, settled as farmers, most of them married to indian women, most of them with grown children, say, 45; in all, 157." (Mss. Or. Hist. Society.) Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, of the British navy, who visited the territory in the British ship Sulphur, the summer of 1839, made the following estimate of the population then in the Willamette Valley: "The Willamette settlement was commenced in 1830 by a few of the Hudson's Bay Company's retired servants, which has increased up to the present period to fifty-four souls and fifty-four farms. It includes: 24 Canadians, Hudson's Bay Company; 20 American stragglers from California; 10 clergymen, teamsters, etc., American Methodist Mission. There are also four other missionary stations—Dalles, Wallah Wallah, Clearwater, Spokane." (Narrative of a Voyage Around the World, Vol. II, p. 301.)

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risk his vessel at the entrance of the river until he had first carefully taken soundings and planted buoys to mark the channel. The survey occupied two weeks, the buoys being made of cordwood, anchored with twisted cordage made by raveling condemned cables and twisting them into spun yarn.[2] The Owyhee had stopped on the way out at Juan Fernandez Island, where peach trees were taken on board, and these were afterward planted in Oregon. After entering the Columbia, she remained in the vicinity of Deer Island all summer, passed the winter near Scappoose and then returned to Deer Island, again trading with the natives there. Thus she finally obtained a cargo valued at $96,000. Captain Dominis during his stay put up some fifty hogsheads of salmon, the first shipped from the Pacific coast, which sold in Boston at 10 cents a pound, then regarded as excellent price for prime fish.

Captain Dominis was blamed by the indians for an epidemic which during the winter of his stay seized the natives and exterminated whole villages. Beginning as an intermittent fever, it rapidly became intensely malignant, and is said to have spread to the tribes as far south as San Francisco. The mortality rate was heightened by the ignorance of the natives of even the most rudimentary laws of hygiene and probably by that susceptibility of primitive races to imported epidemics which scientists now recognize but are still at a loss to explain. It has been estimated that 30,000 deaths were caused by the disease, which became worse, instead of abating, in 1831 and 1832. The indians, remembering how McDougal, Astor's factor, some twenty years before had threatened to uncork a bottle that he told them contained a small-pox plague, were now convinced that Dominis had made good this threat by emptying a phial of "bad medicine" into the river with the purpose of destroying them. The Boston men were charged with bringing the disease, and the Owyhee's crew were saved from rough handling by the indians only through the influence of Doctor McLoughlin. All efforts to check the spread of the epidemic were futile. It continued, apparently, until it had run its course, after the manner of epidemics, and it raged long after Dominis had left the Columbia River, never to return.

In 1833 a Japanese junk was wrecked at a point about fifteen miles south of Cape Flattery, and but three out of the crew of seventeen were saved. These were brought to Fort Vancouver during the following year on the Llama, Captain McNeil, and were kindly treated there. They were sent home by way of England.[3] There was an addition, soon after this, to the Hudson's Bay Company trading fleet, of the steamer Beaver, the first steam vessel on the waters of the Pacific Ocean, and destined to play a romantic part in the marine annals of the coast. Steam engineering was still in the experimental stage, so that the Beaver's achievements are noteworthy in more ways than one. She was built in 1835, on the Thames, in England, and her launching was regarded as so important that it was attended by King William in person and by a vast throng of spectators.[4] So stoutly built was she that she saw fifty-two years of

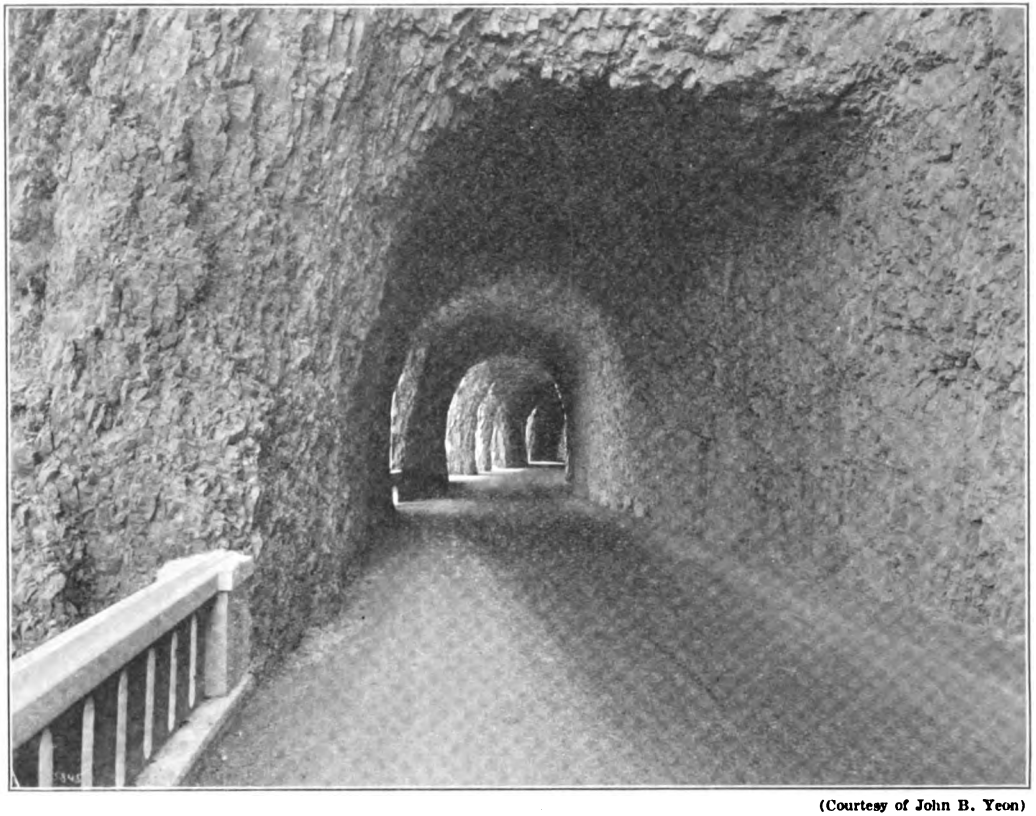
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[2] Frances Fuller Victor, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, p. 38. Lieut. Slacum's reference in his report to the Owyhee and Captain Dominis is in Chapter XXV, supra.

[3] Journal of an Exploring Tour, Rev. Samuel Parker, Ed. of 1842, p. 163.

[4] "According to accounts published in several newspapers, it appears that King William IV, then on the throne, together with several members of the royal family, attended the launching, while a lady, bearing the title of 'Duchess,' performed the christening ceremony. But there must have been another christening going on behind some of the piles

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(Courtesy of John B. Yeon)

MITCHELL POINT TUNNEL ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER HIGHWAY IN HOOD RIVER COUNTY

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service before she was wrecked at last at the entrance of Vancouver Harbor in July, 1888, and so well was she designed for her task that, although sent to the Pacific coast under canvas, rigged as a brig, she outsailed her consort on the voyage from England to Oregon, making the passage in 163 days around Cape Horn. She arrived in the Columbia early in the spring of 1836, was then fitted with the paddle wheels which she had brought along, and June 14 made her first trial trip,—an excursion from Fort Vancouver to the Willamette River and return. Among her passengers on this occasion was Rev. Samuel Parker, advance agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who also traveled on the vessel to Fort George, June 18 following, where he transferred to another ship for the Hawaiian Islands. The Beaver then went north for trade with the Hudson's Bay stations and the natives on the upper northwest coast. It was while on board the Beaver, and as she was about to undertake the first venture ever made upon the Pacific Ocean under the power of steam, that Rev. Mr. Parker was moved to "a train of prospective reflections upon the probable changes which would take place in these remote regions in a very few years,"[5] and it was while contemplating the Beaver's exit from the Columbia River that he observed: "Perhaps there have been more lives lost here, in proportion to the number of those who have entered this river, than in entering almost any other harbor in the world. But the calamities have been less frequent for some years past than formerly, and should a steamboat be stationed at the cape, to tow vessels over, when business shall be sufficiently multiplied to warrant the expense, the delays and dangers would be greatly diminished."[6]

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of timber about that same time, or else the reporter got too near the bottle, and thereby had his sight affected by the fumes from the vintage as it broke over the little vessel's prow, for he goes on to say that 160,000 of the king's loyal subjects graced the occasion. This seems to me like too many people, and I am of the opinion that this portion of these accounts is very much exaggerated."—Charles W. McCain, History of the SS. "Beaver," Vancouver, B. C., 1894, p. 17.

[5] Journal of an Exploring Tour, pp. 310-11.

[6] Id., p. 157. A tragedy of the Columbia River Bar before this time was the wreck of the bark William and Ann in February, 1828, when that vessel went ashore a little distance inside the bar and her crew of twenty-six were lost. She was accompanied by the American schooner Convoy, which made the passage in safety but was unable to render effectual aid. The crew were never afterward seen. Bancroft says (History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 41, note), that the crew gained the shore wet and defenseless, but were all massacred by the Clatsop indians. This is not supported by any credible testimony. There is no evidence (Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 14,) that the crew were murdered by the indians. There is no doubt, however, that the indians looted the bark of her cargo, or that the Hudson's Bay Company sent a punitive expedition after them, which shelled their village with a cannon, killed a chief and two men, compelled them to surrender some of the stolen property and taught them a lesson which they did not soon forget. This incident is referred to in Chapter XXII, supra.

Lieut. William A. Slacum in 1837 made a survey of the entrance of the river, and wrote a set of sailing directions which he assured his superior officers could be relied on, and at the same time pointed out "the great facility and the advantages that would result from a thorough cut of not more than three-quarters of a mile through the lowest point of the cape Disappointment, from Baker's bay to the ocean." This, he said, would result in the creation of a deep and safe channel by tidal action. (Slacum's Report on Oregon, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, p. 199.) This seems to have been the first proposal for the improvement of conditions of navigation at the mouth of the Columbia.

The history of the removal of the obstruction to navigation belongs to the modern period of Oregon's history, but for the sake of continuity, and also because as an achievement it

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About this time, the schooner Star of Oregon was built on the Willamette River by a company of eight young men, led by Joseph Gale, who had come from California with Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young. The party included Felix Hathaway, a ship carpenter, Henry Wood, who had come with Ewing Young's first cattle expedition, and R. L. Kilbourne, an emigrant from Illinois in 1839. The Star of Oregon was launched May 19, 1841, and obtained cordage and other indispensables from Lieut. Charles Wilkes, of the United States navy, then in the country on an exploring expedition, who also issued to Gale an informal license as a navigator, Doctor McLoughlin having withheld aid on the ground that the builders were inexperienced men and that it would be suicide for them to venture to sea in a craft so rudely built.[7] Gale, who afterward became a member of the first executive committee of the provisional government, here proved his capacity for leadership, however, and the vessel made a safe passage to Yerba Buena, as San Francisco was then called, was there sold and the proceeds were expended for cattle, which were driven overland from California, contributing, with the increase from the cattle venture organized in 1837 by Ewing Young, to the breaking of the cattle monopoly in Oregon.

The brig Maryland, commanded by Capt. J. H. Couch, who was afterward a prominent figure in the marine affairs of the territory, was also among the arrivals of 1841. The few settlers in the Willamette Valley were now glad of an opportunity to find an outside market for their produce. The Hudson's Bay Company, which had heretofore bought grain and other provisions from the people as a means of filling its contracts with the trading stations of Russian-America, was beginning to produce quantities sufficient for its requirements on its own plantations. A typical outbound cargo consisted of "lumber, flour, salmon, beef, potatoes, butter, cheese, cranberries, turnips, cabbage and onions and also a small invoice of almanacs adapted to the meridian of Monterey.[8] Casualties at the mouth of the river also became less frequent as sea-captains became more familiar with its changing shoals, and an important incident in the development of commerce was the passage, by the provisional legislature in 1846, of a pilotage law, under which S. C. Reeves was licensed as

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is not without its aspect of romance, it may appropriately be set forth briefly here. The first survey, made by Vancouver in 1792, and others in 1837, 1841, 1850 and 1852, showed a minimum depth for the channel proper at low tide of 27 feet, which deteriorated steadily, however, until 1882, when there was a depth of but 19 feet at low water. Engineers in 1882 submitted a plan for a permanent improvement, Congress made an initial appropriation in 1884, and work was begun in 1885. The first project was for a jetty at the south side, extending across Clatsop spit, a distance of four and one-half miles, which was completed in 1895. The effect of this, however, was but to alter the position of the obstruction, the channel depth in 1902 having been reduced to 21 feet. The third and most important period in the history of the improvement of the mouth of the Columbia River began in 1903, when a new plan was adopted by which the south jetty was extended an additional two and one-half miles and a jetty two and a half miles long on the north side, extending across Peacock spit, was constructed. As a result the bar was removed by aid of the natural force of the river current. (History of the Mouth of the Columbia River, by G. B. Hegardt, engineer of public docks, 1913, passim.) A survey made in 1921 showed a minimum depth of forty-three feet for a width of more than a mile where the bar formerly stood. A forty-two foot channel then existed for an additional 6,400 feet across the mouth of the river. The channel had then deepened by about three feet since the survey of 1920. (Summary of report of Maj. Richard Park, engineer in charge of Portland District, in Portland Oregonian, July 10, 1921.)

[7] Wilkes, United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, p. 342.

[8] Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 22. (Edited by E. W. Wright.)

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the first authorized pilot for the Columbia River bar. Farmers on the Clatsop plains were so imbued with the idea that they must find a market for their own goods by their own initiative that in 1848 they cooperated in building the schooner Skipanon, a short distance below Astoria. The Skipanon took a cargo of butter, bacon, eggs and potatoes to Sacramento, where she arrived in time to participate in the profits of the gold rush, and where the vessel itself was also sold. It cannot be said that navigation of the Columbia was free from difficulties, as the experience of the brig Sequin in 1848 showed. The Sequin consumed fifty-four days on the voyage from Astoria to Portland, then recently established on the densely wooded shores of the Willamette.

On two occasions a cursory although official examination of the Oregon Country was made as an incident in a world-wide voyage. The South Sea expedition of Lieut. Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., it will be remembered, spent some time in the region of Puget Sound and the Columbia River in 1841 in an interval between other important episodes of discovery; and about three years before the arrival of Wilkes the country was visited by Capt. Sir Edward Belcher in the British naval ship Sulphur, attended by the sloop Starling, the latter equipped with scientific instruments for making geodetic and hydrographic surveys. The Sulphur's memorable voyage consumed six years, during five of which Belcher was her commanding officer, and she rounded out her achievement by taking part in the Opium war in China in 1840-2. It will be surmised that British official interest in the country was not keen during this period, from the circumstance that Sir Edward's instructions from the British admiralty contained no allusions of a political nature. His errand was almost exclusively one of scientific research.[9]

Sir Edward planned to enter the Columbia in October, 1837, but encountered a storm on the way south from Nootka Sound and preferred a safe offing to the perils of a lee shore, so that it was not until July 28, 1839, that he at length reached the mouth of the river, meanwhile having been occupied elsewhere with matters of geographic concern. He then discovered, as other navigators were to learn after him, that sailing directions for the mouth of the Columbia were subject to change without notice; for the Sulphur grounded on a sandbar and her consort lost her rudder in entering the river, which inauspicious beginning created the reverse of a favorable impression of Oregon in his mind. He anchored before the site of Fort George, however, July 31, 1839, and observed that not a vestige of the original trading post which had been taken over from the Astors remained. "A small house for Mr. Birnie (the Hudson's Bay Company representative in charge), two or three sheds for the Canadians, about six or eight in number, and a pine stick with a red ensign" now represented all that remained of the Fort Astoria of Washington Irving. "One would rather take it for the commencement of a village than any fort," observes Belcher. "The outline is pleasing, but no field for the painter, there being

[9] The results of the cruise of the Sulphur and Starling were published in two volumes of considerable interest in England, the trend of popular thought having been directed into channels of travel, exploration and trade expansion by the events of the time. The full title of the work was: "Narrative of a Voyage Around the World, performed by Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, During the Years 1836-1842, including details of the naval operations in China from Dec. 1840 to Nov. 1841. Published under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, R. N. C. B., F. R. A. S., &c., commander of the expedition, London, 1843."

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no contrast of tints and too stiff an outline."[10] He proceeded up-river, having difficulty in threading the intricacies of Tongue Point Channel, and after grounding occasionally, which he took to be "according to practice," the Sulphur found a soft berth for the night on an unknown bank. The scene of this early mishap was near Pillar Rock. Relying as he did on sails for his motive power, he noted that navigation beyond Oak Point became a simple matter, since there generally was an up-river breeze from 10 a. m. until 4 p. m. August 9, 1839, after having been nearly devoured by mosquitoes, he reached Vancouver, where he devoted some time to a cursory examination of the material resources of the trading post. James Douglas, then in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs, furnished him and his staff with supplies of fresh vegetables, but sent none to the crews of the visiting vessels. Sir Edward, although he refrained from making a formal demand, confessed surprise that, on inquiring what facilities her majesty's ships might expect in the event of touching at the Columbia for provisions, he should be told that the company was "not in a condition to supply." Having seen a profusion of cattle and potatoes, and having been told of quantities of grain and flour produced by the trading establishment, he was inclined to believe that the factor was not much concerned over the welfare of a mere British naval expedition. He proceeded to criticize what he took to be the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company of encouraging settlement by American missionaries, "instead of selecting a British subject to afford them spiritual assistance," a course which he held to be "pregnant with evil consequences, and particularly in the squabble pending, as will be seen by the result. * * * They are now loud in their claim of right to the soil, and a colony of American settlers was enroute in the plains when we quitted." Sir Edward misunderstood the prime purpose of the American missionary enterprise, while he ignored or was unaware of the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company factor to enlist the interest of his superiors in making provision for the spiritual welfare of its employees. On the way down the Columbia, the Starling lost her rudder on a snag, and in crossing the bar the Sulphur and the Starling each lost an anchor. "Heartily sick of this nest of dangers," he records, September 14, "we took our final look at Cape Disappointment and shaped our course for Bodega." The tenor of Captain Belcher's report on Oregon was not conducive to revival of British popular interest in the territory, and the negative influence of its publication in England was favorable, on the whole, to the settlement of the boundary on terms desired by the United States.

The French Government, which had notably neglected the northwest coast

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[10] Belcher's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 289. The old Astor Fort was burned in 1818, and in 1841 according to Mofras the only vestige of the buildings was a "bald spot" and the town consisted of a "cabin and a shed." J. M. Shively took up a claim in 1843 and laid out Shively's Astoria. Other claims were soon after taken by Col. John McClure and H. E. Wilson, on which Astoria has since been laid out. These settlers and James Birnie, Hudson's Bay Company agent, constituted the population in 1844. Birnie lived in the company's building near the site of St. Mary's Hospital as at present located. Other settlers were Smith, who located at Smith's point, and Robert Shortess, whose claim was at Alderbrook addition. James Welch located on Shively's claim during the absence of the latter in the East in 1846, and again platted the tract. But on Shively's return in 1847, a compromise was effected by making equal division between them. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 130.) Settlers on Clatsop Plains were D. Summers, Mr. Hobson and family, Rev. J. L. Parrish, Solomon H. Smith, Calvin Tibbets, Trask and Perry.

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in the earlier period of exploration, sent to Oregon in 1841 an informal envoy whose mission seems to have been commercial rather than political. He was Eugen Duflot de Mofras, a former attaché of the French embassy at Madrid, who was assigned by order of the Duc de Dalmatis, then minister of foreign affairs of France, to the Mexican legation, with instructions to visit the Russian stations and American and British settlements on the Pacific coast, "to ascertain," as he himself describes his errand, "independently of political considerations, what advantages might accrue from the commercial point of view to France in a region then little known."[11] The observations of this visitor are interesting chiefly for the light they throw upon the mode of living of the Franch-Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley in that period. He was received by Sir George Simpson at Vancouver not very cordially, since he appears to have mislaid his official credentials, and he accompanied Simpson on a trip to the French-Canadian settlements. The friendliness of the French element impressed him deeply. "Having explored this valley with the greatest care," he wrote, "have remarked the eagerness with which the French from Canada come, sometimes several leagues, to see a Frenchman from France, as they call us. While staying at their farms we were sure of finding the most open hospitality; they lent us their horses and served us as guides in our explorations." He records having met in the valley two European Frenchmen, MM. Haiguet de Malo and Jacques du Havre, who had come to Oregon by sea and seemed to be happily situated among their Canadian compatriots. He found the French settlers in the main thrifty, contented and deeply imbued with the sense of nationality. He estimated their cattle holdings at 3,000 head; in addition to those they had 3,000 swine and 500 sheep. They harvested in a single season 10,000 hectolitres of wheat and 3,000 hectolitres of legumes, such as field peas and kidney beans (haricots). Under their husbandry their yield of grain was twelve-fold, but De Mofras' estimate of grain production per acre is exceedingly moderate. "The soil," he says, "produces at least eight hectolitres per hectare [a trifle in excess of nine bushels to the acre]. Some have set up sawmills on the numerous streams which water the valley. Others, and particularly Stanislas Jacquet, go to California nearly every year to buy cattle and horses. In the more favorable seasons they trap the small numbers of beaver that yet remain, and prepare the furs and peltries, but their principal occupation consists in agriculture."

Our annalist found it particularly worthy of remark in this connection that although the majority of the French colonists had married indian wives, they spoke French alone. He noted a painful impression produced upon the community on the occasion of the visit of Sir George Simpson, which was a reminder that they were governed by one of a race and of a religion alien to their own. To Simpson's greeting, "Good day, my friends; how do you do?" they replied, "We do not speak English; we are all French here." Local geographical names betrayed a peculiar nationalistic sense of humor. "La Porte de l'enfer," "la course de Satan," "la passage du Diable," and "les cornes du Demon" are mentioned by De Mofras as examples—"et autres gentilesses puissées dans le vocabulaire des chasseurs Canadiens," as the writer observes with gentle irony, in a phrase not easily translated with precision. We obtain a further impression of this reverence of the French settlers for the

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[11] Explorations of the Territory of Oregon, by Duflot de Mofras, Ed. 1844, p. 211.

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institutions of the motherland in their tendency to bestow French names upon all things which they particularly esteemed. The finest domestic ducks then to be found in the Willamette Valley were "canards de France"; the best shoes, though made from English leather, "des souliers français"; the pound sterling was a "louis"; and all whites were "French." De Mofras relates that the indians had so imbibed this sense of French superiority in all matters that an old Iroquois guide, on being asked where the rifle that he carried on his shoulders had been made, replied that it had come "from the old France of London" (de la vieille France de Londres).[12]

Living thus apart, as M. de Mofras describes them, yet preserving a definite sense of order and a strong desire to enjoy the peaceful benefits of social intercourse in a region far remote from the centers of civilization, the French free settlers looked to the Catholic missions as the source of authority after the arrival of the priests. "We were witnesses during our sojourn at St. Paul," writes De Mofras, "of a rather touching example of paternal justice. A French-Canadian was accused of having stolen a horse from an American and confessed his fault. The council of the fathers of families, presided over by the Abbe Blanchet, condemned him to restore the horse to its rightful owner and, besides, to remain three months at the door of the church during the offices, without being permitted to enter. This man, having submitted docilely to the ordeal, on the second Sunday Abbe Blanchet, after a short lecture, went after him, conducted him into the church, embraced him with tears in his eyes and caused him to sit with the other settlers. It is doubtful, at least, whether punishment inflicted in such circumstances by a civil judge would have produced

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[12] The French names of locality are used throughout M. de Mofras' work. His "Jamil" River is easily seen to be the "Yamhill" but "Camayou" is not quite so plain; the context indicates that he may mean Luckiamute. His "riviere Boudin" is of course the Pudding River, which was among the very first to receive a name from the French inhabitants. There are numerous interesting versions of the origin of this name, varying as to details but agreeing that it was derived from the experience of a party of French hunters, who made a blood pudding while in camp on the bank of the stream. Some say that the incident was impressed on them because the pudding was a failure and made them ill; others that they relished it so much that the name was bestowed as a tribute of delight or gratitude. It is certain that the river was named in a very early time. Alexander Henry, the younger, wrote in his journal, of date January 23, 1814: "At 11 a. m. we passed a small stream on the left called by our people 'Pudding River.'" Henry and Thompson Journals, Harper, 1897, Vol. II, p. 813. J. Quinn Thornton was responsible for the impression which long prevailed that "Pudding" was a late deviation from some other name. "The Willamette receives the Clackamas and Putin rivers," says Thornton, "which name has been corrupted to Pudding." Oregon and California, Vol. I, p. 285. The early indian name was Haun-cha-uke. It is incidentally interesting to recall that the Steamer Moose, owned by the Pudding River Transportation Company, made a trip up this river as far as Irving's Bridge, about ten miles from the mouth, February 18, 1860. Navigation of the stream proved impracticable, however. Rev. Samuel Parker in 1835 called the Clackamas the Pudding River, Journal of An Exploration Tour, p. 172. For other citations, see L. M. Scott, the History of the Oregon Country, Vol. I, p. 283.

De Mofras' "Souris" River is the French rendition of Joel Palmer's Mouse River. (Joel Palmer's Journal, 1848, p. 93.) The name has long been abandoned and is not found on any maps.

De Mofras' efforts to render indian names in French are sometimes confusing to English ears. Lieut. Charles Wilkes experienced similar difficulty in 1842, with reversed effect. He was misled by the French pronunciation of Campment du Sable, which he made "Camp Maude du Sable" in his official narrative. William A. Slacum fell into a similar error regarding this name.

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so profound an effect; besides, this correction, being entirely paternal, had the great advantage of leaving no scar on the individual." De Mofras was not so favorably impressed by an incident which occurred "when on Sunday in the church, where six hundred Canadians were assembled, we heard a French priest say, in French, to a population all French: 'Prions Dieu pour notre Saint Pere le Pape et pour notre bienaimée Reine Victoria!' (Let us pray God for our Holy Father the Pope and for our well-beloved Queen Victoria). De Mofras asked the reason for this, to him, strange invocation and was informed that it had been enjoined upon the priest as an obligation to be performed every month, under pain of forfeiting the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company." The annalist represents the Hudson's Bay Company officers at this time as somewhat apprehensive lest the establishment of new families of "free French" on the Willamette should threaten its influence. "The company," he adds, "fear that the free population established on the Willamette may escape it some day, above all since in the month of March, 1838, and at the instigation of M. Lee, head of the American Methodists, a petition signed by twenty-seven American and nine of the principal French-Canadian colonists was addressed to Congress at Washington to claim the protection of the United States and invite it to take possession of the territory." [13]

The tone of M. de Mofras' description although complimentary to the French element was not encouraging to the extension of French enterprises. He was skeptical of the singleness of purpose of the Methodist missionaries, whom he suspected of secular designs, in particular "M. Lee, the most important personage of all the Americans residing in the territory of Oregon." The dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company interests then seemed to this French visitor to have been confirmed by its superior facilities for trade. On his departure a free passage aboard a Hudson's Bay ship was tendered him and he takes occasion to suggest that this was prompted not by pure generosity, but rather by a consistent policy of discouraging the establishment of American lines of communication. The tide of settlement had not set in toward Oregon in the period of which M. de Mofras writes, and the American population not attached to the missions is thus described by him: "Almost all belong to the hardy class of 'back settlers' from the western United States; they have arrived at the Columbia river overland, having for the most part for their sole possession only a rifle, and have married indian wives. They are courageous and patient; more adept at hunting, at cutting wood and at carpentry than at agriculture. * * * One expects before many years to see the wave of the emigrant carried beyond the Rocky mountains; but up to the present it is rather toward the old Spanish provinces of Texas, New Mexico and Upper California that this movement is operating. The Americans are not ignorant that these

[13] The names of the nine French signers of this petition were: J. B. Desportes, Joseph Gervais, J. B. Perrault, Jh. Delort, Etienne Lucier, P. Belique, Jh. Deloze, Xavier Dudevant and Andre Picord. De Mofras describes them as among the oldest and richest of the colonists and adds: "It is doubtful if their example might not lead others away from the influence of the company. It must be said also that most of the colonists of the Willamette Valley have for a long time trapped beavers in the valley of the Sacramento and at San Francisco Bay. They all know that the country is preferable to the one they live in, in respect to its fertility, that it is exempt from the agues which sometimes decimate the population of the Willamette and the greater part of them would ask only to go and settle there if they were sure of finding there an efficient protection." The writer's predilection for California is quite apparent throughout his work.

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provinces of the middle country are much superior to the northern regions of Oregon and that apart from a climate more salubrious, of a soil more fertile, they possess inexhaustible mineral resources. One sees that in the contested territories the Americans are still very far from possessing the elements of population, of maritime resources, of commerce and agriculture which constitute the strength of the Hudson's Bay Company, representing the English interests." M. de Mofras was on safer ground as a narrator than as a prophet, as the events of only a few years later were to prove, but his narrative furnishes a valuable picture of the Willamette Valley before the rush of settlement began.

It will be remembered that the American population was increased by a small immigration in 1839, stimulated by a series of lectures delivered at Peoria, Illinois, in the winter of 1837-8 by Rev. Jason Lee, then in the East in quest of reinforcements for the Methodist Mission. In 1840 came Joel Walker, Virginia-born, but an emigrant from Missouri, and his wife and five children, who are distinguished for having been the first family to cross the plains with the purpose of making a home in Oregon, but who somewhat later proceeded to California. The breaking up of the American Fur Company in 1840 as is elsewhere stated added to the population of the Willamette Valley by depriving several of the company's employes of a means of livelihood and thus compelling them to take up agriculture. Among these were Joseph L. Meek, Caleb Wilkins, Dr. Robert Newell, William Craig and John Larrison, who attained prominence in the social and political life of the colony. The arrivals of 1841 were chiefly members of an emigrant colony from the Hudson's Bay Company's Red River settlements, whom the company desired to place on lands of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company in the vicinity of Nisqually, partly with a view to counteracting the political effect of the expected influx of Americans. They were located north of the Columbia in view of the practical abandonment by this time of all British claims to the region south of the river, and in order to strengthen the diplomatic claim to the northern territory. They soon heard, however, of the Willamette Valley, which was represented to them as having superior soil and a more agreeable climate, and where land was still to be had for the asking, and most of them removed there within a year or two.

The economic aspect of the country, as well as its political outlook, underwent a striking change in 1842, when the first immigrant train to bring families as well as single men crossed the plains. Dr. Elijah White, who had been separated from the Methodist Mission and was in the East endeavoring to obtain official recognition of some kind, delivered several lectures in 1841 and 1842, describing the country to audiences chiefly assembled in churches, so that the nucleus of the expedition which was now organized partly as the result of his efforts had a religious character. White's activities were widely advertised in the newspapers and enlisted the interest of others. By May, 1842, when he arrived at Elm Grove, Mo., there were more than one hundred prospective settlers waiting for a leader to make the start. In order to guard against the admission to the expedition of individuals who were likely to become a charge upon their associates, certain regulations were formulated. For illustration, it was required that every male over eighteen years of age should possess at least one mule or horse, or wagon conveyance; should have one gun, three pounds of powder, seventeen pounds of lead, 1,000 caps, fifty pounds of flour or meal, thirty pounds of bacon and a suitable proportion of provisions

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for women and children.[14] In this manner those who had no property whatever, and were mere rovers, were excluded automatically, yet even the equipment thus required proved to be insufficient in some instances to prevent dependence on the way. The immigrants in this and succeeding years relied on the hunters among them to replenish their supply of food. This train, under the leadership of White, left Elm Grove May 16, 1842, with eighteen wagons, and a long line of horses, mules and cattle. No member of the party had ever made the trip across the plains, White himself having originally come to Oregon on the brig Diana with the first reinforcement of the Methodist Mission in 1837 and returned east on the Lausanne in 1840. They received valuable advice from Milton Sublette, the veteran Rocky Mountain fur trader, however, and engaged a guide who knew the country as far west as Fort Laramie. Stephen H. L. Meek, brother of Joseph L. Meek, joined the caravan in the vicinity of the South Fork. The motley character of the company, the spirit of personal independence which was disinclined to tolerate interference and which was hardly amenable to ordinary discipline, soon became manifest. Among other annoyances, there was a controversy over dogs owned by the travelers. White sought a diplomatic solution, by recommending that all dogs be shot, on the ostensible ground that they were likely to go mad on the arid plains, and thirty were so disposed of. Storms were encountered on the Platte which made everyone cold and miserable, and harmony was impossible. There were other grievances: some had made bargains which they were unable to carry out; some had omitted to bring teams, or had made inadequate provision.[15] The immigrants, notwithstanding these obstacles, reached Fort Laramie June 23. Here some of them traded their wagons for provisions, and at Green River other wagons were cut up and a part of the materials were made into pack saddles. The few remaining wagons were left at Fort Hall, at which the caravan arrived in mid-July. Here there was a division. One faction, led by White, crossed the Snake River a short distance below Salmon Falls and traveled through the Burnt River Canyon and the Grande Ronde Valley, and over the Blue Mountains, traversing the old Hudson's Bay Company trail to Fort Walla Walla. The other party, led by Lansford W. Hastings, did not cross the Snake River, but remained on the south side. The expedition visited the Whitman mission at Waiilatpu and were cordially received by Doctor Whitman, who supplied them with fresh provisions. From this point the members traveled in smaller groups. A few passed down the Columbia River in Hudson's Bay Company's boats, some traveled overland to The Dalles, whence they took canoes down the river, others traveled by a cattle trail over the Cascades on the south side, and the remainder found an indian trail on the north side of the Columbia which they crossed again to the south side in the vicinity of the Sandy River.[16]

[14] White's Ten Years in Oregon, p. 145.

[15] S. A. Clarke's Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. II, p. 460, quoting Medorem Crawford, a member of the party, as authority.

[16] The members of this immigration over the age of 18 are given by S. A. Clarke (Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. II, p. 463), who had them from Medorem Crawford, and who includes also two names not included in Bancroft's incomplete roster, as follows: C. T. Arendell, Thomas Boggs, ——— Bridges, James Brown, William Brown, Gabriel Brown, ——— Barnum, Hugh Burns, C. W. Bellamy, Winsted Bennett, Vandom Bennett, ——— Bailey (killed enroute), Nathaniel Crocker, Nathan Coombs, Patrick Clark, Alexander Copeland, Medorem Crawford, A. N. Coates, Allen Davy, John Dearum, John Doubenbiss, Samuel David, John Force, James Force, ——— Foster, Joseph Gibbs, ——— Girtman, Lansford W. Hastings.

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There was no immigration from the eastern states in 1840 or 1841, except the belated members of the Peoria party, and the only women who arrived were members of the Great Reinforcement of the Methodists on board the Lausanne in 1841, and Mrs. Joel Walker. Three noteworthy official visitors in 1841 were Lieut. Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy, commanding the South Sea expedition; De Mofras, whose arrival has been described; and Sir George Simpson, resident governor in North America of the Hudson's Bay Company territories, three nations being thus represented. Wilkes furnishes many excellent word pictures of the Oregon Country in 1841. His descriptions of the people of the Willamette Valley have already been mentioned. He passed Cape Disappointment April 28, 1841, but did not enter the Columbia on account of the rough sea that was running on the bar at the time. He marveled, however, that any doubt should ever have existed that here was the mouth of a mighty river. He distrusted the skill of the pilot he had shipped at the Hawaiian Islands and sailed on to Puget Sound, from where he traveled overland to the Columbia River and subsequently to the Willamette Valley. His guide from Nisqually to Fort George was a typical settler of the period, Simon Plamondon, an old servant of the Hudson's Bay Company who had been advised by Doctor McLoughlin in 1837, to take up a farm at the lower end of Cowlitz prairie, and was the first free farmer in that locality. "A more useful person I have seldom met," said Wilkes, "or one that could be so well depended on. He had been for several years in the territory, having married an indian wife, and was now living on a farm of about thirty acres at the Cowlitz, independent and contented." At Astoria Wilkes observed with regret the general run-down condition of the famous old post, but vouched for the excellent quality of the potatoes grown in the single garden which it supported. "In point of beauty of situation," said he, "few places will vie with Astoria."[17] He visited Rev. J. H. Frost and his wife at the Methodist Missionary station at Clatsop, being welcomed in a dwelling which Frost had built with his own hands. There were but two American residents then in the vicinity of the Clatsop Plains, Calvin Tibbetts and Solomon H. Smith, both Wyeth men, and these were the first home-making farmers to settle west of the Coast Range. Agriculture as practiced on the Hudson's Bay plantation in the vicinity of Vancouver had already attained the dignity of an art. Here Wilkes saw dairies, rich meadow land dotted with herds of fine cattle and flocks of sheep of the finest English and Spanish breeds. The sylvan beauty of the landscape carried an irresistible appeal. Landing below Fort Vancouver, he entered a wood of large pine (firs) which had an undergrowth of various flowering shrubs. The old stumps in the road were overgrown with honeysuckle in full bloom and other flowers were growing, even in the roadway.[18] Fort Vancouver was a veritable hive of industry, a large

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John Hoffstetter, J. M. Hedspeth, Hardin Jones, Reuben Lewis, A. L. Lovejoy, S. W. Moss, J. L. Morrison, John McKay, Alexander McKay, Stephen H. L. Meek, F. X. Matthieu, Walter Pomeroy, Dwight Pomeroy, J. H. Perry, Dutch Paul, J. R. Robb, Adam Storer, Darling Smith, A. D. Smith, Andrew Smith, Owen Summers, T. J. Sheldon, Aaron Towner, Joel Turnham, Elijah White, David Weston. Ten of these had families. Hastings gives the number who bore arms as eighty, Fremont estimated it at sixty-four, Lovejoy said seventy stood guard. Lovejoy did not at this time go to the Willamette Valley. He remained behind at Waiilatpu and accompanied Doctor Whitman to the eastern states as guide in the winter of 1842-3. He later went to the Willamette Valley and was one of the founders of Portland.

[17] Wilkes' Narrative, Vol. IV, p. 320.

[18] Id., Vol. IV, p. 326.

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(Courtesy of John B. Yeon)

RUTHTON HILL, THREE MILES EAST OF HOOD RIVER. ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER HIGHWAY IN HOOD RIVER COUNTY

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manufacturing, agricultural and commercial depot, and there were few if any idlers, except the sick. Everybody seemed to be in a hurry, while to the naval officer there seemed to be no obvious reason for haste. In passing through the Willamette Valley, as he did soon afterward, he had a good opportunity to contrast the settlers of the various countries; and while those of French descent appeared the most contented, happy and comfortable, those of the Anglo-Saxon race "showed more of the appearance of business, and the 'go-ahead' principle so much in vogue at home.[19]

"For some time previous to our arrival," wrote Wilkes, "they [the Hudson's Bay Company] had not been able to meet their own wants, and at the same time fulfill their contracts with the Russians. They were, therefore, obliged to purchase from the settlers in the territory, as well as send to California, to procure the requisite quantity of agricultural products. A demand was consequently created for wheat and all that could be raised in the Willamette settlements was bought for six shillings (75 cents) a bushel and paid for in drafts on their stores in goods, at 50 per cent on the first London cost. This gave an encouragement to the small farmers that was fated to meet with grievous disappointment the next season; for the company was able not only to meet their engagements, and their own wants, but had, besides, a surplus. The prices consequently would be merely nominal, unless used by an influx of new settlers. Whether the latter cause had any effect in creating a market, I know not, but I understand that in 1842 the settlers fed their horses upon the finest wheat."[20]

The Fourth of July was celebrated for the first time in the territory in 1841 by the crew of Wilkes' ships at Puget Sound, on the grounds of the Methodist Mission unsuccessfully begun by the Rev. J. P. Richmond. The Fourth fell on Sunday, so the festivities, consisting of a barbecue, games, indian horse-racing and the firing of salutes, were held on the day following. Sailors and marines marched to the British fur-trading establishment at Nisqually, gave three rousing cheers, and waited for an acknowledgment from the fort. The return hurrahs were but feebly given by a few voices which lacked enthusiasm, a circumstance which Wilkes records was the cause of much merriment among the seamen. The lieutenant made an effort to obtain by triangulation the altitude of Mount Rainier, which he set down as 12,330 feet, an error of a little more than 2,000 feet.[21]

One party from Wilkes' fleet during the summer of 1841 crossed the Cascade Range by way of Naches Pass to the Yakima Valley, visited the fur-trading post at Okanogan, the American Board Mission at Tsimikain, and Fort Colville, then traveled by a circuitous route to Lapwai and Waiilatpu, returning to their station by the Yakima route. Another expedition was dispatched by him overland from Oregon to California, leaving the Columbia River late in August with thirty-nine men and seventy-six horses, and arriving at Fort Sutter October 19, 1841. They journeyed the full length of the Willamette Valley, visiting Fort Umpqua and crossing the Rogue and Klamath Valleys.[22] A third party

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[19] Id., Vol. IV, p. 355.

[20] Id., Vol. IV, pp. 308-9.

[21] The altitude of Rainier has since been ascertained to be 14,363 feet. Dictionary of Altitudes, United States Geological Survey.

[22] "Besides seamen and guides, there were the votaries of science, Peale, Rich, Dana, Agate and Brackenridge and several families, by name Walker, Burrows, Nichols, and War-

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began a survey of the waters of Puget Sound and the Canal de Haro, but they were interrupted by news that the sloop-of-war Peacock, one of the vessels of Wilkes' squadron which had been left behind in the South Sea Islands, had been wrecked in an effort to cross the Columbia River bar July 18, 1841. The commanding officer of the Peacock had relied on sailing directions obtained at Oahu from Captain Spalding of the Lausanne, but found himself in difficulties where he expected to find an open passage through the breakers and the vessel was driven hard aground. The shoal on which she struck has ever since been known as Peacock spit. The Peacock was a total loss, but all on board were saved. Wilkes then determined to complete his survey of the lower Columbia, but was unwilling to risk his flagship, the Vincennes, in the undertaking, so he sent the Vincennes to San Francisco Bay, and transferred his pennant to the brig Porpoise, another of his squadron. He completed a chart of the river to the point where, some two years later, it was joined by the survey of Lieut. John C. Fremont, dispatched overland from the East. Wilkes bought for $9,000 the brig Thomas H. Perkins, which had entered the river with a cargo of liquor. With this vessel he replaced the lost Peacock, changing her name to the Oregon. The liquor cargo of the Perkins was bought by Doctor McLoughlin and stored to prevent its sale to the inhabitants of the country. The report of Wilkes' observations constituted the first important report on the rivers and harbors of the Pacific coast.

The expedition of John C. Fremont, who was then a second-lieutenant of engineers, to the Oregon Country, in 1843, added information of its topography and natural resources. There was a general tendency among the hardy frontiersmen of the period to scoff at Fremont's journeyings. That he deserved the title of "pathfinder," bestowed on him by zealous partisans, and used especially when he became the candidate of the republican party for president of the United States in 1856, is fairly questionable, if the term be used in its restricted sense. For example, his expedition crossed the Rocky Mountains by the South Pass in 1842, but the South Pass route was then no new thing. Visiting Oregon in 1843, under instructions to connect his reconnoissance of 1842 with the surveys made by Lieut. Charles Wilkes of the United States navy

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fields, who joined for escort." Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, Vol. II, p. 682. Of these, Titian Ramsay Peale was a naturalist with the Wilkes Expedition. He had been wrecked with the Peacock at the mouth of the Columbia. His manuscript journal is now in the Library of Congress. His entry under date, Sunday, September 25, 1841, contains a reference to the massacre of the Ewing Young party on Rogue River a few years previously. He says: "Our camp was fixed on the banks of the river, where Mr. Young with a party of nine men were defeated, a few years since, by the indians. Many of their bones now lay bleaching around our fires. The white people on that occasion suffered the indians to come into camp in great numbers (more than a hundred), who professed friendship, but who waited for an unguarded moment to attack the few whites, and would have succeeded in killing all of them to obtain their property, had not a gigantic iron framed fellow (Turner), laid about him with a tremendous firebrand, keeping back the naked assailants, until his red wife brought out his rifle, when the indians retreated with considerable loss—two whites were killed on the spot, and two died of their wounds after returning amongst the Umpqua. (Some of our volunteers were of the above party.)" The Turner named is the same man who had a very similar experience with the Jedediah Smith party on the Umpqua, elsewhere related. Dr. Elijah White in relating this in other language mentions Doctor Bailey as a leader of the Rogue River party. (White, Ten Years in Oregon, Chap. XIII. See also Chap. XXIII, n. 10, p. 289 supra.) After Peale returned East, a letter in praise of the Oregon Country was written by him from Washington, D. C., February 6, 1843, which is reproduced in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 179.

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in the lower Columber River Valley, he travelled through no region that had not repeatedly been traversed, first by the fur traders, then by the first missionaries and later by the earliest immigrants. Proceeding southward from The Dalles in the autumn of 1843, however, he ascended the Deschutes River, then more commonly known as Falls River (the English translation of the French name), nearly to the source of its southernmost branch, and here, for the purposes of systematic exploration he was on new ground. Thus the Fremont expedition was first to traverse from north to south the region lying just east of the Cascade Mountains, from the Columbia River to California, the latter then Mexican territory. On this stage of his journey he followed in part the route travelled by Peter Skene Ogden, when in the autumn of 1826 that enterprising fur trader had ascended an upper branch of the Deschutes, crossed the height of land to what he called the "Klamat" Country and penetrated to the river which he named "Sasty," or Shasta. But Ogden had not been concerned with natural phenomena, excepting as related to beaver, while Fremont, on the contrary, was a trained observer, and moreover was equipped with scientific instruments suited to his purpose. Fremont's party consisted of thirty-nine men, the rank and file mostly Creole and Canadian-French, all hunters and experienced frontiersmen, and his guide was Thomas Fitzpatrick, who will be remembered for his connection with the Ashley explorations in the third decade of the century. He obtained data for the first set of profile maps ever made of the route across the plains and mountains, and in doing so travelled from St. Louis to the South Pass, about sixteen hundred miles; from the mouth of the Great Platte to the same point about one thousand more; and another sixteen hundred miles from the South Pass to tidewater of the Columbia. His four thousand miles or more of profile-mapping here was founded on some four hundred barometrical positions, and the interesting memoir which constituted his official report to his superior officer was a distinct and valuable contribution to early knowledge of the new country. He afterwards crossed the continent on new routes farther south, both for the Government and at his private expense. His part in bringing California under the United States, and his part in the Civil war, are features of a life of enterprise and adventure.

His expedition to Oregon in 1843, of particular interest here, left Elm Grove, Mo., May 31, and reached the South Pass August 13. He makes no claim to being a pathfinder here, but says that he "crossed very near the table mountain, at the southern extremity of the South Pass, which is near twenty miles in width, and already traversed by several different roads."[23] He alludes to the distance from this point to Oregon "by the common travelling route," and repeatedly mentions the experiences of preceding travellers obtaining passage through the indian country. Crossing the northern extremity of the Grande Ronde River, he reached the Whitman Mission at Waiilatpu, October 24, 1843, and was pleased to see there "a fine-looking large family of emigrants, men, women and children, in robust health, all indemnifying themselves for previous scanty fare in a hearty consumption of potatoes, which are produced here in remarkably good quality." Reaching the Columbia River near the confluence of the Snake, he observed that a considerable body of immigrants under the direction of Jesse Applegate, whom he describes

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[23] Report of an Exploring Expedition * * * to Oregon and Northern California, Senate Document, No. 174, Twenty-eighth Congress, Second Session, p. 128.

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as "a man of considerable resolution and energy," had nearly completed a number of mackinaw boats in which they proposed to voyage down the Columbia. This was the main body of the noteworthy immigration of 1843, the arrival of which in the Willamette Valley was soon afterward to give a new and important turn to the political aspect of the colony. Fremont proceeded overland, with only a backward glance of momentary envy at the relative comfort of the immigrant company. "As we toiled slowly through the deep loose sands, and over fragments of rock," he wrote, "our laborious travelling was strongly contrasted with the rapid progress of Mr. Applegate's fleet of boats, which suddenly came gliding swiftly down the broad river, which here chanced to be tranquil and smooth." At the Methodist Mission at The Dalles, then in charge of the Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, he embarked with a few of his retinue in a canoe, and then visited Fort Vancouver. He was now on ground explored by the South Sea expedition of Wilkes, as already described, and had accomplished the object of uniting his survey with that formerly extended from the Pacific coast by the naval officer. This formal junction which completed the first official survey of a transcontinental route was made November 4, 1843.

Fremont was cordially received by Doctor McLoughlin, from whom he bought supplies, and who readily accepted payment in bills on the Government of the United States, and who also expressed a "warm and gratifying sympathy in the suffering which his great experience led him to anticipate" for the explorers on their homeward journey. The explorer tarried only two days, however, "for the rainy season had now set in, and the air was filled with fogs and rain, which left no beauty in any scenery, and obstructed observations." He left on his return journey up the river, November 10, being accompanied by Peter H. Burnett, who had previously left his family and property at The Dalles. Fremont's comment on the character of the immigration of that season is in accord with the verdict of history. "This gentleman," he says, in allusion to Burnett, "as well as the Messrs. Applegate, and others of the emigrants whom I saw, possessed intelligence and character, with the moral and intellectual stamina, as well as the enterprise, which give solidity and respectability to the foundation of the colonies."[24]

Fremont's attempted homeward journey from here associates his name most intimately with the history of this region and lifts his exploit above the level of the commonplace. We obtain a clear idea of how little was then known of the country west of the Rocky Mountains from the circumstance that when he left The Dalles, intending to make his way by a somewhat southern route to the United States, he was under the delusion that there existed a large river flowing from the Rocky Mountains to San Francisco Bay.[25] A great circuit to the Southeast and the exploration of the great basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada were contemplated, and two principal objects claimed his attention. First of these was the "Tlamath lake," concerning which his information was reasonably accurate, since he was able in advance to describe it as being situated "on the table land between the head of Fall River, (the Deschutes) which comes into the

[24] Fremont's Report, p. 196.

[25] This was the so-called Buenaventura River, shown on early maps. Compare map of Hall J. Kelley (1830) in his Geographical Sketch (reproduced in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVIII, p. 30), showing Multnomah River rising east of Great Salt Lake.

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Columbia, and the Sacramento, which goes into the Bay of San Francisco, and from which a river of the same name makes its way westwardly direct to the ocean." No account of Jedediah Smith's journey across Northern California years before had been published, and Central Oregon was as yet an unknown region.

Rev. Mr. Perkins at The Dalles obtained for Fremont two indians to act as guides as far as Klamath Lake, and the expedition also enlisted at Perkins' request a Chinook youth of nineteen, formerly attached to the Perkins household, who was extremely desirous of seeing the white men and of obtaining knowledge of their institutions. The cavalcade left The Dalles, November 25, 1843, at the very onset of the winter season. Fremont judged it necessary to abandon the little wagon which had conveyed his scientific instruments across plains and mountains, and which on all that long journey had suffered no damage except that its glass lamps had been broken and one of its front panels had been kicked out by a fractious indian horse. The thermometer registered twenty-six degrees at daylight; by noon, when the party left the Wascopam Mission, the weather had grown colder, with flurries of snow. Quickly ascending to the uplands, the travellers found themselves in a country covered with patches of snow although the pasture appeared good and the new short grass was fresh and green. They camped on the night of November 26 in the Tygh Valley, being guided thither after dark by fires which had been lighted as beacons by some naked indians. Fremont now began to take note of probable future hardships, but was not deterred by the prospect. "To spare our horses," he says, "there was much walking done today; and Mr. Fitzpatrick and I made the journey on foot."[26] By the following morning the thermometer had fallen to two and a half degrees below zero, trees and bushes were glittering white and the streams were filled with floating ice. He emerged from a narrow pass, November 25, by a trail which led him to a cluster of warm springs situated on either bank of the stream down which he travelled.[27] Much difficulty was experienced in crossing the chasm-like valleys of the Deschutes, which confirmed the explorer's judgment in abandoning his wagon, and compelled him to unlimber his howitzer, dismantle its carriage and let the parts down the declivities separately by hand. He paused occasionally to observe the geologic formation and was particularly impressed by deposits of clay, nearly as white as chalk, and exceedingly fine grained.[28] Fording in succession the swift, deep western tributaries of the Deschutes River, and observing that never in all his journeying had he

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[26] Fremont's Report, p. 198.

[27] This stream is now known as Warm Springs River, and the springs are those about eight miles north of Warm Springs indian agency. Fremont says of them: "Those on the left, which were formed into deep handsome basins, would have been delightful baths if the outer air had not been so keen, the thermometer in those being at 89°. There were others, on the opposite side, at the foot of an escarpment, in which the temperature of the water was 134°. These waters deposited around the stream a brecciated mass of quartz and feldspar, much of it of a reddish color." Fremont's Report, p. 199.

[28] This was diatomaceous earth, which Dr. Thomas Condon says (Oregon Geology, p. 79) "is found in the form of a stratified, white or yellowish white rock, often so light as to float on water and sometimes mistaken for chalk. It is often sold in the shops under different names as polishing powder, and as such is often named Tripolite. * * * Extensive beds of it are found fossil along the upper Deschutes river in old lake deposits. A fine bed may be found in a sloping bank of Three Mile creek, two or three miles south of The Dalles."

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travelled in a country in which the rivers so abounded in falls. December 5 he came to the Metolius. His route took him within two or three miles west of the present site of Bend. He crossed the Deschutes to the east side on the meadows near Benham, proceeded thence to the east fork, which he forded near Vandervert's, and close to the present site of the town of Crescent he passed again to the east side of the stream. Some distance south of Crescent, after making his last crossing of a branch of the Deschutes, he entered what is now known locally as the pumice desert, where the soil was generally bare, producing varieties of pines, but not a blade of grass, so that his animals were obliged to do without food. On the way, as he progressed through the region now embraced in the Deschutes Forest Reserve, he was attracted by the appearance of a species of pine tree which he saw in Oregon for the first time, the *pinus Lambertiana,* or sugar pine, which had been observed and named by David Douglas in 1825.[29] The splendid pine forests of this part of Central Oregon caused him to marvel much. "The great beauty of the country in summer constantly suggested itself to our imaginations," the explorer found time to set down in his journal. "Even now we found it beautiful as we rode along these meadows, from half a mile to two miles wide. The rich soil and excellent water, surrounded by noble forests, make a picture that would delight the eye of a farmer, and I regret that the very small scale of the map would not allow me to give some representation of these features of the country."[30] On December 10, 1843, he reached a savannah which his guides informed him was an arm of Klamath Lake, and soon afterward caught a view of an expanse of grass and a body of clear water, which he identified as the Klamath Lake he had set out to find, but which was in reality an open portion of the Klamath Marsh. He was now in a region which perhaps had never before been visited by whites, although the indians inhabiting it had earned the reputation of being hostile to all newcomers, and he took more than his usual precautions against surprise. Seeing smoke rising from the middle of the lake, or savannah, he directed the howitzer to be fired. "It was the first time our guides had seen it discharged," he observes, "and the bursting of the shell at a distance, which was something like the second fire of the gun, amazed and bewildered them with delight. It inspired them with triumphant feelings; but on the camps at a distance the effect was different, for the smokes in the lake and on the shores immediately disappeared."[31] Fremont appears to have been surprised, although the reader will not be, that no indians came to his camp on

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[29] "These pines," notes Fremont, "are remarkable for the red color of the bolls; and among them occurs a species of which the indians had informed me on leaving The Dalles. The unusual size of the cone (16 or 18 inches long) had attracted their attention; and they pointed it out to me among the unusual curiosities of the country. They are more remarkable for their unusual diameter than their height, which usually averages only about 120 feet."—Fremont's Report, previously cited, p. 203. Douglas says in an entry in August, 1825: "In the tobacco pouches of the indians I found the seeds of a remarkably large pine which they eat as nuts, and from whom I learned it existed in the mountains to the south. No time was lost in ascertaining the existence of this truly grand tree which I named Pinus Lambertiana, but no perfect seeds could I find."—Douglas' Journal, p. 59. On October 24, following, he was more successful in his quest for seeds. "I put myself in possession of a great number of perfect cones," he says, "but circumstances obliged me to leave the ground hastily with only three—a party of eight indians endeavored to destroy me." Id., p. 68.

[30] Fremont's Report, p. 203.

[31] Id., p. 205.

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the day following the episode of the howitzer, so he determined to visit them himself. He found them dwelling in a group of huts on the bank of a shallow marsh. The huts were large and round, about twenty feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which were the doors by which the occupants descended into the interior. "Almost like plants," Fremont writes, "these people seemed to have adapted themselves to the soil, and to be growing on what the immediate locality afforded." Here the explorer noted the curious facility which certain primitive peoples acquire in making use of local materials which nature supplies. For illustration, residence in the midst of grass and rushes had given them a peculiar skill in converting these into articles of utility. They had made shoes of straw which seemed well adapted for a snowy country; and the women wore on their heads a closely woven basket which made an excellent cap. The men wore shells in their noses. The explorer's impressions of the quarrelsome character of these people were confirmed when the indians made him understand that they were at war with the tribes on the East and also on the South. Communication between the visitors and the natives was restricted by the circumstance that the language of the latter was so different from that of the Shoshone and Columbia River tribes that the indian guides were of no value as interpreters. The guides, indeed, having fulfilled their agreement were about to return to their homes, and Fremont sought others to lead him. The journey now assumed more the character of discovery. Fremont's entry in his journal of December 11, 1843, contains his first intimation of want of confidence in the archaic maps on which until then he seems to have depended. To this point he had relied on the fabled Mary's Lake and Buenaventura River to recruit his animals and rest his followers. "Forming, agreeable to the best maps in my possession, a connected water line from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific Ocean," he says, "I felt no other anxiety than to pass safely across the intervening desert to the banks of the Buenaventura, where, in the softer climate of a more southern latitude, our horses might find grass to sustain them, and ourselves be sheltered from the rigors of winter and from the inhospitable desert."

He then turned eastward, crossing the upper Klamath Marsh in shallow water made difficult by frequent ponds of ice, and from the headwaters of Williamson River he proceeded almost due east, and south of Yamsay Peak to the Sycan Marsh. December 15 he crossed a stream which he then mistakenly supposed to be the principal tributary of the Sacramento River, and December 16 ascended a gradual slope, in snow three feet deep, travelling through a deep pine forest. "The air," he records, "was dark with falling snow, which everywhere weighted down the trees. The depths of the forest were profoundly still; and below we scarcely felt a breath of the wind which whirled the snow through their branches. I found that it required some exertion of constancy to adhere steadily to one course through the woods, when we were uncertain how far the forest extended, or what lay beyond. Toward noon the forest looked clear ahead, appearing suddenly to terminate; and beyond a certain point we could see no trees. Riding rapidly ahead to this spot, we found ourselves on the verge of a vertical and rocky wall of mountain. At our feet more than a thousand feet below—we looked into a green prairie country, in which a beautiful lake some twenty miles in length was spread along the foot of the mountain, its shores bordered with green grass. Just then the sun broke out among the clouds, and illuminated the country below, while around us the storm raged fiercely. Not a particle of ice was to be seen on the lake, or snow on its borders,

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and all was like summer or spring. * * * Shivering on snow three feet deep, and stiffening in a cold north wind, we exclaimed at once that the names of Summer Lake and Winter Ridge should be applied to these two proximate places of sudden and violent contrast."[32] He was now in a beautiful, fertile and well-watered region, one of the garden spots, indeed, of Southern Oregon.

December 20, he came on another and larger lake which he named Abert, in honor of Col. J. J. Abert, chief of the corps of topographical engineers to which Fremont belonged. He crossed the river now known as the Chewaucan the same day and proceeded along the eastern shore of the lake for some distance. Here he began to experience the real hardships of the journey, finding the water hardly potable and feed for his horses extremely scarce. Ascending the precipitous rim of the lake to the east, he travelled through the region of Flagstaff, Mugwump, Swamp and Anderson lakes, and along the ridge between the latter and a body of water near which he camped on the night of December 24, 1843. "We were roused, on Christmas morning," he says, "by a discharge from the small arms and howitzer, with which our people saluted the day, and the name of which we bestowed on the lake. It was the first time, perhaps, in this remote and desolate region, in which it had been so celebrated. Always, on days of religious or national commemoration, our voyageurs expect some unusual allowance; and having nothing else I gave them each a little brandy, (which was most carefully guarded, as one of the most useful articles a traveller can carry) with some coffee and sugar, which here, where every eatable was a luxury, was enough to make them a feast.[33] The body of water which Fremont thus named Christmas Lake was not, however, the Christmas Lake of present-day maps, but Hart Lake. Fremont's own chart places his encampment in about longitude one hundred nineteen degrees, forty-five minutes west, while the actual situation of the eastern shore of Hart Lake is one hundred nineteen degrees, fifty minutes, and the latitude of the Christmas camp, as recorded by Fremont, is forty-two degrees, thirty minutes north, which corresponds with present charts. The situation of the camp on this day was five or six miles east of the present settlement of Plush.[34]

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[32] Fremont's Report, before cited, p. 207.

[33] Id., p. 210-11.

[34] "A map of the Oregon territory accompanying Senator Linn's report, prepared under the direction of Col. J. J. Abert in 1838, shows a river flowing from a lake near what we now call Warner Valley, the river being labeled 'Christmas River.' It is not clear where the data upon which this map was prepared were obtained, but it is a remarkable coincidence that five years later Captain Fremont named one of the principal lakes of the Warner valley Christmas lake."—Notes on the Early History of the Warner Valley, furnished by Lewis A. McArthur, of the Oregon Geographic Board, in Warner Valley and White River Projects, Government Printing Office, 1916, p. 18. No further exploration of this region was made until 1849, when Brevet-Capt. W. H. Warner and Lieut. R. S. Williamson were directed to explore the upper reaches of Pit River. Warner with a party of nine men passed along the east shore of Abert Lake, over Fremont's route, and entered the Warner Valley at a point near Mugwump Lake. The party were ambushed by indians September 26, 1849, and Warner was killed. Warner's name was given to the valley which reaches from about ten miles north of the present southern boundary of Harney County almost to the California-Nevada line, being about sixty miles long, and from four to eight miles wide. Lieutenant Williamson's name is perpetuated by Williamson River, which Fremont crossed on his way from Klamath Marsh to Summer Lake. The reports of these explorations are to be found in Tyson's Geology of California, appendix, where they are reprinted from government documents.

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Fremont's course was then almost due south, and he camped on the night of December 26, 1843, near the forty-second parallel, then the boundary between Oregon and the Mexican province of Alta California. He passes therefore at this point out of the history of Oregon for a time, but since he is to reappear at a date somewhat later to continue his explorations of Southern Oregon, it is appropriate to record that he proceeded southward, his entire party enduring with commendable fortitude the grave hardships of a mid-winter journey across desert and mountain range, and arrived at length, March 6, 1844, at Sutter's Fort, California. Part of the time the party subsisted on the flesh of horses and mules, two dogs were eaten, and the cartographer of the expedition, Charles Preuss, losing his way, was once reduced to the extremity of devouring a hill of ants, which he found to have "an agreeable, acid taste." All the plants which Fremont had collected since leaving Fort Hall, representing the typical flora of a route of 2,000 miles, were lost when the mule which bore them fell over a precipice.

His quest of the Buenaventura River failed, because no river answering to its description existed, but one important result of his journey through the country was that he was enabled to make generalizations concerning the Pacific slope which had been impossible upon the basis of unconfirmed local data then in the possession of geographers. "All the maps up to that time," wrote Senator Thomas H. Benton,[35] "had shown this region traversed from east to west—from the base of the Rocky mountains to the bay of San Francisco—by a great river called the Buena Ventura, which may be translated Good Chance. Governor McLoughlin believed in the existence of this river, and made out a conjectural manuscript map to show its place and course. Fremont believed in it and his plan was to reach it before the dead of winter and then hibernate upon it. He found a desert—no Buena Ventura—and death from famine stared him in the face. By completing a circuit of about twelve degrees diameter north and south and ten degrees east and west, moreover, he closely paralleled the achievement of Jedediah Smith, and complemented it by travelling southward by a route which lay east of the Cascades and Sierra Nevadas." He was therefore in a position to assert with confidence that the Columbia was the only river that tranversed the whole breadth of country west of the Rocky Mountains, breaking through all ranges and entering the sea, and to point out that in consequence that river possessed an immense and peculiar value. "Its mouth," he said, in reviewing his labors of 1843-4, "is the only inlet and outlet to and from the sea; its three forks lead to the passes in the mountains; it is therefore the only line of communication between the Pacific and the interior of North America; and all operations of war or commerce, of national or social intercourse, must be conducted upon it. This gives it a value beyond estimation and would involve considerable injury if lost. * * * Commercially the value of the Oregon Country must be great, washed as it is by the north Pacific Ocean—fronting Asia

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[35] Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, p. 580. Senator Benton, who was Fremont's father-in-law and ardent champion of the explorer, claimed that Fremont's achievements were due to his own initiative solely. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company had gone south as far as the Gulf of California in 1830 (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 251, as shown by a letter there quoted by T. C. Elliott), and Jedediah Smith had traversed through from Southern California to the Columbia River in 1828. It is not likely therefore that Dr. McLoughlin believed in the existence of Buenaventura River as stated, in 1843.

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—producing many of the elements of commerce—mild and healthy in its climate—and becoming, as it naturally will, a thoroughfare for the East India and China trade." [36]

On his return to Washington, Fremont received the double brevet of captain, and in 1845 again crossed the plains by a southern route and marched north from California with the intention of discovering if possible a pass from the vicinity of Klamath Lake into the Willamette Valley. In the first week of May, 1846, he was at the northern end of Klamath Lake and again in Oregon. On May 9, 1846, he encountered Lieut. A. H. Gillespie, who had been sent to intercept him and deliver a verbal communication from Secretary of State Buchanan, directing him to return to California, there to "watch and counteract any foreign scheme in California and conciliate the good will of the inhabitants toward the United States." [37] The issues of the Oregon boundary, and the Texas-Mexico question were now at an acute stage, and Fremont's services were required elsewhere than in the field of exploration.

This marked the close of Fremont's travels in Oregon, but he was not permitted to depart without a dramatic and tragic reminder of the treachery of the Klamath indians, against whom he had been prudently on guard in 1843. Here, on the eve of the return journey, while the camp slept, unguarded by a sentry for only the second time in 20,000 miles of wilderness exploration, they were attacked in the night by a war party of fifteen or twenty Klamaths. The indians were repulsed with the loss of their chief, but not until three of Fremont's men had been killed. The dead were Basil Lajeunesse, a French hunter who had accompanied him on all three of his western expeditions, a Delaware indian named Crane, and a half breed Iroquois named Dennie. The travellers then speedily withdrew southward, taking time by the way to plant a counter-ambuscade into which the pursuing hostiles fell; and thereafter Fremont's name passes from the mere local annals of Oregon to the history of the struggle for possession of California and, somewhat later, to the broader arena of national political affairs.

Lieut. Theodore Talbot, one of Fremont's companions on his expedition of 1843, afterward when the rights of the United States had been established came to Fort Vancouver with the First United States Artillery in 1849, and was detailed to explore a route across the Coast Range. He left Oregon City with eight men, August 20 of that year, crossed the Willamette River at Champoeg, thence travelled by easy stages up the valley, fording the Yamhill, Rickreall and Luckiamute, and reaching the summit of the coast range by way of a branch of Mary's River, the men cutting a trail for themselves with axes as they went along. He descended the western slope of the north fork of the Siletz River, where he examined several deposits of coal which had been found by white settlers the preceding year. Leaving the Siletz River he went to Yaquina Bay, the outlet of which he explored, and also ascended the Yaquina River five miles. He made a trip to Alsea Bay, the entrance to which he surveyed, September 1, 1849. September 2 he made further soundings on the Yaquina bar, finding the channel of sufficient depth for navigation if further investigation should prove it not too narrow or too much exposed. He then returned by way of Otter Rock, became mired in the delta of the Siletz, and retraced his steps

[36] Fremont's Narrative of the Exploring Expedition, pp. 301, 304. (London Ed. 1846.)
[37] Benton, Thirty Years' View, Vol. II, p. 689.

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from there, going by way of the Siletz sandspit to the harbor entrance, the party swimming the channel and losing a horse which was swept out to sea. From the site of the present settlement of Taft he ascended to the pass above the headwaters of Salmon River and descended the Yamhill, passing near where Willamina and Sheridan now stand, and arrived at Oregon City, September 15. His prediction that veins of coal of considerable size would be found in the western coast range formation, and his surveys of Yaquina and Siletz bays, particularly the former, constituted his most important work.[38]

Coincident with Fremont's journey to Oregon, although conducted under vastly different circumstances, was the immigration of 1843, which, as shown in the preceding chapter, not only brought a great number of new settlers but wholly changed the character of the population, and decided the destiny of the region, so that it deserved the designation of "great immigration" commonly bestowed on it. Some further details of this important movement will be of interest. It began to assemble, as if spontaneously, at the frontier rendezvous near Independence, Mo., early in May, being moved by various, although not fundamentally conflicting, motives. These immigrants were of hardy stock, many of them were inured to the privation and hardships of frontier life from having dwelt on the outskirts of the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries, and they were a unit in their desire to improve their economic situation, and, in addition, many were inspiried by patriotic zeal to save Oregon for the United States. The "Oregon fever," which then prevailed, however, can be traced to no single source of infection. One of the leaders of the significant movement of this year has candidly summarized his motives as both patriotic and pecuniary. This was Peter H. Burnett, who confesses that he was attracted by the bill introduced by Senator Linn, and then pending in Congress, which proposed to donate to each immigrant 640 acres of land for himself, and 160 acres for each child, under the provisions of which, since he had a wife and six children, he would have been entitled to 1,600 acres. "I saw that a great American community would grow up in the space of a few years upon the shores of the distant Pacific," he adds, "and I felt an ardent desire to aid in this most important enterprise. At that time the country was claimed by both Great Britain and the United States, so that the most ready and peaceable way to settle the conflicting and doubtful claims of the two governments was to fill the country with American citizens. If we could only show by practical test that American emigrants could safely make their way across the continent to Oregon with their wagons, teams, cattle and families, then the solution of the question of title to the country was discovered."[39] Burnett was in debt and saw no reasonable probability of discharging his obligations if he remained in the Missouri town in which he then resided. His own estimate of his motives in emigrating to Oregon derives additional value from the fact that it was typical.

[38] Lieut. Theodore Talbot had made the journey to Oregon with Fremont in 1843. His manuscript journals are in the Library of Congress. When the right of the United States to the Oregon Country was settled, he was detailed with the First Regiment of Artillery and stationed at Fort Vancouver, 1849-52. His report on the Alsea Expedition is published with Tyson's Geology of California (appendix) from government documents. His journals show (August 1, 1849) that this expedition was projected upon the supposition that there was an "abundance of coal" on the Alsea.

[39] Recollections of an Old Pioneer, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, pp. 64-5. The part Whitman had in the journey of the immigrants of 1843 is set out in Chapter XXVII, supra.

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The company which crossed the plains in this year, like the much smaller immigration of the preceding season, and unlike those of succeeding years, has a peculiar place in history because it blazed the trail. For this reason a brief description of the experiences on the way may be given here. The route by which it travelled had never before been traversed over any of its distance by a great caravan. Its members, although they were accustomed to outdoor life, knew little or nothing about the outfitting of an expedition across the plains. However, by May 20, about eight hundred men, women and children had assembled in the various camps in the vicinity of Elm Grove, where a meeting was held and rules were adopted.

The first seeds of dissension were sown at this meeting held for the purpose of organizing the caravan, according to a letter from Burnett printed in the New York Herald, January 18, 1844. "The emigrants were from various places, unacquainted with each other, and there were among them many persons emulous of distinction and anxious to wear the honors of the company. A great difference of opinion existed as to the proper mode of organization, and many strange propositions were made. A red-faced old gentleman from east Tennessee state, high up on Big Pidgeon, near Kit Bullard's mill, whose name was Dulany, generally styled 'Captain,' most seriously proposed that the meeting should adopt the criminal laws of Missouri or Tennessee, for the government of the company. This proposition he supported in an able speech, and several speeches were made in reply. Some one privately suggested that we should also take along a penitentiary, if Captain Dulany's proposition should pass. These two propositions were voted for by the movers alone." [40]

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[40] Letters of Peter H. Burnett, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, p. 405. The rules are here reproduced as showing how, at almost the same time that the settlers already in Oregon were organizing a provisional government, those on the way there were dominated by a corresponding desire for regularity and decorum:

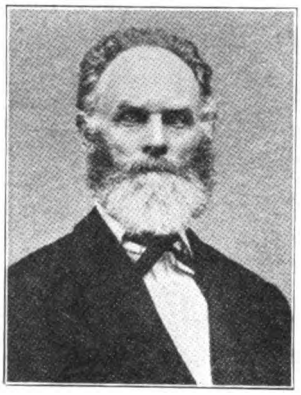
Rule 1. Every male person of the age of sixteen, or upward, shall be considered a legal voter in all affairs relating to the company.

Rule 2. There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all disputes arising between individuals, and to try and pass sentence on all persons for any act for which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of all sentinels and members of the guard, who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or sleeping on post. Such persons shall be tried, and sentence passed upon them at the discretion of the council. A majority of two-thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the same decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

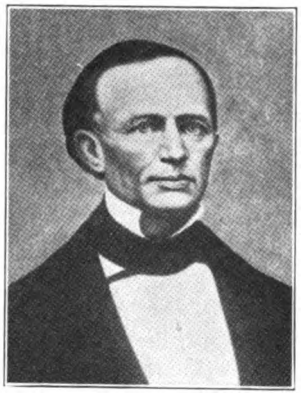
Rule 3. There shall be a captain elected who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobedience of orders shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The captain shall appoint the necessary number of duty sergeants, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the captain.

Rule 4. There shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company; and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom, thus giving every man an equal tour of guard duty. He shall also give the member of every guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade every guard, call the roll, and inspect the same at the time of mounting. He shall

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Thomas Carter



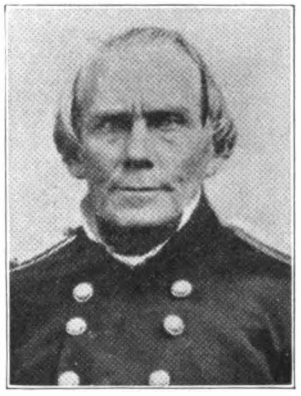
Daniel H. Lownsdale



Rev. Horace Lyman



Capt. John H. Couch



Gen. Stephen Coffin

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The start from Elm Grove was made May 22, and by the time the Kansas River was reached, June 1, the necessity of leadership had become apparent to most of the party, so Burnett was elected captain and J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant, and a council of nine were chosen. Capt. John Gantt, a former officer of the regular army, was employed as guide as far as Fort Hall and Dr. Marcus Whitman, then returning from the states, was welcomed as an additional adviser.

The journey was marred by no disasters of consequence, but the heterogeneous character of the company, as was the case with Doctor White's train, made discipline difficult. Burnett was not entirely successful in enforcing the rules. It soon became doubtful whether so large a body could be kept together on such a journey.[41] He resigned his leadership after eight days and William Martin was elected captain. The expedition soon afterward divided into two parts, however, those who had no herds constituting the "light column" and the other, being known as the "cow column." Jesse Applegate, who owned more livestock than any other immigrant, was made captain of the cow column. These travelled for a time within supporting distance of each other, but otherwise maintained separate organizations, such as they were. Still later four separate columns were created.

The company had the advantage of fresh pastures which later immigrant trains did not have, and of good hunting, buffalo and antelope being plentiful. The monotonous passage of the Platte Valley was made in the warm sunshine of June. The light column arrived on the south bank of the south fork on the 29th of that month, having travelled a distance of 173 miles in the Platte Valley in eleven days, and there they made boats by covering their wagon boxes with green buffalo hides. In these they crossed the river. This process was repeated with variations whenever the column reached a stream too deep to ford. At Fort Laramie, which they reached July 14, they paid $1.50 a pint for coffee and brown sugar, 25c a pound for unbolted flour, $1.50 a pound for powder, and $1.00 a yard for an inferior grade of calico. No trouble with

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also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that the guard are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the captain every morning, and be considered second in command.

Rule 5. The captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one-third or more of the company, to order a new election for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member or members of the council, or for all or any of them, as the case may be.

Rule 6. The election of officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas River.

Rule 7. No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose cattle to every male member of the family of the age of sixteen and upward. (Id., p. 407.)

[41] Burnett's Recollections, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 68. Nesmith soon arrived at a similar conclusion. The following appears in his diary, dated July 22: "The company is discontented and strong symptoms of mutiny. Some anxious to travel faster, some slower, some want to cross the river here, some want to go ahead, and others want to go any way but the right way. This will always be the way with heterogeneous masses of emigrants crossing these plains. While every man's will is his law, and lets him act or do as he pleases, he will always find friends to support him." (Diary of the Emigration of 1843, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 342.) Again, on July 28: "The Oregon emigrating company has been strangely divided, and no doubt the dividend will be again divided. The materials it is formed of cannot be controlled." (Id., p. 344.)

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indians was experienced after leaving this place as the mountain men had led the immigrants to expect, but an incident occurred which illustrates the attitude of certain of the whites toward the indians which may have contributed to the difficulties between the races in subsequent years. While following a band of buffaloes, August 2, a detachment of the immigrants came upon a young Sioux indian, alone, whom they questioned concerning the whereabouts of his tribe. He replied that they numbered 300 and were encamped on a lake three miles distant. "He was very much frightened," writes a member of the company, "when he saw that we knew he was a Sioux, expecting to be killed on the spot. We turned to go away, when the trader observed that we ought to kill him; but the rest of us objected, and he was overruled."[42]

Several deaths occurred on the way, and a number of new lives were ushered into the world, Doctor Whitman performing the duties of physician on some of these occasions. The travellers were in the now famous South Pass on August 5, 6 and 7, 1843, and crossed the Green River August 11. Here it was learned that Doctor Whitman had been informed that the Catholic missionaries had discovered a pass through the mountains by way of Fort Bridger, and the company resolved to take that route and save some distance. At Fort Bridger, August 14, they overtook the missionaries, Fathers DeSmet and DeVos, whom they previously had met at the crossing of the Kansas, May 31. Varying the monotony of their fare with an abundance of excellent fish and wild ducks and geese which they obtained at the Bear River, they proceeded forward with no incidents of moment to Fort Hall, having thus travelled 213 miles from Fort Bridger in thirteen days. This was regarded as good progress for a caravan of ox-teams. The virgin character of the road, however, made travel comparatively easy. Only a few loaded wagons had ever made their way to Fort Hall. To this point, it was the judgment of Burnett, the road over which the train had passed was perhaps the finest natural road of the same length to be found in the world.[43]

The immigrants persisted in their determination to take their wagons to the Columbia, although advised not to attempt to do so, and were justified by subsequent events, but the party now began to break up, as Nesmith had predicted it would do, and a number of the younger men, with impetuosity of youth, preceded the larger caravans with pack trains which they hastily improvised. On the way to Fort Boise they journeyed through a desolate region thickly covered with artemisia, or sagebrush, which Burnett has aptly characterized as a "melancholy shrub," but fortunately this plant offered no substantial resistance to the wheels of the heavy wagons and progress was not seriously retarded. The immigrants were now travelling without respect to organization. At a point near the American Falls of the Snake River several of the party turned south to California, having left their wagons behind, and at Fort Boise there were other divisions, one particularly impatient company of five pushing forward on horseback. Approaching the

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[42] Migration of 1843, by Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 84. "We arrived at our Company's encampment that night, having killed nothing. When we told them of our adventure with the Sioux, all the traders joined in exclaiming against us, for not killing him. * * * They adopted the indian argument, and said that as we were among indians, we must treat them as they treated us; and so the white people who live in the Rocky Mountains act towards their enemies." (Id., p. 85.)

[43] Burnett's Recollections, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 76.

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Grande Ronde, the trains were compelled to hew a way with axes through the timber. Nesmith was with the advance party, on which fell the burden of road-building under peculiarly trying circumstances. They camped near the Whitman Mission, October 10, arrived at Fort Walla Walla, October 16, and here the last semblance of organization was lost. Applegate and others built the fleet of boats which aroused the admiration of Lieutenant Fremont, who overtook the party at this point. A greater number continued by an overland route to The Dalles, where they embarked on rafts to the Cascades, and thence voyaged to Fort Vancouver in boats and canoes. A small number ventured through the Cascade Mountains by Daniel Lee's cattle trail. The part of the journey after leaving Fort Walla Walla was the most difficult of all. A son of Jesse Applegate was drowned by the capsizing of a boat. The travellers suffered much from the depredations of indians, the natives in the vicinity of The Dalles fully warranting their reputation as being the worst thieves between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. The journey from Independence, Mo., to Oregon City consumed a little more than five months and a half.

Many were destitute when they reached the Willamette Valley, and those who could find work that winter regarded themselves as especially fortunate. Some received assistance in the form of goods on credit from Doctor McLoughlin, and others were helped by the more prosperous members of the immigration. The cattle had been left behind either at Fort Walla Walla or The Dalles, and only a few horses reached the Willamette Valley in condition for service. The arrival of the party more than doubled the population of the territory, and imposed a heavy tax on its resources. Pork was ten and flour four cents a pound—not high prices by recent standards, but all but prohibitive considering the scanty means of the newcomers at that time. They were nevertheless fortunate in being generally in good health, and with the hardships of the long journey behind them their good humor returned. "The state of discontent on the part of the new immigrants," observes Burnett, who was a keen observer and an impartial recorder of events, "was temporary, and only lasted during the winter. In the spring, when the thick clouds cleared away, and the grass and flowers sprang up beneath the kindling rays of a bright Oregon sun, their spirits revived with reviving nature; by the succeeding fall they had themselves become old settlers, and formed a part of us, their views and feelings in the meantime having undergone a total change. It was interesting to observe the influence of new circumstances upon human character. Among the men who went to Oregon the year I did, some were idle, worthless young men, too lazy to work at home, and too genteel to steal. * * * But when they arrived in Oregon they were compelled to work or starve. I never saw so fine a population, as a whole community, as I saw in Oregon most of the time I was there.[44] "Private difficulties have but seldom occurred," says another participant in the events of this period, "and there is more harmony in this society than we have ever known or heard of, in any other part of the world."[45] The arrivals soon scattered out over the country, acquired land claims, built cabins and even laid the foundations for new towns. Burnett and M. M. McCarver, for example, laid out a townsite on the

[44] Burnett's Recollections, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, pp. 173-4.

[45] Migration of 1843, Overton and Johnson, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 194.

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west bank of the Willamette River, which they called Linnton, after Senator Linn, author of the land bill which was responsible, to a greater extent than any other single influence, for the early Oregon immigration.[46] A singularly large proportion of the men who reached Oregon in this year attained some degree of eminence in the work of building a new commonwealth.

It would have been contrary to the spirit of enterprise if the immigrants had remained content to pursue the trail marked by predecessors, and so it follows that there was much seeking to better the ways to reach the Pacific coast, particularly since the herds of the travellers made heavy demands on the grass for some miles on either side of the highway. Increasing numbers, too, made the old methods of organization more impracticable. The migration of 1844 travelled as several separate trains. The peak of privation was not attained in this year until the travellers arrived in Oregon, where, late in the autumn, they found the colony scarcely ready to receive them. Excellent crops had been harvested, it is true, but the chief need of the newcomers was clothing. They were almost barefoot and there was not a tanyard in the territory. In this emergency the pioneers were compelled to resort to makeshifts and substitutes. Burnett tells how he whittled out several pairs of lasts, with the aid of which he made shoes from undressed leather, which was tanned only on the outside. To keep these soft enough to wear during the day it was constantly necessary to soak them in water at night.[47] Those who were less ingenious went unshod while they prepared their ground for the season's crops. For the first two years after 1843 leading citizens in the community knew what it was to be without meat on their tables for weeks at a time. Nor was bread always plentiful.

In 1844 there was a movement, noteworthy because of its ultimate results, led by Michael T. Simmons, to open the country north of the Columbia to American settlement. This party, all members of the immigration of 1844, opened the first wagon trail from the Columbia River to Puget Sound, and Simmons settled at the falls of the Des Chutes River (a different Deschutes from the stream in Eastern Oregon) at the head of Budd's inlet, near the present Town of Tumwater, Thurston County, Washington.

The outstanding feature of the immigration of 1845, which consisted of perhaps three thousand persons, and which differed from its predecessors chiefly in the respect that it drew more largely from the eastern and middle states, and less exclusively from the western frontier, was the tragic misadventure of a party of some two hundred families who were persuaded at Fort Hall to attempt to reach the Willamette Valley by way of the Malheur River. These immigrants engaged Stephen H. L. Meek as guide, but Meek lost the way and led them into the great desert south of the headwaters of the John Day, from where they turned southward. They did not go as far in that direction as they should, and strayed

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[46] Letter of Burnett published in Ohio Statesman, October 23, 1844, reprinted in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 181. He said of this town: "I have no doubt but that this place will be the great commercial town of the territory. We are selling lots at $50.00 each, and sell them fast at that. At the falls there is quite a town already. I own two lots in Oregon City (the town at the falls). They are said to be worth $200 each. I got them of Dr. McLoughlin for two lots here in Linnton." Linnton was a few miles below Portland on the Willamette, near another early townsite called Springville. Linn City was a different townsite, founded by Robert Moore, opposite Oregon City.

[47] Burnett's Recollections, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 174.

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to a region so desolate that even the indians had avoided it. The cattle were footsore from travel over the lava formation of the Malheur Mountains, there was no water that was not strongly impregnated with alkali, and a malignant fever became epidemic. Several children became ill and died, and when at length the party gave up trying to find a pass through the Cascades and determined to turn north, crossing the ridge between the John Day and Deschutes rivers, bitterness against Meek had become so intense that the guide was compelled to secrete himself and afterward to flee. From The Dalles, however, he sent a rescue party to their relief. The Deschutes was reached in time and the travellers were again delayed by the necessity of transporting themselves, and such of their goods as were not abandoned, by means of an aerial tramway made from a wagon box suspended from a cable across the stream. They arrived at The Dalles about the middle of October. Twenty had died along the way and others were so weakened by the privations of the fateful journey that they succumbed after reaching their destination.

Other divisions of the immigration of this year, traveling over the usual route, including the company of Joel Palmer, reached The Dalles two weeks ahead of the Meek party, and Palmer and Samuel K. Barlow proceeded in advance by a hitherto unexplored route in an effort to find a way to the Willamette Valley around the base of Mount Hood. These suffered innumerable hardships and delays, so that the rear guard of the season's migration straggled into Oregon City, weary and destitute, in December. Barlow's exploratory work was fruitful, inasmuch as he applied for and received from the provisional authorities a charter for a toll road, afterward famous as the Barlow Trail, which was put in order in time to be exceedingly serviceable to the immigrants of 1846, and to obviate the dangers and hardships which previously had attended the voyage down the river from The Dalles. In fact, a decided stimulus was given to the general desire for better roads and trails throughout the territory.[48] The population after the arrivals of 1845 is estimated at 6,000 persons, principally confined to Clatsop, Tualatin, Yamhill, Champoeg and Clackamas counties.

A British fleet of sixteen vessels, mounting 355 guns, was now in the Pacific Ocean, having received accessions perhaps in view of the uncertain status of the northern boundary question, and the Columbia River Valley was visited in August, 1845, by Captain Park of the British Royal Marines, and Lieut. William Peel, of the British Navy, who brought assurances to the local officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that the British Government would extend protection to its nationals and to the company in the event of an open rupture with the United States. Lieutenant Peel moreover was charged to ascertain whether troops might in an emergency be conveyed overland from Canada to the lower

[48] Samuel Kimbrough Barlow, builder of the first chartered toll road in the territory, was the author of the famous aphorism: "God never made a mountain that he had not made a place for some man to go over it or under it and I am going to hunt for it." (Mary S. Barlow, History of the Barlow Road, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, p. 72.) On receiving authority from the provisional legislature of 1846 he put forty men to work, so that two-thirds of the immigration of 1846 and probably as large a proportion of subsequent immigrations traveled this way in order to avoid the bateau trip at The Dalles. In 1848 tolls were fixed by law at $5 for each wagon and $1 for each head of stock. Many reached the toll gate who had not the means to pay and Barlow accepted their promises, which were not always redeemed. He later surrendered the road to the territory as a public highway when he believed that he had been sufficiently reimbursed.

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Columbia Valley. The America, flagship of the squadron, was stationed at Puget Sound for a time, to be succeeded by the frigate Fisgard, forty-two guns, and the gunboat Cormorant, six guns; and November 2, 1845, the sloop-of-war Modeste, eighteen guns, entered the Columbia River, anchoring before Vancouver, November 29. These obviously warlike preparations gave an added importance to exploration, in view of the desirability that United States troops, should they be required, might gain access to the territory by a more practicable overland route than then had been discovered. This patriotic motive, together with desire of those who had settled in the southern part of the Willamette Valley to promote local development, induced Levi Scott, Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, and others, to organize a prospecting party in the spring of 1846 to search for a southern pass. These men ascended the Umpqua Canyon, which though exceedingly rough was believed to afford a feasible way for wagons, then followed a southeastern branch of the Rogue River to the foot of the Siskiyou Mountains, and near the parallel of forty-two degrees approached an easy slope which led them to the stream now called Keene Creek, near the summit of the Siskiyou Ridge. Here they camped, June 30, in a little valley now known as Mound Prairie, and July 4 crossed the summit of the Cascade Range, from where they descended rather rapidly to the point where Fremont only a few days previously had met Lieutenant Gillespie and had turned back to California. The prospectors now continued along the shore of lower Klamath Lake, turned eastward and forded Lost River on the since famous stone bridge, a submerged causeway. Passing to the south of Goose Lake they ascended a beautiful sloping meadow which led by way of Lassen Creek, through a gap in the mountain wall to the eastward, and entered Surprise Valley in Northern California. The party found their way across the great desert of Northern Nevada to the Humboldt Meadows, ascended the Humboldt River and in due time reached Fort Hall.[49]

The prospectors met a considerable train of immigrants at Fort Hall and persuaded a number of them, including J. Quinn Thornton, who set down his experiences in a journal which he afterward extended into a book, to travel by the new route into Southern Oregon. Most of the members of this division, which Thornton himself has estimated at ninety-eight men and fifty women, followed Applegate, who pressed ahead to improve the trail, with the assistance of a few young volunteers from among the immigrants.

The caravan was disappointed, however, for various causes, and consumed three months and five days in making the journey from Thousand Springs to the Rogue River Valley, which the prospectors had covered in the opposite direction in thirty-seven days, the cattle and other impedimenta of the settlers accounting only in part for the delay. They had several skirmishes with Modoc indians, in one of which a member of the party was killed; the desert furnished insufficient sustenance for their animals, and in a panic which overtook them when they found themselves in the Cascade Mountains with winter almost on them, some of the travellers cast away their portable belongings. They had left the old Oregon Trail August 9, and it was on November 9, 1846, being then in the canyon of the Umpqua, that Thornton wrote: "Having at various times upon the journey from Ogden's River [the Hum-

[49] Lindsay Applegate, The South Road Expedition, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XXII, p. 12 et seq.

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boldt] thrown away my property, I had little remaining save our buffalo robes, blankets, arms, ammunition, watch and the most valuable part of our wardrobe. We were very weak in consequence of want of sufficient and healthful food. The road was very muddy, and the rain was descending in the gorge of the mountains, where we were, while the snow was falling far above us upon the sides. There was a close canyon, some three miles ahead of us, down which we would have to wade three miles in cold mountain snow-water, frequently above the middle."[50] Thornton's party, which had now fallen to the rear, was able to judge the privations of those who had gone before by physical evidence left along the trail. "We passed many wagons," says Thornton, "that had been abandoned by their owners, in consequence of their proprietors finding it impossible to take them over. We passed household and kitchen furniture, beds and bedding, books, carpets, cooking utensils, dead cattle, broken wagons and wagons not broken, but, nevertheless, abandoned. In short, the whole road presented the appearance of a defeated and retreating army having passed over it, instead of one over which had passed a body of cheerful and happy immigrants, with high hopes and brilliant expectations."[51] An immigrant died, leaving a widow and seven small children, and there were a number of other deaths along the way. Others were scantily clad and were not only without money, which for the moment was of no consequence, but what was of prime importance they were utterly without food.

Applegate received tidings of the plight of the stragglers and made all possible haste, with the cooperation of other citizens, to send relief, which reached them in the Umpqua Valley, November 14. The venture nevertheless provoked deep ill-feeling and was the cause of feuds which marred the neighborhood life of the settlements for some years. A weighty and prolonged controversy was waged in the columns of the Spectator. Thornton no sooner arrived at Rickreall settlement than he wrote a letter imploring the people of the Willamette Valley to go to the aid of the immigrants with at least one hundred head of pack horses, and declaring that unless this were done all must perish.[52] The Spectator, February 4, 1847, printed a statement on the authority of "some of the immigrants who have reached here," to the effect that the southern party had arrived safely, to which Thornton retorted with a harrowing account of the suffering he had observed,[53] and David Goff, one of Applegate's associates in locating the new route, replied denying that conditions had been misrepresented, and stating that the immigrants had been plainly told that the road through the Umpqua Mountains alone would require the labor of at least twenty men for ten days to make it passable, and intimating that, since they had failed to furnish sufficient help, their misfortunes were chiefly due to their own fault.[54]

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[50] J. Quinn Thornton, Oregon and California, Vol. I, p. 217.

[51] Id., Vol. I, p. 218.

[52] Oregon Spectator, December 10, 1846. Thornton's letter is dated at Rickreall, November 30, 1846.

[53] Oregon Spectator, March 4, 1847.

[54] Oregon Spectator, April 29, 1847. Thornton had meanwhile been made supreme judge of the territory, which gave a political flavor to the correspondence, and resort to personalities being the fashion of the period, Goff denounced Thornton as a man whose "conduct had made him so odious to the company with which he traveled that scarce a hand would have been raised to defend his life or a hole dug to hide him in when dead," and declared "that the quibble, subterfuge, and falsehood which might pass unnoticed in the pettifogger became conspicuous in the judge, and his present elevation, like the monkey on the pole,

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Goff averred that notwithstanding their unquestioned hardships, the southern party then had more cattle alive than those who had come by the northern route.

A number of immigrants came by the Applegate route in 1847, however, each party contributing something to the improvement of the road and profiting by the experiences of its predecessors, and thus, suffering fewer delays, arrived in the Willamette Valley late in September. These immigrants, according to Jesse Applegate, did much for the future prosperity of the country. "By their energy and perseverance," said Applegate, "they have redeemed the character of a road which, in the indispensable articles of grass and water, can accommodate an immense number of animals, and from the easy access which it opens to the southern valleys of the territory, the day is not far distant when they will rival the Columbia in population and wealth."[55]

The course of the immigration which marked this period had been observed, not without realization of its political significance, by the British Cabinet at about the time that agitation over the possession of the territory was most critical. The presence of British warships in Puget Sound and in the Columbia River, which has been noted, was supplemented by the visit to the territory of two British army officers, who traveled, under instructions, in the guise of "private travellers for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits."[56] These men were Lieut. Henry Warre and Lieut. M. Vavasour, of the British Royal Marines, who arrived at Vancouver October 25, 1845. The military and political character of their mission has been fully attested by recent disclosures of official records, although at one time it was assumed that they came in the character of spies upon the local officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. What they did was to scrutinize closely the possibilities of the defense of the territory in the event of war and to report on accessibility by the northern or Canadian

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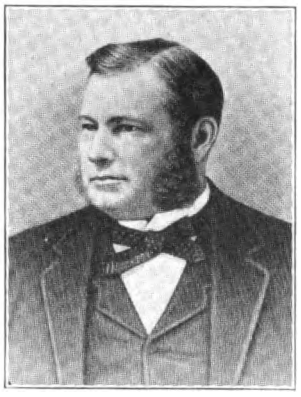
only shows the plainer that the role of ermine but half conceals the dog." Thornton replied giving a list of testimonials from neighbors and former neighbors, and adding: "Here, I believe that I might rest, so far as regards the many untruths contained in the article written over the name of David Goff, who, it is proper to remark, is so exceedingly illiterate as not to be able to write his own name or even to read it when written for him." (Oregon Spectator, May 13, 1847.)

Somewhat later, the years having softened the asperities of the early journey and Thornton having meanwhile become better acquainted with Jesse Applegate, Thornton recanted his harsh judgment that the immigrants had been misled from motives of pecuniary gain. "We cannot explore the recesses of Jesse Applegate's mind for the purpose of discovering the hidden forces, which in the end wrought such disastrous results," he wrote in 1878. "Smarting under a present sense of loss, the emigrants, in a fever and delirium of excitement, denounced him in terms which indicated the gangrene of a resentment that was in a high degree unfavorable to a cool judgment upon acts which they saw indeed, but respecting the motives for which they could only form an opinion. * * * Having since traveled very far toward the sunset of life, and standing now in the rapidly lengthening shadows of old age, I look backward through the vista of thirty-two years, and see how possible it was for Jesse Applegate to have been led into an erroneous estimate of distances and of the general character of the road by the overweaning influence of strong desires that clouded his judgment, and thus disqualified him for correctly describing the route he persuaded us to follow." (Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions for 1878, p. 69.)

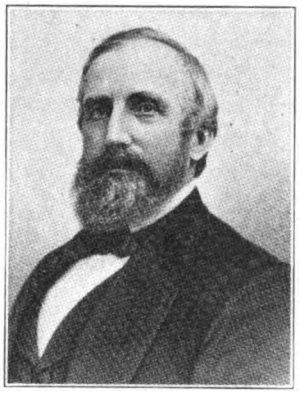
[55] Oregon Spectator, October 14, 1847. W. W. Chapman gives an account of his experiences on this route in 1847 in Hist. of the Pac. Northwest, edited by Elwood Evans, Vol. II, p. 257.

[56] Sir George Simpson to Peter Skene Ogden, May 30, 1845, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. X, p. 35.

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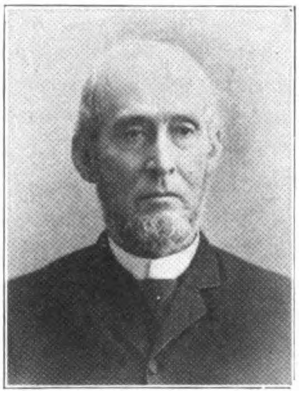
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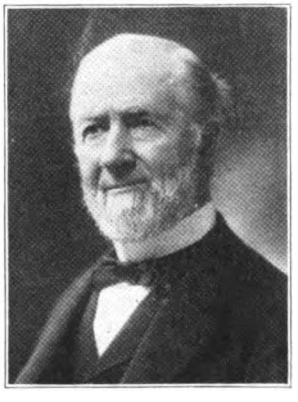
William S. Ladd



Hon. George L. Curry



Cicero H. Lewis



Henry W. Corbett

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routes and by those further south then commonly traveled by Americans. Their report, dated October 26, 1845, was a testimonial to the superiority of the American trail and a recognition of the preponderance of American influence in the colony. They found the route usually traveled by Hudson's Bay traders from the Red River settlements to Oregon to be "quite impracticable for the transport of troops, with their provisions, stores, etc.,"[57] reminding their government that the Red River immigration which Sir George Simpson had fostered in 1841 was composed of persons accustomed to the voyageur's life and consequently its success was not to be deemed a criterion by which to determine the feasibility of the route for troops; and that, on the other hand, the passage of the Rocky Mountains within American territory presented little or no difficulty. "That troops might be sent from the United States to Oregon," they reported, "is evident from the fact that 300 dragoons of the United States regular army having accompanied the last emigration to the above mentioned valley through the mountains, ostensibly for the protection of said emigrants from the hostile indians of the plains."[58] They discovered that even in 1844 citizens of the United States formed a large majority over the only British subjects in the Oregon Country, and estimated the total population of the Willamette Valley at about 6,000, of whom about 1,000 might be considered as subjects of Great Britain. The report reached London too late to exercise any influence whatever on the Government's policy in dealing with the boundary issue, but it has value as a picture of conditions in the territory. In a second report, dated June 16, 1846, only a day after the boundary treaty had been signed, they noted, for example, that "since the summer a village called Portland has been commenced between the falls and Linnton, to which an American merchant ship ascended and discharged her cargo in September." With the eye of prophecy they observed that the situation of Portland was superior to that of Linnton, and the back country of easier access. Settlements were springing up here and there along the banks of the Willamette below the falls. A wagon road from Tualatin Plains to the old settlement at Scappoose had been begun. Everywhere the open prairies had been claimed by settlers, who were loth to begin clearing land for homes in the heavy timber.[59] The outstanding features of legislation thus far enacted by the provisional government, in the minds of these visitors, were the laws looking toward the opening of two lines of communication across the Cascade Mountains south of the Columbia River. One of these routes, by way of the Santiam River, the Lebanon-Warm Springs road of today, they viewed as impracticable, notwithstanding the optimism of the contractor at work on this grade. The picture impressed on us by perusal of the official correspondence of these not too cordially-disposed officers is a picture of a gradually developing community life, of improvement of the physical

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[57] Id., p. 39.

[58] Id., p. 44.

[59] Warre and Vavasour supposed, mistakenly, as events have since proved, that "the immigrants were too indolent to clear the woods." (Id., p. 77.) They described Scappoose as a small settlement "where half a dozen American and Canadian families are located on low ground between the river and a range of lofty hills, running parallel to the left bank." They described Tualatin plains as a fine, rich, open prairie country where about 150 Canadians, half breed, and American families are settled. (Id., p. 75.) These settlements and others in the Willamette Valley are described in the correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher who visited there in 1849. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 268.)

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means of social intercourse, and of the growing commercial importance of the territory. Portland had only then received a name [60] and its inhabitants were felling the trees from which their first homes were to be constructed and their primitive furniture was to be made. With such tools only as saw, auger, pole-ax, broad-ax and adze these men labored with zeal that atoned for want of better implements. Fireplaces and chimneys were built of sticks fastened inside and out with clay. Puncheon floors were the rule, windows were but sliding doors in the walls, without glass, and wooden pegs were almost universally used in place of nails.[61] This description of life in Portland in 1845 and 1846 is applicable to that of the whole territory. The unexpected numbers of the immigration of 1845 made it necessary for the new arrivals to labor diligently and to practice strict economy. By the spring of 1846 newly-occupied farms had begun to produce, but the wild fruits and nuts which were then abundant were gathered and stored with painstaking labor. Thrift was a virtue growing out of universal necessity.[62]

The visit of Park and Peel and the arrival of the Modeste in the Columbia River stirred the patriotism of the American residents, who were now very largely in the majority, but did not blind them to their social duties. Peel made himself agreeable while he endeavored to ascertain the sentiment of the inhabitants, was received with considerable cordiality by leading American settlers, and became convinced that the British cause was lost. It was reported

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[60] The first foundation of Portland had been laid indeed in November, when Asa L. Lovejoy, Doctor Whitman's companion on his eastward journey in the preceding winter, and William Overton, came ashore from a canoe enroute from Vancouver to Oregon City, and after examining the topography of the locality concluded that it was suitable for a townsite. Overton thereafter sold his interest to F. W. Pettygrove and it is well authenticated that the name Portland was chosen in 1845 by the tossing of a coin, Pettygrove a native of Maine, favoring it as against Boston, proposed by Lovejoy, who had come from Massachusetts. Pettygrove, events attest, won the contest. At the date of the second Warre and Vavasour report Pettygrove was a merchant with his principal place of business in Oregon City, and conducted a branch store in Portland. Lovejoy still maintained his law offices at Oregon City. (Advertisement in Oregon Spectator, February 5, 1846.)

[61] Mrs. C. M. Cartwright, Early Days in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 56. Mrs. Cartwright was Charlotte Terwilliger, daughter of James Terwilliger, an Oregon immigrant of 1845 and one of the earliest residents of the original townsite of Portland. The town of Milwaukie, on the Willamette laid out by Lot Whitcomb was a competitor. In 1850, he, with others, built and operated between that town and Astoria a steamboat called the Lot Whitcomb refusing to allow it to stop at Portland. But the Portland townsite proprietors acquired a sea-going steam vessel, the "Gold Hunter," which was operated between Portland and San Francisco and this, with the opening of a road to Tualatin Valley from Portland established the supremacy of that city over its rivals. (W. W. Chapman, in Hist. of Pac. Northwest, Vol. II, p. 259.)

[62] An advertisement in the Oregon Spectator of April 30, 1846, at Oregon City, indicates the thrift and the humor of the owner of the pioneer steamboat line above the falls, whose generous offer was to permit his passengers to board themselves:

"Passengers Own Line

"The subscriber begs leave to inform the public that he has well calk'd, gumm'd, and greas'd the light draft and fast running boats, Mogul and Ben. Franklin, now in port for freight or charter, which will ply regularly between Oregon City and Champoeg during the present season.

"Passage gratis, by paying 50 cents specie or $1.00 on the stores. Former rules will be observed—passengers can board with the captain, by finding their own provisions.

"N. B. Punctuality to the hour of departure is earnestly requested. As time waits for no man, the boats will do the same. Robert Newell."

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that Peel inquired of Jesse Applegate, whom he visited at the latter's home, whether his neighbors would fight for the possession of Oregon. "Fight, lieutenant, yes; they would not only fight you Britishers, but their own commanders if they did not command to suit them," Applegate is said to have replied.[63] The Modeste became a center of social gaiety during nearly a year and a half of her stay. Capt. Thomas Baillie, her commander, acted as host to the residents without respect to the nationality of his guests, and at sundry amateur theatrical performances held on board the vessel, American as well as British patriotic songs were sung.

On behalf of the United States, Lieut. Neil M. Howison was detailed in 1846 to visit Oregon with the schooner Shark, and although he did not arrive in the Columbia River until July 1, 1846, some time after the boundary treaty had been signed, he made a report concerning the trade, shipping and general development of the territory at this stage which by reason of its official character was influential in sustaining the interest already created in the Oregon Country. He was received with honors by Governor Abernethy, the official salute on that occasion being fired from a hole in a blacksmith's anvil, and he was escorted on a week's ride through the Willamette Valley, which elicited from him the observation that "a more lovely country nature has never provided for her virtuous sons and daughters than I here traveled through."[64] Although a sailor, Howison had a particularly keen eye for matters agricultural, and lamented that so fruitful a region had not received more exotic plants and flowers than had yet arrived. The honey-bee had not yet been naturalized, though sweet-briar and honeysuckle, clover and wild-grape blossom wasted their sweetness on the desert air, and in various ways the newcomers had neglected obvious opportunities; yet on the whole he found in the settlers a great deal to admire. "Many allowances," he said, "should be made in favor of these people. They come generally from the poorer classes of the western states, with the praiseworthy design of improving their fortunes. They brave dangers and accomplish Herculean labors on the journey across the mountains, and during this time are reminded of no law but expediency. That they should, so soon after their union into new societies at their new homes, voluntarily place themselves under any restraints of law or penalties whatever, is an evidence of a good

[63] John Minto, Motives and Antecedents of Pioneers, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 50. Minto, an immigrant of 1844, does not vouch for the truth of the story, although he says it "sounds like Applegate;" but he attests the following: "Within fifteen or twenty miles of the Applegate residence, from which Mr. Peel and his party were traveling northward, the writer listening to Mr. Daniel Matheny's question to Peel as to how he liked Oregon, heard the latter deliberately reply: 'Mr. Matheny, it is certainly the most beautiful country in its natural state my eyes ever beheld,' then after a slight pause he continued: 'I regret to say that I am afraid we (the British) are not going to be the owner of it.' When early in 1846 the completion of Dr. McLoughlin's flour mill at Oregon City was made the occasion of a social jubilee, Peel and the officers of the Modeste were invited, and Peel and Dr. Robert Newell had a wager on the result of a poll to determine the national predilections of the company. Newell won, the majority present being Americans. According to Lieutenant Neil M. Howison, the presence of the British flag was a source of irritation, notwithstanding the outward self-restraint of the people. "The English officers used every gentlemanly caution to reconcile our countrymen to their presence," he says, "but no really good feelings existed. Indeed, there could never be congeniality between persons so entirely dissimilar as an American frontiersman and a British naval officer." (Howison's Report on Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 7.)

[64] Howison's Report on Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 8.

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disposition which time will be sure to improve and refine." Of the population of the territory as a whole, he said that it deserved "to be characterized as honest, brave and hardy, rapidly improving in those properties and qualities which mark them for future distinction among the civilized portion of the world."[65]

Howison's schooner, the Shark, was wrecked in attempting to leave the Columbia River, September 10, 1846, and became a total loss, a misfortune which Howison attributed to alteration of the channel since Wilkes' survey, and to the unexpected action of the tide. No lives were lost, although there were some narrow escapes, and citizens of the territory, Hudson's Bay officials and officers of the Modeste were equally zealous in extending aid and expressing sympathy. Howison chartered the Hudson's Bay Company schooner Cadboro, in which he transported his crew to San Francisco, and almost his last act before his departure January 18, 1847, was to present the colors of the Shark to the citizens of the territory through Governor Abernethy. "With the fullest confidence that it will be received and duly appreciated as such by our countrymen here," he wrote from Baker's Bay, "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."[66]

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[65] Id., p. 55-6.

[66] Howison's Report on Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 59. Some details of the wreck of the Shark and the appearance of the settlement at Astoria at that time are given in letters of Burr Osborn, a member of the crew, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 355.

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CHAPTER XXXI

DETERMINATION OF THE BOUNDARIES

By a treaty between the United States and Spain (the Florida treaty), in 1819, and a convention with Russia in 1824, and by a treaty between Russia and Great Britain in 1825, the northwestern boundary question was reduced to an issue between Great Britain and the United States. By the Florida treaty the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions in the United States was definitely fixed as the parallel of 42° north latitude. Our convention with Russia, which nation formerly had laid claim to the entire Pacific coast north of the Columbia River, and even as far south as 38°, determined the line of 54° 40′ north latitude, which was coincident with the most southern point of Prince of Wales Island, as the southern limit of the Russian territory on this continent. The treaty between Russia and Great Britain also mentioned 54° 40′ as the starting point in delimiting the boundary between the Russian and the British possessions. The Russo-British treaty was important to this issue chiefly because it outlined the boundary on the land side between the British and Russian territorial claims, but its mention of 54° 40′ is also significant because of the bearing at a subsequent time on the contention between Great Britain and the United States.

The extent of the territory originally ceded by Napoleon to the United States, known as the Louisiana Purchase, was never precisely determined in any official instrument. The earliest exposition of the limits of that region, as Robert Greenhow has pointed out,[1] is found in a royal grant made September 17, 1712, by King Louis XIV, of France to one Antoine Crozat, bestowing the exclusive trade of these countries. This grant alluded to the "territories by us possessed, and bounded by New Mexico and by those of the English in Carolina" * * * "from the seashore to the Illinois, together with the rivers St. Philip, formerly called the Missouries river, and the St. Jerome, formerly called the Wabash (the Ohio), with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or indirectly into that part of the River St. Louis." In a concession purely for the purposes of trade, and in which the right of sovereignty was retained by the French crown, the boundaries thus indefinitely described were deemed sufficient. Later the agreement with Crozat was suffered to lapse, and after various vicissitudes the whole region reverted to the King of France.

In 1763, by a treaty of peace at Paris, ending the Seven Years' War, between France and Spain on the one hand and Great Britain and Portugal on the other, the territory known as Louisiana was ceded to "his Catholic majesty (the King of Spain) and his successors in perpetuity," and Great Britain at the same time obtained possession of Canada, Florida, and the portion of Louisiana east of a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to the River Iberville

[1] Oregon and California, third edition, 1845, p. 277.

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and thence along the middle of the Iberville, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea. Thus the eastern line of Louisiana Territory was defined, while the western and northern boundaries remained vague, as before. By the treaty of October 1, 1800, which was not made public until seventeen years after the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, France and Spain made an exchange of territories, France receiving Louisiana and ceding to the Duke of Parma, a prince of Spain, certain dominions in Italy. The language of this treaty of exchange did nothing to make more definite the northern and western boundaries of Louisiana. It merely ceded "the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it now has in the hands of Spain, and which it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be, according to the treaties subsequently made between Spain and other states." The language of the Louisiana Purchase treaty, in 1803, is no more precise. It is: "The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship doth hereby cede to the United States in the name of the French Republic forever and in full sovereignty the said territory with all its rights and appurtenances as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above mentioned Treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty."[2]

Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain to determine the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase were begun soon after the purchase was consummated, and were conducted almost at the time of exchanges between this government and that of Spain concerning the extent of that territory on the south, but those first mentioned were interrupted by the war of 1812. A strange assumption of history for which later investigators have found no warrant had led the American commissioners in the negotiations with Great Britain to claim a line running along the 49th parallel of north latitude.[3] How-

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[2] Treaties and Conventions, Malloy ed., 1910, Vol. I, p. 509.

[3] Greenhow notes that it was long taken for granted that by the peace of Utrecht (1713) the parallel of 49° was agreed on "as the dividing line between the French possessions of western Canada and Louisiana on the south and the British territories of Hudson's Bay on the north," and that, this treaty having been specifically confirmed in the treaty of 1763, by which Canada and the part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi and Iberville were ceded to Great Britain, the remainder of Louisiana continued, as before, bounded on the north by the 49th parallel. (Oregon and California, p. 281.) But Greenhow also says that "there is no evidence which can be admitted as establishing the fact that a line running along the 49th parallel of latitude, or any other line, was ever adopted, or even proposed, by those commissaries, or by their governments, as the limit of any part of the French possessions on the north, and of the British Hudson's Bay territories on the south." Mr. Monroe, when minister plenipotentiary to London in 1804, seems to have fallen into the error of accepting this conclusion (Greenhow, Appendix, p. 437) but it is shown that there are wide discrepancies in existing maps, and no evidence is found that the commissaries, appointed under the treaty of Utrecht, after the War of the Spanish Succession (1713,) did anything to determine any boundary line. Greenhow observes (page 282) that "the belief, nevertheless, that the 49th parallel of latitude was fixed, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, as the northern limit of Louisiana and Western Canada, has been hitherto universally entertained without suspicion in the United States, and has formed the basis of most important treaties." This was taken for granted by representatives of the United States in the earlier negotiations and was not controverted by the British government, whose representatives seem to have labored under the same misapprehension, thus giving, by prescription, the necessary authority to a line of at least 49° as the boundary.

A treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and Great Britain

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ever, the treaty of Ghent, terminating the war between the United States and Great Britain, left the question still open.

Evidence that the Madison administration had kept the Oregon question in mind during the parleys at Ghent is found in the confidential instructions forwarded by Secretary Monroe to the American commissioners. In his letter, dated March 22, 1814, Mr. Monroe, then secretary of state, said, after calling attention to the existence of the Astor trading post on the Columbia: "On no pretext can the British Government set up a claim to territory south of the northern boundary of the United States. It is not believed that they have any claim whatever to territory on the Pacific Ocean. You will, however, be careful, should a definition of boundary be attempted, not to countenance, in any manner, or in any quarter, a pretension of the British government to the territory south of that line."[4] As a result of this, the British commissioners at Ghent were informed of the attitude of the United States toward Oregon. It was denied by the British Government, in the exchanges which later led to the formal restoration of Astoria, that the Columbia River was meant to be included in this treaty, but these negotiations were conducted amicably enough, and resulted in due course in delivery of that post to Commissioner Prevost on October 6, 1818. The treaty of Ghent (concluded on December 24, 1814) provided, in Article I, that "all territory, places and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, * * * shall be restored without delay." The treaty of Ghent, however, left the northern boundary question unsettled, as has been stated. The British and American commissioners each submitted a tentative draft of an article touching on the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, the British insisting on rights of navigation of the Mississippi River, to which the Americans were unwilling to assent. Both proposed the line of 49° from the Lake of the Woods westward as far as the respective territories extended in that quarter. The British proposed to except the northwest coast of America, and on this rock the commissioners split. The boundary therefore was no nearer determination when the peace was concluded.[5] Restoration of Astoria by the British in 1818 was almost

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in 1807. In the fifth of the additional and explanatory articles it was agreed that "a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods until it shall intersect the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude * * * shall be the dividing line between His Majesty's territories and those of the United States to the westward of said lake, as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter. * * * *Provided*, that nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America * * * or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the contingent of America westward of the Stony Mountains." (Greenhow, Oregon and California, edition of 1847, p. 282.) Greenhow adds: "This article was approved by both governments; President Jefferson, nevertheless, wished that the *proviso* respecting the northwest coast should be omitted, as it 'could have little other effect than as an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific Ocean. However reasonable such claims may be, compared with those of others, it is impolitic, especially at the present moment, to strengthen Spanish jealousies of the United States, which it is probably an object with Great Britain to excite, with the clause in question.'" The treaty was never submitted to the senate for ratification and the question was dropped.

[4] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. 3, p. 731.

[5] The American draft of this proposed section was as follows: "It is agreed that a line drawn due north or south (as the case may be) from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the 49th parallel of north latitude, and from the point of intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the

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coincident, however, with agreement on a treaty of joint occupancy of the territory which was to cover a period of ten years. This treaty, under date of October 20, 1818, also fixed the northern boundary of the Louisiana purchase as the 49th degree of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains, as the commissioners at Ghent had unsuccessfully attempted to do, but it omitted recognition of the previous British claims to free navigation of the Mississippi.[6] The American commissioners in these proceedings made a proposal that the forty-ninth parallel be determined as the boundary between the territorial claims of the respective nations as far west as the Pacific Ocean. This offset the British efforts to obtain free navigation of the Mississippi and resulted in a compromise by which the British commissioners gave assent to the forty-ninth parallel as far west as the Stony Mountains only, but receded from their claims to navigation of the Mississippi. In the course of the discussion the American representatives, Richard Rush and Albert Gallatin, made no claim that the United States had a perfect right to the region west of the Rocky Mountains, but contented themselves with maintaining the position that our claim was at least as good as that of Great Britain. The British representatives here developed for the first time the theory that the Columbia River was the most convenient boundary which could be adopted, and insisted that no line would be satisfactory which did not give the British Government the right to a harbor at the mouth of the Columbia in common with the United

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dividing line between His Majesty's territories and those of the United States to the westward of said lake, as far as the respective territories extend in that quarter, and that the said line shall to that extent form the southern boundary of His Majesty's said territories, and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States; provided that nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to, or claimed by, either party on the continent to the west of the Stony Mountains." The British draft was: "It is agreed that a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, shall be the line of demarcation between His Britannic Majesty's territories to the westward of said lake, so far as the territories of the United States extend in that quarter, and the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary of His Britannic Majesty's territories and the northern boundary of the territories of the United States. It being always distinctly understood that nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to territories belonging to, or claimed by, either party on the continent of America westward of the Stony mountains; and it is further agreed the subjects of His Britannic Majesty shall at all times have access from His Britannic Majesty's territories, by land or inland navigation, into the aforesaid territories of the United States to the river Mississippi, with their goods, effects and merchandise, and that His Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have and enjoy the free navigation of said river." (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. 3, p. 736.) The Duplicate Letters, the Fisheries and the Mississippi, by John Quincy Adams (Wash. 1822), for a comparison of the texts of both drafts and details of the negotiations.

[6] The portion of this treaty which is germane to the Oregon boundary issue is Article III, as follows: "It is agreed, that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony mountains, shall, together with its harbours, bays and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two Powers: it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim, which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves." (Treaties and Conventions, Malloy ed., 1910, Vol. I, p. 632.)

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States. Thus the issue of free navigation of a river was transferred from the Mississippi to the Columbia and, no basis of agreement being possible, the expedient of joint occupancy was resorted to by way of compromise.

Meanwhile, in 1818, the United States requested the Government of Spain to fix the northern boundary of her possessions from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, the treaty of joint occupancy with Great Britain having expressly disclaimed intent to prejudice the rights of other nations. The negotiations with Spain, which also embraced important issues relating to Florida, resulted in the so-called Florida treaty of February 22, 1819, which fixed the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions in western North America as the forty-second parallel of north latitude, the parallel which, where applicable, now constitutes the southern boundary of the State of Oregon and the northern boundary of California and Nevada. Under this treaty, furthermore, the United States contended in subsequent negotiations with Great Britain that any rights which Spain might have possessed, as the result of discovery and otherwise, to the northwestern region, passed to the United States, a point of importance in effecting a settlement with Great Britain.[7] Spain's willingness to concede this line was due to her desire to gain the region of Texas, American claims having previously embraced all the territory as far as the Rio Grande del Norte. Cession of the Spanish claims to Oregon was obtained, therefore, at the expense of relinquishment of American claims on Texas, more or less intangible.

This treaty with Spain had a deep influence upon the fortunes of the Oregon Country. While its most important and essential provisions, viewed from the standpoint of the statesmen of both countries at that time, covered the cession of the Floridas and the release of Spanish claims upon the southeast corner of what is now the United States, it was nevertheless due to the far-sightedness and firmness of John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, that the Spanish title and color of right to the vast domain in the far northwest, comprising the present states of Oregon, Idaho and Washington, with parts of Montana and Wyoming, was included in and ceded to the United States by the treaty.

After the sale of Louisiana to the French and then the resale of that section to the United States in 1803, the acquisition of the Floridas, which included the Spanish titles to lands as far west as the Mississippi, became the cherished purpose of the authorities at Washington. The section on the north Pacific coast that lay west of the Louisiana Purchase, although claimed by the United States by virtue of the discovery of the Columbia River and the settlement at Astoria, was with almost equal show of right claimed by Great Britain through British discovery, exploration and settlement, as well as by the relinquishment of Russia under treaty. The acquisition of the Spanish claim of title, which was based upon early exploration of the coast by vessels flying the colors of Spain, was therefore a matter of great importance to the United States. While

[7] The language of the mutual renunciation of the prior claims of the parties is found in the concluding paragraph of Article III of the treaty: "The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line, that is to say: The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever." (Treaties and Conventions, Malloy ed., 1910, Vol. II, p. 1653.)

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priority as between Spain and Great Britain was a debatable issue, there could be no doubt that the position of the United States would be greatly strengthened by acquiring the pretensions of the former. The negotiations were conducted at Washington, D. C., between John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, and Chevalier Louis de Onis, Spanish minister.

It is a matter of interest to note that at an early stage of the discussion of the proposed treaty the Spanish minister suggested that Spain cede the Floridas in return for a general release of all rights that the United States owned or claimed west of the Mississippi from source to the gulf, which would have restored to Spain the Louisiana Purchase and would have forever shut the United States from the Oregon Country.[8] This proposal of course was promptly rejected. The United States pretended that the Rio Grande should be the boundary. The negotiations were complicated by the fact that relations with Spain assumed a serious aspect by reason of the encouragement given in the United States at about this period to the ambitions of the Spanish colonies, particularly Mexico and Buenos Ayres, which aspired to independence and sought recognition by the United States. Privateers outfitted to prey upon Spanish commerce had been using the ports of the United States. Complications arose also by reason of General Jackson's operations within the Floridas in prosecuting the Seminole indian war. The friction between the two nations reached a point that would perhaps have meant actual war had it not been for Spain's impoverished condition at the time. But Adams handled the diplomatic negotiations with signal skill and ability, and his persistency led him finally to demanding terms more stringent than would have been required by President Monroe and others of his cabinet.[9]

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[8] Letters from Ministers Abroad, Vol. XIV, Pizarro to Erving, July 16, 1817. The Purchase of the Floridas, Fuller, p. 275.

[9] In October, 1818, the Spanish offered the Missouri River to its source as the western boundary of the northern part of Louisiana, and Adams countered with an offer following the Sabine, the Red River, and then 41° north latitude to the Pacific Ocean, but this not being accepted was withdrawn. On February 1, 1819, the Spanish minister wrote to Secretary Adams: "I propose to you, that, drawing the boundary line from the Gulf of Mexico, by the river Sabine, as laid down by you, it shall follow the course of that river to its source; thence, by a line due west, till it strikes the source of the river San Clemente, or Multnomah, in latitude 41°, and along that river to the Pacific Ocean; the whole agreeably to Melish's map." (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. 4, p. 617.) In the project of a treaty which D'Onis offered to Adams February 9, 1819, a further concession was made. This had already been communicated by the French minister to Adams, who records in his Memoirs (Vol. IV, p. 244) that "the President was much inclined to accept this line; but I think it would not be acceptable to the nation, and if Onis intends to conclude at all, we can obtain better terms." "On February 11, Monroe declared decidedly for agreeing to the 100° of longitude and 43° of latitude and taking the middle of the rivers (Arkansas, Red and Multnomah). The other members of the administration all inclined the same way, but Adams was convinced that more might be obtained by adhering steadily to our demands." (Fuller, The Purchase of Florida, 306.) Both proposals were rejected by Adams and the line of 42° north to the ocean was subsequently adopted as a compromise. The assumption that a line drawn due west from the source of the Arkansas River would encounter the Multnomah (or Willamette), indicates the unreliability of maps upon which the negotiators were then forced to depend. Melish's Map of 1818 is expressly referred to in the treaty. The name Willamette first appears upon an official Government map of 1818, originally drawn under the inspection of William Rector, Esquire, surveyor of the United States for the territories of Missouri and Illinois, and was by him presented to the General Land

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The Spanish minister finally was brought to terms and Adams and De Onis signed and sealed the counterparts of the famous treaty on Washington's birthday in the year 1819, thus closing negotiations between Spain and the United States that had more or less covered a period of twenty years. The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi was made to "begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; thence crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea" (Pacific Ocean).[10] The line between California and Oregon still remains on the line of forty-two degrees north latitude, as defined in this treaty. The United States received the Floridas in consideration of a settlement of disputed claims of her citizens to an amount not more than $5,000,000, while the Spanish claims of similar character were expunged. Spain's necessities forced her to accept terms most unpalatable.

With pardonable pride Adams entered in his diary under date February 22, 1819, a triumphant summary of these facts, in the course of which occurs this passage: "The acknowledgment of a definite line of boundary to the South Sea forms a great epoch in our history. The first proposal of it in this negotiation was my own and I trust it is now secured beyond the reach of revocation. It was not even among our claims by the treaty of independence with Great Britain. It was not among our pretensions under the purchase of Louisiana —for that gave us only the range of the Mississippi and its waters. I first introduced it in the written proposal of 31st October last, after having discussed it verbally with De Onis and De Neuville. It is the only peculiar and appropriate right acquired by this treaty in the event of its ratification."

The treaty was not promptly ratified. In fact it met opposition in both countries. In the American Senate Benton expressed the regret that the boundary had not been extended much further westward into Texas, and Jefferson in his retirement at Monticello was unalterably opposed to it on similar grounds. Clay opposed it as fixing a new and arbitrary line with a large cession of territory to Spain. Adams alone seems to have grasped the importance of the provision that had the effect of surrendering to the United States Spain's claims to the Oregon Country. The treaty however was approved by the American Senate by a very large majority vote, and was ratified at Madrid October 24, 1820, from which date it became effective.

This notable triumph of American diplomacy has had a profound influence upon the destinies of the United States. To most statesmen of that day a vision of the future upon the Pacific coast was impossible. The great consideration with them seemed to be the settlement of the irritating questions with Spain arising upon the lower Mississippi and on the southern border. The acquisition of lands to the gulf on the south, protecting the boundaries in that direction

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office January 21, 1818. "It is probably the most correct map of the country now extant." (Signed) Josiah Miegs. It appears to have been drawn by "Roberdeau, U. S. Topl. Eng."

[10] The Purchase of the Floridas, Fuller, p. 372.

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and rounding out the country to the sea was important. To some the acquisition of new southern territories out of which slave-holding states would in the course of time be developed was a controlling consideration, while others were interested in seeing our pretensions in the direction of Texas and Mexico strengthened. But to John Quincy Adams alone is the credit due for securing to posterity the valuable rights that Spain claimed by reason of centuries of exploration and discovery in the vast empire west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the California line as that line is still shown upon the maps. Thus the rights of the United States, whatever they were by discovery and settlement upon the Columbia River and by the restoration of possession by Great Britain of the post at Astoria after the close of the War of 1812, gained new strength by the treaty of Washington of 1819.

The rival pretensions of another nation, Russia, remained to be disposed of before the Oregon boundary between the United States and Great Britain was capable of final adjustment. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia were first established in 1808, and almost immediately afterward, on May 17 of that year, Count Romanzoff, chancellor of the czar's government, addressed a communication to Mr. Harris, the United States consul-general at St. Petersburg, in which he represented that ships of the United States, "instead of trading with the Russian possessions in America, have there carried on a clandestine trade with the savages, to whom, in exchange for otter skins, they furnished fire-arms and powder, the use of which, till then unknown to these islanders, has been in their hands very prejudicial to the subjects of his imperial majesty."[11] Count Romanzoff proposed that a commerce of exchange be established exclusively at Kodiak, and that a convention be entered into by the two nations to this end, thus giving formal intimation for the first time of Russia's intention to claim sole control of trade upon the northwest coast. On January 4, 1810, Russia renewed at Washington her proposal for a convention, again mentioning the "injurious effects attending the illicit trade of some Americans with the natives of the said possessions of his majesty." To this Robert Smith, President Madison's secretary of state, replied, May 5, 1810, with a denial that the United States was under any legal obligation to comply with the Russian demand.[12] At the same time Secretary Smith wrote a letter to John Quincy Adams, then our minister at St. Petersburg, outlining the American policy. It will be borne in mind that this was some nine years prior to the date of the Florida treaty, and that the Spanish pretensions on the northwestern coast had not then been conveyed to the United States. With

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[11] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 439.

[12] "Your instructions not having authorized you to fix a precise line of demarcation, no definitive adjustment could, therefore, be possibly made. But, had this difficulty been removed, others of a very delicate character would have occurred. * * * If the indians be under the Russian jurisdiction the United States are bound only to leave their citizens to the penalties operating within the territorial limits. If the indians are to be considered as independent tribes, inhabiting an independent territory, Russia cannot, of right, prohibit other nations from trading with them, unless it be in contraband of war in a state of war, in which case she may enforce the prohibition on the high seas. * * * The United States might, indeed, by a gratuitous regulation yield to the wishes of the Emperor on this subject. * * * But such a measure is not within the authority of the Executive, and could not very well be formally proposed to the Legislature, without the usual mutual stipulations." (Letter of Secretary Robert Smith to Andre de Daschkoff, charge d'affaires and consul-general of Russia, in American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. 5, p. 441-2.)

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(Courtesy of John B. Yeon)

BETWEEN MOSIER AND THE DALLES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER HIGHWAY IN WASCO COUNTY

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reference to a settlement of the issue by compact, Mr. Smith wrote that "it would be difficult to attain the end in that mode without maintaining a right which this nation has not yet asserted, in opposition to the Spanish claim to the western coast of America south of that of Russia, and consequently without a contest unseasonable and premature, especially with the Spaniards." Mr. Smith also called attention to the desirability of fixing upon a limit to Russian claims southward. "It is material," he wrote, "as the coast south of it will enter into the plan of indian trade likely to be embraced by our citizens, that the limit should be as little advanced southward as may be. It appears, from what passed between Spain and Great Britain, in the affair of Nootka Sound, in the year 1790, that the claim of the former extended to the 60th degree of north latitude." [13]

Russia did not desire at that time to commit herself definitely on the issue of the territorial boundary. Count Romanzoff told Mr. Adams that the Russian maps "included the whole of Nootka Sound and down to the mouth of the Columbia river as a part of their Russian possessions." [14] But Romanzoff realized that the time was not propitious for negotiations of a nature capable of stirring controversy. He would defer the issue "for the sake of avoiding all possible collision, and even every pretext of uneasiness or jealousy." The Napoleonic wars were at full tide, and owing to world-wide unrest then prevailing, the count professed that the first and strongest wish of his heart was "to bring all the civilized nations to pacific dispositions, and most carefully to avoid everything which could strike out a single new spark of discord among them." [15] Count Romanzoff apparently was much impressed with the desirability of postponing all negotiations which might by any possibility rekindle a conflagration, for in another conversation with Adams he alluded to the minister's proposal that a treaty of commerce be arranged, and said that he presumed that this "would meet with no difficulty whatsoever, unless indeed there shall be one which he did foresee. It was, that in the violent and convulsed state of the world at this time he hardly conceived it possible to agree upon anything that, if he might be allowed the expression, had common sense in it." [16] Thus was Oregon involved in world affairs. The preoccupation of Russia with the European cataclysm at this time, the confusion in all the governments of the old world, to which Romanzoff alluded, was reason enough for a discontinuance of all negotiations for the time being. There were other and more momentous questions for solution, and Oregon was far away.

The issue was precipitated anew when, September 4, 1821, the czar published a ukase by which all of the western coast of America north of the parallel of 51° was claimed as the exclusive possession of Russia, and when regulations were issued by the Russian-American Company, with the sanction of the czar, relative to foreign commerce on the waters bordering on the establishments of that company. One of these regulations provided: "It is therefore prohibited to all foreign vessels not only to land on the coasts and islands be-

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[13] Id., p. 440.

[14] Id., p. 442. See also a similar claim to the Columbia River on another occasion, in Writings of John Quincy Adams, edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. III, p. 477, note.

[15] John Quincy Adams to Robert Smith, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 443.

[16] Writings of John Quincy Adams, edited by Worthington C. Ford, Vol. IV, p. 103.

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longing to Russia, as stated above, but also to approach them within less than a hundred Italian miles." "The transgressor's vessel," it continued, "is subject to confiscation, along with the whole cargo." Trade with the natives was also interdicted. To this John Quincy Adams, who was now secretary of state, and whose familiarity with the questions relating to the Pacific coast made him wide awake to the importance of the issue, replied, February 16, 1822, that the President "has seen with surprise, in this edict, the assertion of a territorial claim on the part of Russia extending to the fifty-first degree of north latitude on this continent." In the new negotiations that ensued, Russia made formal claim to title by discovery, the voyages of Bering in 1728 and in 1742 in particular being mentioned. To the contention of the czar's government that Captain Cook had admitted the existence of Russian establishments at Ounalaska, however, the American reply was that, according to Captain Cook's own account, the principal person at this settlement, Ismaeloff, and other Russians whom he met there, "affirmed that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward." The United States contended that discovery, or settlement, of an island conveyed no title to an adjacent mainland, and that Russia, having been long previously informed of the claims of Spain beyond 60° north latitude, had not protested them, but, on the contrary, had given assurance that "it was extremely sorry that the repeated orders issued to prevent the subjects of Russia from violating, in the smallest degree, the territory belonging to another power, should have been disobeyed."[17] Thus it will be seen that within two years after the treaty of Florida the United States was asserting rights in the Pacific as successor to Spain and as the owner of what Spain's discoveries justified.

At the time of the attempted settlement of the Nootka Sound controversy, in June, 1794, it had been ascertained that the extremest eastern or southern Russian settlement on the northwest coast was in latitude 60° north. But now in dealing with the United States the assertion was made by Russia that the treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain conveyed only the "rights and pretensions of Spain to the territories to east and to the north of the boundary line."[18] At one stage the Russian negotiators had asserted that "in assigning for limits * * * the fifty-first degree of latitude," they "had only made a moderate use of an incontestable right." Russia, insisting that it had held possession as far as 59° said that the line of 51° was therefore no more than a mean point between New Archangel (57°) and the American colony on the Columbia.[19] But by gradual stages the Russian claims were modified

[17] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 445.

[18] This claim was actually put forward by the Chevalier de Poletica in a conference with Minister Middleton at St. Petersburg. According to M. de Poletica, "a perpendicular line ought to be drawn from the point where the forty-second parallel touches the Pacific ocean, that is to say that it ought to follow the parallel of longitude from the point towards the North Pole, for finding the western limits of the United States." Mr. Middleton answered that "the forty-second parallel of north latitude actually reaches across the great ocean, and that the coasts of the northwest are necessarily found all to the north of this parallel." (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, pp. 458-9.) It illustrates the untenable character of the Russian claims in general, which seems to have been well understood at St. Petersburg, and this may account for Russia's willingness subsequently to yield to the point of 54° 40′ as the southern limit of the Russian possessions in the western hemisphere.

[19] Poletica to Adams, February 28, 1822, Brown, p. 18.

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and agreement was approached. Secretary Adams replied to the Russian diplomat, March 30, 1822, firmly declining to recognize the Russian territorial claims. He noted that the parallel of 51° had been fixed as equidistant between New Archangel and the mouth of the Columbia River, but called attention to the prior grant made to the Russian-American Company by the czar, fixing the limit of fifty-five degrees, a new premise being thus asserted to which no new settlement had given color or sanction. "The right of citizens of the United States," said Mr. Adams, "to hold commerce with the aboriginal natives of the northwest coast of America, even in arms and munitions of war, is as clear and indisputable as that of navigating the seas." Mr. Adams, however, gave assurance of willingness to listen to any specific complaint of transactions which, by the ordinary laws and usages of nations, the United States was bound either to restrain or punish.

On December 2, 1823, in his message to Congress in which he enunciated the now-famous Monroe Doctrine, President Monroe said that Russia had made proposals to the United States and Great Britain for an amicable adjustment of the "respective rights and interests of the United States on the northwest coast of this continent." He added, thus extending the Monroe Doctrine to the northwest coast: "In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers."[20]

Preliminary inquiries were now made by the United States with a view to joint action by this nation and Great Britain in negotiations with Russia concerning various issues then in controversy. Great Britain, while frankly regarding the Russian claims as extravagant, and as appearing "to have been adopted more in deference to the recommendations of Russian trading companies on the Pacific than from a studied policy,"[21] still viewed askance the new American state policy announced in Monroe's message, and preferred to conduct her negotiations with Russia separately. George Canning, the British secretary for foreign affairs, declined to instruct the British minister at St. Petersburg to treat jointly with the representative of the United States. In informing the state department at Washington of the British decision on separate action, Richard Rush, our minister to London, wrote: "The resumption of its original course by this government (of Great Britain) has arisen chiefly from the principle which our government has adopted, of not considering the American continents as subjects for future colonization by any of the European powers—a principle to which Great Britain does not accede."[22]

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[20] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. II, p. 778.

[21] George Canning and His Friends, by Josceline Bagot, p. 206.

[22] In A Residence at the Court of London, second series, edition of 1845, Vol. II, p. 88, Rush states: "January 6, (1824). In a dispatch to the Secretary of State at this date, I mention Mr. Canning's desire that the negotiations at St. Petersburgh, on the Russian Ukase of September, 1821, respecting the North-west coast, to which the United States and England had equally objected, should proceed separately, and not conjointly, by the three nations, as proposed by the United States, and my acquiescence in this course.

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Joint occupancy of the northwest country by the three nations—the United States, Great Britain and Russia—was proposed in the course of these negotiations by Secretary Adams. The arrangement then suggested would have delimited their respective zones. The first suggestion of this was contained in a letter from Adams to minister Middleton at St. Petersburg, July 22, 1823, in which Adams stated the position of the American Government to be that it considered its rights from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallels of north latitude "as unquestionable, being founded, first on acquisition * * * of all the rights, of Spain; second, by the discovery of the Columbia river, first by sea, at its mouth, and then by land by Lewis and Clark; and, third, by the settlement at its mouth in 1811." "The territory," he wrote, "is to the United States of an importance which no possession in North America can be of to any European nation, not only as it is but the continuity of these possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, but as it offers their inhabitants the means of establishing hereafter water communications from the one to the other." Mr. Middleton was advised that the United States would be willing to agree to 55° as the line of demarkation apart from the issue of trade with the natives.[23]

Adams transmitted a copy of this letter of instruction to Rush at London, as a guide to him, and Rush then proposed to Canning a treaty stipulating that Great Britain should permit "no settlement by any of her subjects on the northwest coast of America, either south of the fifty-first degree of latitude, or north of the fifty-fifth degree; the United States stipulating that none should be made by their citizens north of the fifty-first degree."[24] Mr. Rush supplemented this declaration with a statement that "These limits were supposed to be sufficient to secure to Great Britain all the benefits to be derived from the settlements of her Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies on the northwest coast and were indicated with that view." But the answer of the British negotiators was that they "considered the whole of the unoccupied parts of America as being open to her future settlements in like manner as heretofore. They included within these parts, as well that portion of the northwest coast lying between the forty-second and fifty-first degrees as any other parts."[25]

It being a departure from the course my government had contemplated, I give the following reasons for it:

"1. That whatever force I might be able to give to the principle of non-colonization as laid down in the message, which had arrived in England since my instructions for the negotiations, my opinion was, that it would still remain a subject for contest between the United States and England; and that, as by all that I could learn since the message arrived, Russia also dissented from the principle, a negotiation at St. Petersburgh relative to the North-west coast, to which the three nations were parties, might place Russia on the side of England, and against the United States. This, I thought, had better be avoided.

"2. That a preliminary and detached discussion of so great a principle, against which England protested *in limine*, brought on by me, when she was content to waive it, and preferred doing so at present, might have an unpropitious influence on other parts of the negotiations of more immediate and practical interest.

"3. That by abstaining at such a point and time from discussing it, nothing was given up. The principle, as promulgated in the President's message, would remain undiminished, as notice to other nations, and a guide to me in the general negotiations with England, when that came on."

[23] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 437.

[24] A Residence at the Court of London, Vol. II, pp. 254-5.

[25] Id., p. 257. Rush quotes the foregoing from his report to the State department of

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The tri-partite occupancy proposal proving unacceptable to the British Government, subsequent negotiations with Russia were carried on by the United States and Great Britain separately. The convention, as finally perfected between the United States and Russia was formally concluded April 17, 1824, and proclaimed January 12, 1825. The gist of it is contained in Article 3, as follows: "It is moreover agreed that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said states, any establishment upon the northwest coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel."[26]

Great Britain and Russia, continuing their separate negotiations, completed a treaty, which was signed at St. Petersburg on February 16, 1825, by which they established a boundary line which began with 54° 40′ of north latitude on the south, the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, and extended north along the ridge of the watershed of the coast mountains, with a provision that the distance from the coast should be no greater at any point than ten marine leagues. It was agreed that no establishments should be set up by either party to the negotiations within the territorial limits of the other.

Prior to completion of the joint occupancy arrangement with Great Britain in 1818, and for some time thereafter, Oregon seemed unimportant in the eyes of American statesmen. Except for Mr. Astor's efforts to interest the Government in obtaining the restoration of his trading post, nothing was being done to call the subject to attention. The region was not only remote, but almost uncharted. The intervening country had not been settled and there was no public demand for further territorial expansion. However, the activity of John Floyd and a few others in the decade of the twenties led to a revival of interest as the time approached for renewal of the joint occupancy convention with Great Britain, due to expire in 1828. By 1824, too, our statesmen had become somewhat more familiar with the historical phases of the question. Negotiations which led to extension, by a convention signed in 1827, of the

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date August 12, 1824. The subject had previously been discussed informally by Rush and Canning, as an entry in Rush's published journal, dated December 12, 1823, shows. This recounts the receipt of a "private note" from Canning in which the latter is quoted: "What is here! Do I read Mr. Rush aright? 'The United States will agree to make no settlement north of 51, on Great Britain agreeing to make none south of that line.' So far all is clear. The point of contact is touched, and, consequently, the point of possible dispute between the United States and Great Britain; but the memorandum goes on—'Or north of 55.' What can this intend? * * * Our northern question is with Russia, our southern with the United States. But do the United States mean to travel *north* to get between us and Russia? and do they mean to stipulate against Great Britain, in favour of Russia; or reserve to themselves whatever Russia may not want?" To this Rush replied at once (p. 85) that "it was even so; our proposal was, that Great Britain should forebear further settlements south of 51 and *north* of 55, for we supposed that she had in fact no settlements above 55; and we supposed that to be also the southern limit of Russia. * * * Fifty-one was taken * * * as the northern limit of the United States because necessary to give us all the waters of the Columbia * * * and we had no design to concede to Russia any system of colonial exclusion, above 55; or deprive ourselves of the right of traffic with the natives above that parallel." Canning replied that he would like to take Rush's explanation, "like the wise and wary Dutchman of old times, *ad referendum* and *ad consideratum*." (pp. 85-6.)

[26] Treaties and Conventions, edition of 1910, Vol. II, p. 1513.

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joint occupancy arrangement were important principally because they gave form to policies of both the United States and Great Britain. The convention of 1827, was by itself another mere confession of inability to agree on a basis of division of the disputed territory. It continued in force the general provisions of the convention of 1818; but instead of fixing a definite period it provided that the arrangement might be terminated by either government on twelve months' notice. This was concluded at London, August 6, 1827. Here the issue was permitted to rest, so far as official action was concerned, until the fourth decade of the century, when natural forces which had meanwhile been operating steadily, precipitated a new crisis.

It is interesting to observe the play of some of those minor influences which, aside from the proceedings noted in the formal records, were shaping the course of events. Stratford Canning, British minister to the United States, conceived, if not a violent dislike for, at least an unsympathetic misunderstanding of the open methods by which the representatives of a democracy made their views known on the floor of Congress. There are entries in the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams which indicate that there were stormy conversations between Stratford Canning and the American secretary on the subject of the northwest coast—conducted in a temper not calculated to smooth the way for future diplomatic parleys. For illustration, Canning called on Adams, January 26, 1821, to say that, as Adams recounts the interview, "Having been some days since present at a debate in the House of Representatives, he had heard some observations made by Mr. Nelson,[27] of Virginia, importing a design in the Government of this country to form some new settlement on the South Sea; that he should not particularly have noticed this but that in the National Intelligencer of this morning, a paper generally considered as partaking in some sort of an official character, there was a publication signed by Mr. Eaton, a member of the Senate, which was a part of the executive government, and which disclosed an avowed project for such a settlement on the Pacific Ocean." Canning had called, he said, "to inquire as to the intentions of the government in that respect." Adams replied that "it was very probable that our settlement at the mouth of the Columbia would at no remote period be increased."[28] Canning then protested that such a settlement would be a direct violation of the convention of joint occupancy of 1818, which, however, Adams did not concede. We have the version of the other party to this conversation in a long letter written by Canning himself to Lord Castlereagh, the British foreign minister. He says he called upon the secretary of state about the bill then pending in Congress introduced by Dr. John Floyd of Virginia requiring and authorizing the President of the United States to occupy that portion of the territory of the United States on the waters of the Columbia River.[29] Mr. Canning asked Mr. Adams as to the intentions of the United States. He says in his letter: "Mr. Adams replied in the most determined and acrimonious tones that the United States did probably mean to make a settlement on the

[27] Probably Floyd.

[28] Adams Memoirs, Vol. V, p. 243.

[29] H. R. No. 222, January 25, 1821. Canning's letter is dated January 28, 1821. The report of a select committee of the House of Representatives was filed in January, 1821, in response to a resolution of December 20, 1820, on the settlements on the Columbia River and the expediency of occupying, with an outline of the history and the possibilities of the fur trade. (House Executive, No. 45, Sixteenth Cong., 2nd Sess.)

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Columbia and that they had a perfect right to do so, the territory being their own." Being asked if this answer could be said to come from the Government, Mr. Adams replied with increased asperity in the affirmative. Canning adds that "he seemed determined to consider my interference respecting the Columbia as offensive and unwarranted." Regarding Great Britain's position in 1818, which was mentioned by the British minister, Adams said: "That he considered the claim then put forward as a mere chicaine of the moment. What more, he exclaimed, would England grasp at? Could it be worth while to make a serious question of an object so trifling as the possession of the Columbia? What would be the thought in England if Mr. Rush were to address the secretary of state on the occasion of a regiment being destined for New South Wales, or the Shetland Islands? The United States had an undoubted right to settle wherever they pleased on the shore of the Pacific without being molested by the English government and he really thought they were at least to be left unmolested on their own continent of North America."[30] The tone of these conversations, rather than the substance of them, seems to have been provocative. Stratford Canning was repeatedly disturbed by the discussion in Congress, then kept alive by Floyd, upon the question of occupying the coast and territory adjacent to the Columbia River. In a letter to Charles Bagot, March 30, 1823, he noted that the pending bill, "though ultimately set aside, made progress, chiefly through the support which was given to it by members connected with the interests of commerce and the Pacific whale-fishing." "Nor should I be surprised," he added with considerable perspicacity, as subsequent events were to prove, "if it were to meet with better success another year. Colonel Benton * * * made an abortive attempt to set the question on its legs in the senate."[31] The attitude of the British representatives in this country was in general one of patronizing tolerance for the new republic. The conduct of Charles Bagot, who was in Washington during the negotiations for the restoration of Astoria, while officially correct, was tempered by his private views. In letters home he caricatured President Madison, expressed irritation over the climate ("a pint of American summer," he once wrote, "would thaw all Europe in ten minutes"), and predicted that "this will not be a great nation," on the ground that "a government founded on Jacobinical principles is an absurdity." He described Monroe as a "man altogether of a foxy appearance"; who "has been made King of these parts." A man holding these views, it may reasonably be supposed, did not contribute to an early friendly understanding between the nations.

Promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine late in 1823, as has been related, precluded cooperation in the Russian affair—a cooperation that at this point might have helped to establish a better understanding of other matters of mutual concern. In 1824, while the Russian negotiations were pending at St. Petersburg, Rush, who was at London acting on specific instructions from Washington, was endeavoring to secure a settlement with Great Britain of the northwest boundary. In this he was somewhat embarrassed by publication of the

[30] Quoted by Katharine B. Judson in "Restoration of Astoria," Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XX, p. 329. While Adams was firm for the rights of the United States in the Oregon Country he had little respect for Floyd or his occupation measures as will be seen by his private journal entry of January 18, 1821, quoted supra in Chapter XXV.

[31] George Canning and His Friends, Vol. II, p. 160. The bill alluded to was that of Floyd, which was defeated, 100 to 61, in the House, January 23, 1823.

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report of the select committee of the House of Representatives which embodied the letter from Brig.-Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, in which that officer had given it as his opinion that "the possession and military command of the Columbia" was "necessary not only to the protection of the fur trade, but to the security of our frontier." General Jesup had mentioned the presence in this western region of "numerous powerful and warlike indian nations," most of whom communicated, "either with the British to the north and west, or the Spaniards to the south," and had intimated that in the event of war if measures were adopted to secure the cooperation of those indians, "they, with the aid of a few small garrisons, would not only afford ample protection for that entire line, but would become the scourge of our enemies." A sentence in the letter of this doughty warrior, however, which was particularly disturbing to the peace of mind of British statesmen, was: "They (the proposed military posts) would afford present protection to our traders, and, at the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, would enable us to remove them from our territory and secure the whole trade to our own citizens." [32]

The negotiations in London were conducted by Rush for the United States and by William Huskisson and Stratford Canning for Great Britain, and covered a number of other issues, including the northeastern boundary, admission of United States consuls to British colonial ports, and the New Foundland fisheries. Rush, April 2, 1824, at the twelfth conference of the series, presented the proposal of the United States for continuance of the treaty of joint occupancy with the proviso that the nations refrain from making settlements north and south, respectively, of the parallel of fifty-one degrees. The British plenipotentiaries made a counter-proposal, July 13, 1824, that the boundary be extended westward from the Rocky Mountains along the parallel of forty-nine degrees to the point where that parallel crosses the northeasternmost branch of the Columbia, thence down the Columbia to the sea, navigation of the river being perpetually free to both nations. This was the first offer of the Columbia as the boundary, but there can be little doubt that from this time forward the British pretentions really went no farther south. Here a deadlock was reached. The plenipotentiaries, July 28, 1824, "Separated under the circumstances which necessarily prevented, for the present, any further progress in the negotiations." [33]

So the attempt made in 1824 to adjust this difference failed, as in 1818, but it had produced at least a somewhat better understanding of the issue. The claims of the United States were asserted to include all the region between the parallels of forty-two and fifty-one degrees on the ground of discovery of the Columbia River by Gray at its mouth and by Lewis and Clark at one of its sources; of effective settlement at its mouth by Astor, and by acquisition of the Spanish title through the Florida Treaty of 1819. "Their right by first discovery," said Rush, "they deemed peculiarly strong, having been made not only from the sea by Captain Gray, but also from the interior by Lewis and Clark, who first discovered its sources and explored its whole inland course to the Pacific Ocean. It had been ascertained that the Columbia extended, by the

[32] Oregon Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, p. 292. This letter is referred to in Rush's Residence, p. 604, where the British complaint respecting it is reported.

[33] Protocol of Twenty-Sixth Conference, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 565.

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River Multnomah, to as low as forty-two degrees north, and by Clark's River to a point as high up as fifty-one degrees, if not beyond that point, and to this entire range of country continguous to the original dominion of the United States, and made a part of it, by the intermingling waters of each, the United States, I said, considered their title as established by all the principles that had ever been applied on this subject by the powers of Europe to settlements in the American Hemisphere. * * * Such a union of titles, imparting validity to each other, did not often exist."[34] Rush, in rejecting a subsequent British counter proposal, expressed a willingness on the part of his government to recede to the forty-ninth parallel from the mountains to the sea. He then "desired it to be understood that this was the extreme limit" to which he was authorized to go and "that, in being willing to make this change" he, too, "considered the United States as abating their rights, in the hope of being able to put an end to all conflict of claims between the two nations to the coast and country in dispute."[35]

George Canning, who was British foreign secretary from 1822 until 1827, was smarting under the restoration of Astoria in 1818, which he strongly condemned and which he was determined to retrieve if possible. He also foresaw more clearly than many of his contemporaries the possible future relation of the Western coast of America to the oriental trade. When he formulated the policy of his government, therefore, he supported it with great pertinacity. A letter of instruction which he wrote to the British Commissioners, May 31, 1824, crystallized the British policy not only during his term of office but for more than a decade afterward. Here he insisted that "the terms * * * offered by the American Government are little calculated to satisfy the claims of Great Britain, even when those claims are reduced within the narrowest compass prescribed by the honour and just interests of the country."[36] In introducing the suggestion that the national honor hung upon the outcome of the negotiations Canning here perhaps erected another obstacle to approach of the issue from the viewpoint of intrinsic merit. He characterized the American claims as "not less extravagant in regard to territorial sovereignty than those which were previously advanced by Russia with respect to maritime jurisdiction." Conceding that "an early settlement of conflicting claims might well be purchased by a reasonable concession on either side," he contended that in exchange for abandonment by Great Britain of her title to the whole coast between the parallels of forty-two degrees and fifty-one degrees the United States offered no quid pro quo. He expressly denied the right of the United States to rely on a series of claims. Either, he said, the American title rested on its succession to France in the possession of Louisiana, or as the representative of Spain by virtue of its last treaty with that power, or in the American "underived character, as discoveries or occupants of that territory." "It could not be tolerated," he said, "that the defect of any one of these titles should be supplied by arguments deduced from the other two."[37] Canning on behalf of Great Britain contested the claim of priority through Spain's discovery, advancing the contention that Sir Francis Drake had "received from the native authorities" in the region north of the Spanish settlements, "a voluntary submission of that

[34] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. V, p. 556.
[35] Id., p. 557.
[36] Some Official Correspondence of George Canning, by E. J. Stapleton, Vol. II, p. 77.
[37] Id., p. 79.

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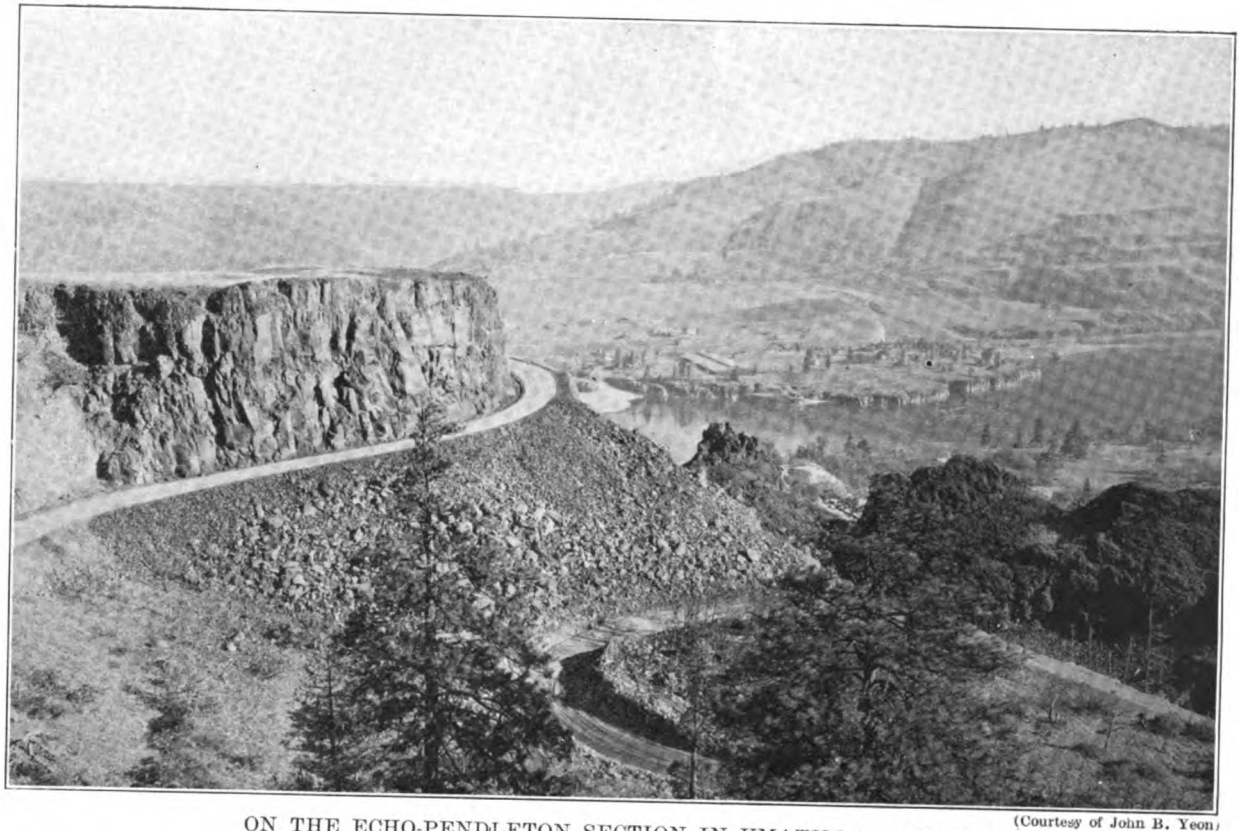
country to the reigning sovereign of England." However, he gave even more weight to the proposition that "all question of title derived from Spanish discoveries north of San Francisco was set at rest by the treaty concluded with Spain in October, 1790," (the Nootka Sound convention). From this, which Canning viewed as a victory for British policy, won at the risk of war, he was unwilling to recede.

He also disputed the claim to prior discovery by Gray, which he characterized as "the casual arrival of a trading vessel at an intermediate point of the coast, other parts of which on both sides, if not the particular spot so visited, had been long before known, examined, and frequented." This, he said, might not be "put in competition with the expensive operations and laborious surveys executed at the charge of the British nation, in the years 1777 and 1778 under the direction of Cook and Clerke, and in 1793, under that of Vancouver." "It was not," he added, alluding to the Lewis and Clark expedition, "until ten years, at least, after the mouth of the Columbia had been surveyed by Lieutenant Broughton, by order of the last-mentioned navigator, that an exploring party, commissioned by the American Government, penetrated to the shores of that river." Next, Canning held the title of Great Britain by right of occupancy to be superior to that of the United States, asserting that the only establishment formed west of the Rocky Mountains was that of the Astorians, which had been made over by voluntary agreement to a British company, and which had been "nominally given back to the Americans by order of His Majesty's Government, on a liberal construction of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, but under an express reservation of the territorial claim." [38]

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[38] The issue presented here, of the nature of the so called "express reservation of the territorial claim," is illuminated by Greenhow (Oregon and California, pp. 309-10), who says that the claim that this reservation was made rests on two documents, addressed, not to the United States, but "by the British ministers to their own agents," and "never before published or communicated in any way to the United States." One of the documents, dated February 4, 1818, was an extract from a dispatch from Lord Castlereagh to Charles Bagot, stating that "whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession, as it stood in the Columbia river at the moment of the rupture, they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement." Bagot was therefore instructed by Castlereagh, in signifying to Mr. Adams "the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation of the limited position which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, you will, at the same time, assert, in suitable terms, the claim of Great Britain to that territory." It is asserted that "this instruction was executed verbally by the person to whom it was addressed." The other document was a purported dispatch from Lord Bathurst to the partners of the North West Company, directing them to restore the post on the Columbia. In this dispatch the words, "without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question," appear in a parenthesis. But the official act of delivery, signed by Captain Hickey of the Blossom and by James Keith, of the North West Company, makes no reservation. It says only: "We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia river," and the act of acceptance signed by Prevost says only: "I do hereby acknowledge that I have this day received, in behalf of the Government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent." Albert Gallatin made the point in the negotiations of 1826-7 that the United States could have no concern with the various dispatches from and to the officers of the British government, and observed that "it is not stated how the verbal communications of the British minister at Washington were received, nor whether the American government consented to accept the restitution, with the

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ON THE ECHO-PENDLETON SECTION IN UMATILLA COUNTY (Courtesy of John B. Yeon)
Columbia River Highway

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In renouncing all claim to the region between the middle of the entrance of the Columbia River and the Spanish Territories on the South, said Canning, Great Britain would also surrender a portion of the interior territory already occupied by British traders, but he conceived "that we shall obtain a satisfactory return for these concessions, by securing the only point of substantial interest * * * the undisputed possession of the whole country on the right bank of the Upper Columbia and a free issue for the produce by the channel of that river.[39] Canning would consent, however, to a continuance of temporary occupancy for ten years. He added that "an agreement founded on mutual convenience will naturally supersede the necessity of recurring to first principles." * * * [40]

These conflicting declarations, from which neither side would recede, having put an end to the possibility of adjustment, the issue remained in abeyance for two years. Meanwhile President Monroe in his last message to Congress, December 7, 1824, recommended the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia River, or at some point in that quarter within our acknowledged limits. This, he said, "would afford protection to every interest, and have a tendency to conciliate the tribes of the Northwest with whom our trade is extensive." An appropriation sufficient to authorize the employment of a frigate to survey the mouth of the Columbia was recommended.[41] President John Quincy Adams, thoroughly familiar with the American case by reason of his part in preparing it, in his first annual message, December 6, 1825, said to Congress that "the River of the West, first fully discovered and navigated by a countryman of our own, still bears the name of the ship in which he ascended its waters, and claims the protection of our armed national flag at its mouth."[42] The message evoked two reports from a select committee of the House of Representatives, of which Francis Baylies of Massachusetts was chairman, which described the Oregon Country in great detail. The second was accompanied by a bill for carrying the President's recommendations into effect. The bill was laid on the table by the House, but it was another step

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reservation, as expressed in the dispatches to that minister from his government." Canning had admitted the difficulty of his position, in a letter to Lord Liverpool, May 17, 1826, two weeks prior to the date of his letter to the British commissioners. "It is a most perplexing question," he wrote, "and there are difficulties both in maintaining and abandoning our claims. The absence of any producible document on our part respecting the reservation under which Fort George was restored is the principal difficulty in maintaining our claim in argument." (Some Official Correspondence of George Canning, Vol. II, p. 55.) The British correspondence is set out by Katharine B. Judson, without careful consideration, in "British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria," Ore. Hist. Quar., Vol. XX, pp. 260 and 306, but Greenhow's analysis supra is not there discussed. In the Nootka Sound controversy with Spain Vancouver had refused to accept for his government a delivery of the exact area that had been occupied by the Meares depot, and discontinued negotiations with the Spanish commissioner when the latter refused to interpret his instructions as authorizing a more general cession of rights of sovereignty. The inconsistency of the British position in this respect was not considered in the negotiations in 1826, although the Nootka Sound settlement had been brought up by the American Government previous to this time as bearing upon the Monroe doctrine. Greenhow, generally so thorough and astute, does not allude to it. (P. 340.) For the particulars relating to the transfer of Fort George to the United States, see Chapter XX, supra.

[39] Some Official Correspondence of George Canning, Vol. II, pp. 83-4.

[40] Id., p. 85.

[41] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Edition of 1897, Vol. II, p. 831.

[42] Id., Vol. II, p. 879.

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in the development of national interest in Oregon. This second report, dated May 15, 1826, reviewed the history of exploration and settlement and reached the conclusion that "the United States have an incontestable claim to this coast from the forty-second parallel of latitude, North, nearly to the Mouth of the Strait, called on the map the Strait of Juan de Fuca * * * and including a Part of the Region called New Caledonia, extending on the North beyond the forty-ninth parallel of latitude; and that they have a better title than any other Nation to the Countries watered by the Strait of De Fuca, and the Waters themselves." The Baylies report also set forth that "we think the offer of Mr. Rush, to continue the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the ocean was as great a concession as would be compatible with our interests, our honour, or our rights."[43]

The committee was not content, however, with a mere exposition of the issue, but indulged in the incidential pastime of "twisting the British lion's tail," popular in some circles even in that early day. British domination of the commerce of the world was held up as the aim of British statesmen, adopting "no policy from caprice or vanity," but as the product of a "system of wise and sagacious projects, to check, to influence, and to control all nations, by means of her Navy and her commerce; in prosperity and in adversity she has pursued this grand design, and with an energy and perseverance which does infinite credit to her political sagacity and foresight." Great Britain's achievements were reviewed. "What then," asked the committee, "remains to enable her to encompass the globe? Columbia River and De Fuca's Strait! Possessed of these, she will soon plant her standards on every island in the Pacifick Ocean." The report called to action. "The indifference of America," it concluded by saying, "stimulates the cupidity of Great Britain. Our daily neglect weakens our claim, and strengthens hers; and the day will soon arrive when her title to this Territory will be better than ours, unless it is earnestly and speedily enforced."[44]

The Baylies report moved Canning to write to the Earl of Liverpool, July 14, 1826: "After such language as that of the committee of the H. of Representatives it is impossible to suppose that we can tide over the Columbia, or can make to ourselves the illusion that there is any other alternative than either to maintain our claims or to yield them with our eyes wide open."[45] Albert Gallatin, as special commissioner to London, was made aware both of the stiffening of opposition at home to concessions of any kind and of the increasingly obdurate attitude of the British Government. The Hudson's Bay Company's influence meanwhile had been fortified by consolidation with the North West Company, which had been accompanied by extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada over the region west of the Rocky Mountains, and Sir George Simpson had made his trip West which had resulted in the founding of Fort Vancouver. Americans on their part had done nothing toward effecting settlement. The agitation begun by Floyd, Baylies, Benton and a few others in the second decade of the century was not to bear fruit until the third decade. Jason Lee, it will be remembered, did not reach

[43] Report of Select Committee, House Reports, No. 213, 19th Cong., 1st Sess. This report gives an account of a supposed journey to the Columbia by one Ruddock, which appears to have been purely imaginary.

[44] Id.

[45] Some Official Correspondence of George Canning, Vol. II, p. 115.

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Oregon as its first missionary until 1834. Slender as was the British claim to prior settlement based on establishment of factories exclusively for trade with the indians, on the American side there was not even this effort to hold possession of the Northwestern Country to fortify the arguments of our diplomats.

A further declaration of the line of forty-nine degrees which was to rise later to embarrass President Polk in fulfilment of the "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" slogan of the campaign of 1844 was made by Gallatin in his reply to the first proposal of the British Commissioners. The latter began by repeating the offer made to Rush in 1824, of the line of forty-nine degrees from the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, and down the center of that stream to the sea, with joint navigation of the river by both nations. Gallatin acted under instructions from Henry Clay, then secretary of state, in the course of which Clay wrote, June 19, 1826: "You are then authorized to propose the annulment of the third article of the convention of 1818, and the extension of the line of the parallel of forty-nine from the eastern side of the Stony Mountains where it now terminates, to the Pacific Ocean, as the permanent boundary between the territories of the two powers in that quarter."[46] To this Clay added: "This is our ultimatum and you may announce it. We can consent to no other line more favorable to Great Britain." But Gallatin was nevertheless authorized by Clay to offer a concession, which was that should the line of forty-nine degrees cross the Columbia River or any of its tributaries at points from which they were navigable to the main stream, navigation of those rivers should be perpetually free to the citizens of both nations. Clay proposed that the two nations engage to ascertain by experiment within fifteen years whether the branches of the Columbia were navigable by boats from where the line passes them to the Columbia River, and that if it were found that they were not, the British right to navigate them should cease. Five years were to be allowed the citizens of each nation to withdraw from the other's territory.

Notwithstanding the tone of Clay's ultimatum, that statesman was willing to make one additional concession. "The president cannot consent," he wrote to Gallatin, August 9, 1826, "that the boundary between the territories of the two powers on the northwest coast should be south of forty-nine. The British government has not been committed by a positive rejection of a line on the parallel of forty-nine, but if there had been, its pride may take refuge in the offer which, for the first time, you are to propose, of a right in common with us to the navigation of the Columbia river. There is no objection to an extension of the time to be allowed to British settlers to remove from south of forty-nine to a period of fifteen years if you should find that it would facilitate an arrangement."

The point was made in behalf of the American contention that if the British retained all of the region west and north of the Columbia, they would obtain all of the harbors within the Strait of Juan de Fuca, while the United

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[46] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 645; also Sen. Doc. 199, 20th Cong., 1st Sess. H. of R. On an official map issued by the United States Government in 1838 the language of the ultimatum is engraved as an inscription. The map is entitled: "Map of the United States, Territory of Oregon, West of the Rocky Mountains, exhibiting various trading depots or forts compiled by the British Hudson Bay Company connected with the Western and Northwestern Fur Trade."

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States, with right of access to the Columbia River only, would fare badly in the allotment of harbors. The British commissioners replied to this by conceding a detached portion of what is now known as the Olympic peninsula. They offered "the possession of Port Discovery, a most valuable harbor on the Southern Coast of De Fuca's inlet; and to annex thereto all that tract of country comprised within a line to be drawn from Cape Flattery, along the southern shore of De Fuca's inlet to Point Wilson, at the northwestern extremity of Admiralty inlet, from thence along the western shore of that inlet, across the entrance of Hood's inlet, to the point of land forming the northeastern extremity of said inlet; from thence along the eastern shore of that inlet to the southern extremity of the same; from thence direct to the southern point of Gray's Harbor; from thence along the shore of the Pacific to Cape Flattery." The British commissioners said that this "offer of a most excellent harbor, and an extensive tract of territory on the straits of De Fuca" constituted a "sacrifice tendered in the spirit of accommodation, and for the sake of a final adjustment of all differences, but which, having been made in this spirit, is not to be considered as in any degree recognizing the claim on the part of the United States, or as at all impairing the existing right of Great Britain over the post and territory in question."[47]

Gallatin had also offered tentatively to deviate from the forty-ninth parallel, "if on account of the geographical features of the country a deviation founded on mutual convenience was found expedient," while suggesting that "any deviation in one place to the south * * * should be compensated by an equivalent in another place to the north of that parallel." Gallatin had in view "the exchange of the southern extremity of Nootka's Island (Quadra and Vancouver's), which the forty-ninth parallel cuts in an inconvenient manner, for the whole or part of the upper branches of the Columbia river north of that parallel."[48]

The commissioners, however, were unable to reach a settlement. It will be noted that each side had offered something by way of concession. The American proposal for free joint navigation of the Columbia was not regarded by the British as sufficient recompense for loss of the territory between that river and the parallel of forty-nine degrees, while Gallatin, even if he had been willing to exchange the entire region west and north of the Columbia for a detached strip with two harbors, was restrained by the positive character of his official instructions. He was authorized to consent to extension for an additional term of ten years of the Joint Occupancy Treaty of 1818. What he finally did was obtain an extension, indefinite as to term, from which either nation might withdraw on giving twelve months' notice. Viewed as a completed act, this now appears as an advantage gained by the United States, for if the issue were practically left to be determined by settlement, as later it was, the United States was the country from which immigration would be most likely to flow. Gallatin thus transferred the final determination of the question from the hands of statesmen to those of plainsmen and pioneers. The convention was completed August 6, 1827. George Canning, then head of the

[47] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 666.

[48] Gallatin to Clay, December 2, 1826, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 656.

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British Cabinet, died August 8, two days later. The influence of Canning's policy, however, was felt long afterward.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the protocols of these negotiations is the frank statement by the British plenipotentiaries, Huskisson and Addington, that "Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory."[49] But here was an open challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. "Her present claim," the statement continues, "not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance. In other words, the pretensions of the United States tend to the ejection of all other nations, and, among the rest, of Great Britain, from all right of settlement in the district claimed by the United States. The pretensions of Great Britain, on the contrary, tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the United States."

The British plenipotentiaries then proceeded to examine the grounds upon which the claims of the United States were founded, again denying to the United States the right to supplement one right with pretentions founded upon another. "If, for example," said the British plenipotentiaries, "the title of Spain by first discovery, or the title of France as the original possessor of Louisiana, be valid, then must one or the other of those kingdoms have been the lawful possessor of that territory, at the moment when the United States claim to have discovered it. If, on the other hand, the Americans were the first discoverers, there is necessarily an end of the Spanish claim; and if priority of discovery constitutes the title, that of France falls equally to the ground."[50] But the point upon which the British commissioners placed greatest emphasis was that Spain by the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790 had agreed with Great Britain that all parts of the Northwest coast of America not occupied at that time by either of the contracting parties, should thenceforward be equally open to the subjects of both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement, the sovereignty remaining in abeyance. In succeeding to the rights of Spain, it was held the United States "necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which they were defined and the obligations under which they were to be exercised."[51] To this Gallatin replied in his counter statement that "the compact between Spain and Great Britain could only bind the parties to it, and can effect the claim of the United States so far only as it is derived from Spain. If, therefore, they have a claim in right of their own discoveries, explorations and settlements, as this cannot be impaired by the Nootka convention, it becomes indispensably necessary, in order to defeat such a claim, to show a better prior title on the part of Great Britain, derived from some other consideration than the stipulation of that convention."[52] But, Gallatin held, the Nootka Convention was in fact "merely of a commercial nature, and in no shape to effect the question of distinct jurisdiction and exclusive sovereignty." The contenion that the treaty must have been purely of a commercial nature was important to the issue, since commercial treaties alone

[49] British statement annexed to the protocol of the sixth conference. (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 662.)

[50] Id., p. 663.

[51] Id., p. 663.

[52] Counter statement of Mr. Gallatin, annexed to the protocol of the seventh conference. (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 667.)

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between Great Britain and Spain had been renewed by those nations subsequently to the war which intervened. Gallatin found it "difficult to believe, on reading those provisions and recollecting in what cause the convention originated, that any other settlements could have been contemplated than such as were connected with the commerce to be carried on with the natives." And since the right of exclusive dominion had been left in abeyance, it was contended by Gallatin, that the issue "must revive to its full extent whenever that joint occupancy may cease."[53]

Replying to the British contention that the United States might not found its claim upon three distinct pretentions, Gallatin declared: "In different hands, the several claims would conflict one with the other. Now, united in the same power, they support each other. The possessors of Louisiana might have contended, on the ground of contiguity, for the adjacent territory on the Pacific Ocean, with the discoveries of the coast and main rivers. The several discoveries of the Spanish and American navigators might separately have been considered as so many steps in the progress of discovery, and giving only imperfect claims to each party. All those various claims, from whatever considerations derived, are now brought united against the pretensions of any other nations."

Gallatin contended that the principle of contiguity, deriving force from the settlement of the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase as the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude,[54] also established the American claim to the territory south of that parallel as far west as the Pacific Ocean—a claim "not weakened by the fact that the British settlements west of the Stony mountains are solely due to the extension of those previously formed on the waters emptying into Hudson Bay." But he did not neglect to reassert the American claim as resulting from that which the British plenipotentiaries had designated as "proper right." "The discovery, which belongs exclusively to the United States," said Gallatin, "and in their own right, is that of the River Columbia." The continuity of the coast from the forty-

[53] Id., p. 667.

[54] Here Gallatin in 1827 accepts the theory that the "limits between the northerly possessions of Great Britain, in North America, and those of France in the same quarter, namely Canada and Louisiana, were determined by commissioners appointed in pursuance of the treaty of Utrecht." (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 668.) But Gallatin, twenty years later, in 1846 wrote in an apologetic vein concerning this assertion. "That which relates to a presumed agreement of commissioners appointed under the treaty of Utrecht," he then said, "by which the northern boundary of Canada was, from a certain point north of Lake Superior, declared to extend westwardly along the 49th parallel of latitude, does not appear to me as definitely settled. As this had been assumed many years before as a positive fact, and had never been contradicted, I also assumed it as such, and did not thoroughly investigate the subject. Yet I had before me at least one map (name of publisher not recollected), of which I have a vivid recollection, on which the dividing lines were distinctly marked and expressly designated as being in conformity with the agreement of the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht. The evidence against the fact, though in some respects strong, is purely negative. * * * Finally, the allusion to the 49th parallel as a boundary fixed in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht had been repeatedly made in the course of preceding negotiations, as well as in the conferences of that of the year 1826; and there is no apparent motive, if the assertion was known by the British negotiators not to be founded in fact, why they should not have at once denied it. * * * It is of some importance, because, if authenticated, the discussion would be converted from questions respecting undefined claims into one concerning the construction of a positive treaty or convention." (Writings of Albert Gallatin, Vol. III, pp. 511-12.)

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second to the forty-eighth degree of latitude having been ascertained by Quadra in 1775 and confirmed by Cook in 1778, "the object of discovery thenceforth, was that of a large river, which should open a communication into the interior of the country."[55] The failure of Meares, and the misconception of Vancouver until informed by Gray of the existence of the bay, were recounted by Gallatin, who added: "It must again be repeated, that the sole object of discovery was 'the river,' and, coming from the sea, the mouth of the river." Finally Gallatin recited the exploration by Lewis and Clark in 1805 of the sources of the Columbia River, and the settlement at Astoria in 1811. With respect to the British counter claims, he denied that the trading posts of the North West Company gave title to the territory, both "because the title of the United States is considered as having been complete before any of those traders had appeared on the waters of the Columbia," and because it was "also believed, that mere factories, established solely for the purposes of trafficking with the natives * * * cannot of themselves * * * give any better title to dominion and absolute sovereignty, than similar establishments made in a civilized country."

Gallatin also looked into the future, and suggested that "the probability of the manner in which the territory west of the Rocky mountains must be settled, belongs essentially to the subject." Here he pointed out that "under whatever nominal sovereignty that country must be placed," and whatever its ultimate destinies may be, it is nearly reduced to a certainty that it will be almost exclusively peopled by the surplus population of the United States."[56] The tone of the Gallatin counter statement was pacific. It stressed the desire of the United States to obtain a definite boundary as a means of avoiding all possibility of collision, and reminded the British negotiators that the line offered by the United States gave to Great Britain "by far the best portion of the fur trade * * * and a much greater than her proportionate share of the country, with a view to permanent settlement, if the relative geographical situation, and means of colonizing, of both parties, be taken into consideration."

Events in the next decade—that of the thirties—during which the Oregon Country received little attention from Congress, justified the earlier contention of Gallatin that the region west of the Rocky Mountains was destined to be populated most largely by citizens of the United States. First, in 1833 and 1834, the missionary movement began, with all that this implied as a

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[55] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 669.

[56] "The distance from Great Britain," said Gallatin, "and the expense incident to emigration, forbid the expectation of any being practicable from that quarter, but on a comparatively small scale. Allowing the rate of increase to be the same in the United States, as in the North American British possessions the difference in the actual population of both is such that the progressive rate which would, in forty years, add three millions to these, would, within the same time, give a positive increase of more than twenty millions to the United States. And if circumstances, arising from localities and habits, have given superior facilities to British subjects, of extending their commerce with the natives, and to that expansion which has the appearance, and the appearance only, of occupancy,—the slower but sure progress and extension of an agricultural population, will be regulated by distance, by natural obstacles, and by its own amount. The primitive right of acquiring property and sovereignty, by occupancy alone, admitting it to be unlimited in theory, cannot extend beyond the capacity of occupying the land and cultivating the soil." (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Vol. VI, p. 670.)

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challenge to the imagination of the people. Widespread curiosity was aroused by the missionary adventure and stimulated by publication of accounts of the new country.

This was followed by the publication of Rev. Samuel Parker's journal which was widely circulated, and by petitions to Congress and numerous publications in the newspapers relating to the Oregon Country. Jason Lee's memorial to Congress was signed by thirty-six residents of the Willamette Valley, including fifteen French-Canadian settlers, and was presented by him at Washington.[57] A vivid impression of the remoteness of the colony from the center of government will be understood from the fact that this petition, dated March 16, 1838, was not presented to Congress until January 28, 1839, when it was placed before the Senate by Senator Linn. It stimulated the effort of Linn, of Representative Caleb Cushing and a few others of a small but active minority to obtain legislation looking to the objects sought. The people of the eastern states now had notice that their fellow countrymen on the Pacific coast earnestly desired the protection of the flag.

Linn introduced in the Senate, February 7, 1838, a bill "authorizing the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon River, establishing a territory north of latitude forty-two 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; establishing a port of entry, and requiring that the country should then be held subject to the revenue laws of the United States; with an appropriation of $50,000."[58] In seeking to have his bill referred to the committee on military affairs, Linn suggested that there was reason to apprehend that "if this territory should be neglected, in the course of five years it would pass from our possession." Henry Clay interposed a cautious inquiry whether occupation of the country might not violate the stipulations of the existing treaty with Great Britain and give that nation cause of offense. But Linn replied that he was aware of the provisions of the treaty of joint occupancy; he desired to obtain all possible information on the subject, that the bill might be modified if found advisable, for he wished it to be as perfect as it could be. James Buchanan said that the time had come when we ought to assert our right to the Oregon Country or abandon it forever. "We know," he said, "by information received from an agent of the government [allusion here is undoubtedly made to William A. Slacum] that the Hudson's Bay Company were establishing forts in that quarter, cutting down the timber and conveying it to market, and acquiring the allegiance of the indian tribes, and while they had been thus proceeding, we had patiently looked on during a long period of years." Our right, said Buchanan, ought to be now asserted, but in a prudent manner. The time had come to settle this question, and there were too many such questions unsettled with the British Government already. Buchanan favored prompt assertion of the American right to the country.

The report of William A. Slacum, to which Buchanan referred, had called attention to the topography of "Pugitt's Sound," and had urged that the place should never be abandoned. "If the United States claim, as I hope they ever will," said Slacum, "at least as far as 49 degrees of north latitude

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[57] See Chapter XXVI, supra.

[58] Congressional Globe, 25th Congress, 2nd session, pp. 168-9.

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* * * on the above parallel we shall take in 'Pugitt's Sound.' In a military point of view it is of the highest important to the United States." The Slacum report had been read in the Senate, December 18, 1837, and referred to the committee on foreign relations, of which Buchanan was chairman. Consequently Buchanan was well aware of its import. Here we find still another allusion to the parallel of forty-nine degrees, contributing again to the circumstances which finally determined the boundary on that basis.

The years 1838 and 1839 were marked in Congress by sporadic discussions of the issue raised by Linn. This senator was as industrious as Floyd had been a decade previously. He also introduced a bill to provide for protection of the settlers on the Columbia River, and February 22, 1839, made a speech, belligerent in its tone, in which he reiterated a former prophecy that "our difficulties with Great Britain would only be adjusted by war, as the causes for hostilities were rapidly accumulating, and old sores were in a state of irritation." "England," he said, "has just as little claim to the Oregon Territory as she has to Maine. By the conventions of 1818 and 1828 [sic], it was agreed that both countries should have concurrent possession and jurisdiction; but Mr. Speaker, this has been, and is now, a nullity to us; for Great Britain, through the medium of the Hudson's Bay Company, built and armed several forts, equipped ships, erected houses, and improved farms. * * * They have driven our people from the indian trade, which yielded seven or eight hundred thousand dollars annually. * * * To all of these aggressions we tamely submit. They have ruined our fur trade, and seem disposed to appropriate the forests of Maine to their own use."[59]

Linn followed his bills, resolutions and requests for official information concerning Oregon, made in 1838-9, with a bill which he introduced January 8, 1841, "to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the Territory of Oregon, and for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over the same." The Linn bill fixed the boundary on the line of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes. It also provided that "as soon as the boundaries of the Oregon Territory are indisputably determined, 1,000 acres of land shall be granted to every white male inhabitant * * * of the age of eighteen and upward who shall cultivate and use the same for five consecutive years."[60] "If we have a just title to the country in dispute," he said in a brief speech introducing the bill, "it should not be abandoned to any power upon earth nor ought we to sleep any longer upon our claims."[61]

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[59] Globe, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, Appendix, pp. 221-2.

[60] Globe, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, p. 105.

[61] Section 2 of this bill provided: "That if any citizen of the United States shall within the territory or district of country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, south of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude, commit any crime, offence or misdemeanor, which, if committed elsewhere, would be punished by the laws of the United States, or if any person shall, within such part of the territory or district of country as belongs to the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, commit any such crime, offence or misdemeanor upon the property or person of any citizen of the United States, every offender on being thereof convicted, shall suffer the like punishment as is provided by the laws of the United States for the like offences, if committed within any place or district of country under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States. The trial of all offences against this act shall be in the district where the offender is apprehended, or into which he may be brought; and the supreme courts in each of the territorial districts, and the circuit courts, and other courts of the United States, of similar

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The Linn bill embodied the first concrete promise to the colonists of the protection of a code of law, such as the British Government had provided for its subjects when it had extended the jurisdiction of the courts of upper Canada over them and their affairs, but it will be noted that it provided a criminal code only, and still ignored the plaint of the settlers that "we can boast of no civil code." It was then the fashion to view the needs of a pioneer community in their more primitive physical aspects. The value of a constructive civil establishment was not yet generally appreciated.

Linn's view that the Oregon Country should extend as far north as fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, as expressed in his proposal to extend the Federal Government to the colonists, found support in a report made by Lieut. Charles Wilkes to the secretary of the navy in June, 1842. Returning from the voyage of exploration in the course of which he had advised the settlers in Oregon that the time had not yet arrived for organization of a local government, Wilkes was nevertheless an ardent champion, not only of territorial expansion on the northwest coast, but of the rights of the United States to the whole region on topographical grounds. He alluded to a map accompanying his report which delineated the Territory of Oregon as extending from "latitude 42° north to that of 54° 40′ north, and west of the Rocky mountains." "Its natural boundaries," said he, "would confine it within the above geographical limits. On the east it has the Rocky mountains running along its entire extent; on the south those of the Klamet range on the parallel of 42° and dividing it from upper California; on the west the Pacific ocean; and on the north the western trend of the Rocky mountains and the chain of lakes near and along the parallels of 54° and 55° north dividing it from British territory, and it is remarkable that within these limits all the rivers that flow through the terriory take their rise."[62]

Wilkes then described the geography of the country in more detail. "There is no point on the coast," he said further, "where a settlement could be formed between Frazer's river or 49° north and the northern boundary of 54° 40′ that would be able to supply its own wants." He emphasized particularly the fine harbors found within the Strait of Fuca, control of which, in his opinion, was requisite to peaceful possession of the interior. Wilkes also advocated prompt congressional action in the interest of future settlement by Americans.[63]

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jurisdiction in criminal causes in each district of the United States * * * shall have, and are hereby invested with full power and authority * * * in the same manner as if such crimes, offences and misdemeanors had been committed within the bounds of their respective districts." (Globe, 26th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, p. 105.)

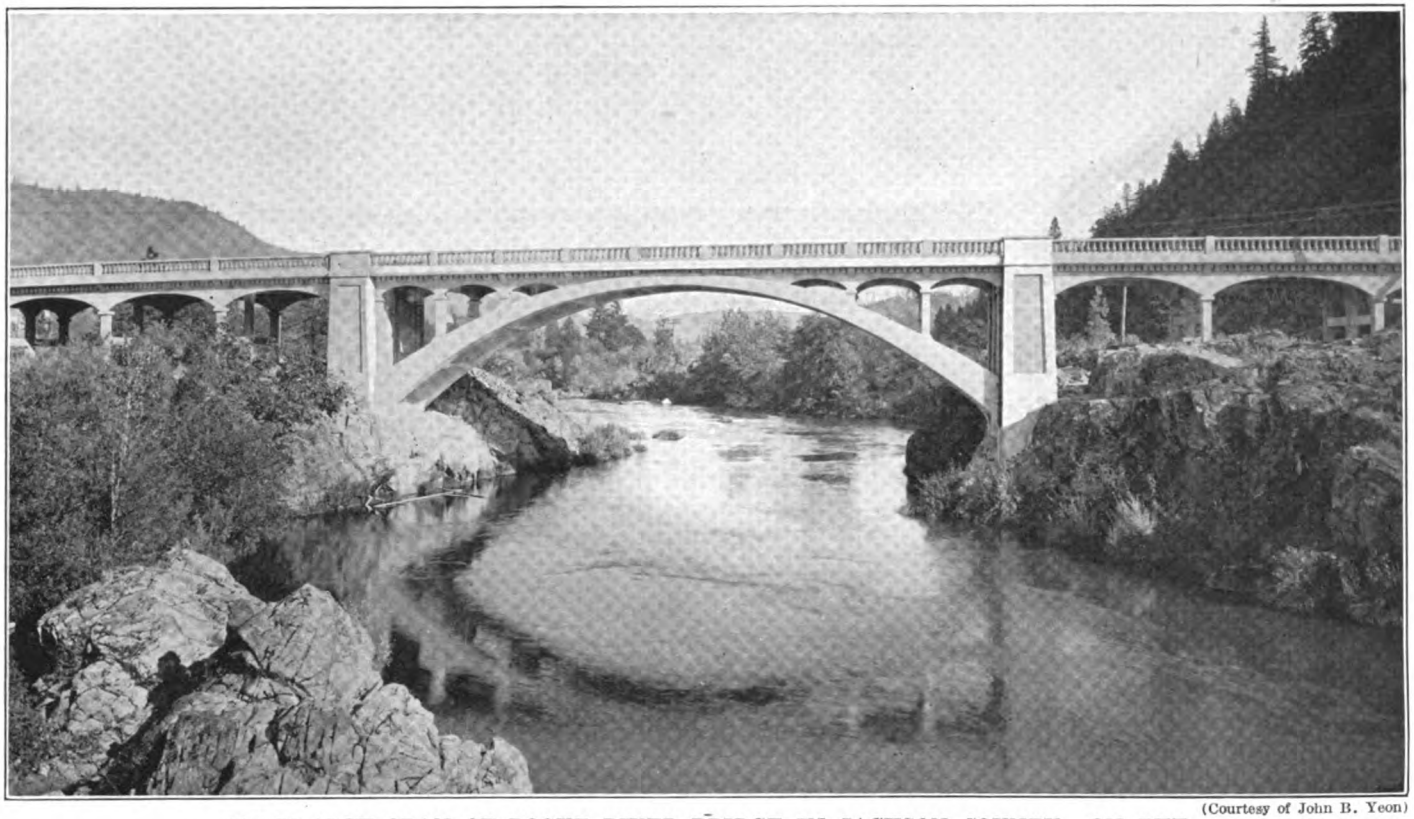
[62] Congressional Record, Vol. 47, p. 2977. Also in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 271. The preliminary volumes of Wilkes' narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition were written by Wilkes himself and were published at Philadelphia, in 1845, and did much to stimulate interest in the Oregon Country.

[63] Wilkes' report was seen by leaders in Congress at this time, but a portion was suppressed for reasons of diplomacy, the lieutenant having made certain allusions to possible British motives and to strategic considerations which it was believed might hamper negotiations then under consideration. Sixty-nine years afterward the Wilkes report was exhumed from the departmental files and, at the request of Representative Humphrey, of the State of Washington, was printed in the Congressional Record for July 15, 1911, as an extension of Humphrey's remarks. The portion of the report pertaining to the boundary issue is:

"The boundary will next claim my attention.

"In a former report to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy I stated that the boundary

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(Courtesy of John B. Yeon)

MAIN ARCH SPAN OF ROGUE RIVER BRIDGE IN JACKSON COUNTY, ON THE PACIFIC HIGHWAY BETWEEN GRANTS PASS AND MEDFORD

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The northeastern boundary between Maine and Canada and certain fishing rights and the issue of search and seizure on the high seas, claimed the attention of both nations in 1842, particularly because of local conflicts between residents on the Atlantic coast, so that in this year, when Great Britain sent Lord Ashburton to Washington as special commissioner to adjust these difficulties, while Ashburton was the bearer of secret instructions to take up the Oregon question, they were regarded as incidental to the main purpose of his mission. Tyler was then president of the United States and Daniel Webster, secretary of state. Little discretion was committed to the envoy by Lord Aberdeen, British secretary for foreign affairs. Ashburton was directed to offer: (1) The line of the Columbia River from its mouth to the Lewis or Snake River, thence due east to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. (2) The same line as laid down in the negotiations of 1824 and 1827, while Canning was directing the British foreign policy, namely, the parallel of forty-nine degrees from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the northernmost branch of the Columbia River and thence to the sea, with joint free navigation of the river. He was

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formerly proposed, viz., that of 49°, ought not to be adopted and the following are my reasons:

"First. That it affects the value of all that portion of the middle and eastern section south of that parallel.

"Second. That it places the whole territory south of that parallel completely at the control and at the mercy of the nation who may possess the northern by giving the command of all the water and a free access to the heart of the territory at any moment.

"Third. Giving up what must become one of the great highways into the interior of the country altogether, viz., Frazer's river.

"Fourth. And also, to all intents and purposes, possession of the fine island of Vancouver, thereby surrendering an equal right to navigate the waters of the strait of Fuca, and by its possession the whole command of the northern waters.

"Fifth. Giving rise to endless disputes and difficulties after the location of the boundary and in the execution of the laws after it is settled.

"Sixth. Affording and converting a portion of the territory which belongs to us into a resort and depot for a set of marauders and their goods, who may be employed at any time in acting against the laws and to the great detriment of the peace not only of this territory but of our western states by exciting and supplying the indians on our borders.

"The boundary line on the 49° parallel would throw Frazer's river without our territory, cut off and leave seven-eighths of the fine island of Vancouver in their possession, together with all the fine harbors. * * * They would not only command the strait of Fuca and the inlets and sounds leading from it, but place the whole at any moment under their control by enabling them to reach and penetrate the heart of the territory with a comparatively small force and destroy it and lay it waste.

"The whole middle and part of the eastern section would be cut off from their supplies of timber by losing its northern part. * * *

"Endless difficulties would be created in settling the boundary, for Great Britain must or does know that the outlet for Frazer's river by way of Johnson's strait * * * is not only difficult, but dangerous to navigate from the rapidity of the currents and cannot be made use of. She will, therefore, probably urge her claim to the southern line, say the Columbia, as the boundary which they are desirous of holding and are now doing all in their power to secure its permanent settlement through the Hudson Bay Co. * * * and by the delays of our government hope to obtain such a foothold as will make it impossible to set aside their sovereignty.

"I have stated these views in order to show the necessity of prompt action on the part of the government in taking possession of the country in order to obviate difficulties that a longer delay will bring about and prevent many persons from settling advantageously." (Congressional Record, Vol. 47, pp. 2977 et seq.)

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instructed not to accept under any conditions the line of forty-nine degrees from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

While Webster and Ashburton were negotiating, American statesmen were also discussing the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of that part of California lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees, which would have given the United States the harbor of San Francisco and have mollified those who were clamoring for a port on the Pacific coast. It was clear that Ashburton's instructions to adhere to the Canning policy permitted small hope that the Oregon boundary question would be settled, at least without involving concessions as to the northeastern boundary and the fishing rights, which neither Tyler nor Webster was willing to make, and so Oregon was not at this time considered. The Webster-Ashburton treaty was signed in Washington, August 9, 1842, having been arrived at, as Webster afterward said, "on principles of compromise." "It would have furnished an additional cause for congratulation," wrote President Tyler in his message to Congress, December 6, 1842, "if the treaty could have embraced all subjects calculated in future to lead to a misunderstanding between the two governments. The Territory of the United States, commonly called the Oregon Territory * * * to a portion of which Great Britain lays claim, begins to attract the attention of our fellow citizens, and the tide of population which has reclaimed what was so lately unbroken wilderness, in more contiguous regions, is preparing to flow over those vast districts which stretch from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It became manifest, at an early hour on the late negotiations that any attempt for the time being satisfactorily to determine those rights, would lead to a protracted discussion, which might embrace in its failure other more pressing matters."[64] This allusion to "more pressing matters" is characteristic of the official attitude toward Oregon at that time. Lord Aberdeen, writing to Minister Fox at Washington, October 18, 1842, began by saying, "the more important question of the disputed boundary between Her Majesty's North American provinces and the United States being thus settled," and also alluded to Ashburton's abstention from discussion of Oregon in the preceding negotiations because of "apprehension, lest, by so doing, the settlement of the far more important matter of the North-Eastern Boundary should be impeded, or exposed to the hazard of failure."[65]

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[64] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, edition of 1897, Vol. V, p. 2049.

[65] Correspondence Relative to the Negotiations of the Oregon Question, * * * Subsequent to the Treaty of Washington, London. Printed by T. R. Harrison, pp. 1-2. President Tyler also said in his message of December 6, 1842: "Although the difficulty referred to may not for several years to come involve the peace of the two countries, yet I shall not delay to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement." This statement aroused the resentment of the British negotiator, for a reason which is revealed in the chronology of the official correspondence immediately preceding the writing of the message. In his letter of October 12, 1842, to Fox, Aberdeen had instructed the minister to "propose to Mr. Webster to move the president to furnish the United States minister at this court with such instructions as will enable him to enter upon the negotiations in this matter." "And you will assure him, at the same time," continued Aberdeen, "that we are prepared to proceed to the consideration of it in a perfect spirit of fairness, and to adjust it on a basis of equitable compromise." Webster, in a letter to Fox on November 25, 1842, had informed the latter that the president concurred entirely in the expediency of making the Oregon question a subject of immediate attention and negotiation between the two governments." Fox, writing to Aberdeen on December 12, 1842, observed that "Your lordship will be surprised * * * at the inexact manner in which the message describes the state of the

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After the Webster-Ashburton treaty had been concluded, and while Ashburton was still in the United States, Tyler and Webster conceived the idea of uniting the Oregon, Texas and California questions with a view of obtaining the port of San Francisco, possibly in exchange for territory in the Northwest. This was perhaps the most critical period in all the boundary negotiations for the part of the Oregon Country lying north of the Columbia River. Webster forwarded a general outline of his plan to Edward Everett, United States minister to London. This came to be known as the "tripartite agreement." It contemplated acquisition of all of California north of the thirty-sixth parallel, in exchange for recognition of a northern boundary beginning on the west at the Strait of Fuca, running up the strait apparently to the south end of Admiralty Inlet, and thence south, striking the Columbia River below Vancouver and following it to its intersection with the forty-ninth parallel.[66] American and British citizens at this time held large claims for indemnities against the Mexican Government which seemed unlikely to be paid, and Webster proposed that Mexico sell Upper California to the United States for a sum to be determined, out of which these claims should be discharged, and that Great Britain employ its good offices to obtain Mexico's assent. The tripartite plan came to nothing. Webster's ambition to go to London as special envoy to complete it was balked by refusal of a House committee, by a vote of six to three, to agree to an appropriation to defray the cost of the mission.[67]

Linn's bill for the occupation and settlement of Oregon was passed by the Senate in 1843, but defeated in the House. Meanwhile the westward movement had begun, the large emigration of 1843 serving to emphasize the domestic aspect of the question. An "Oregon convention" held at Cincinnati that summer indicated the growing interest of the people of the Mississippi

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negotiations. * * * The language of the president leaves it to be inferred that an early settlement of this question is urged by the government of the United States, rather than that of Great Britain." Aberdeen in a subsequent letter to Fox thought Tyler would have been "more candid" if he had also stated in his message that he had already received overtures from Great Britain. In this as in some other fields of international dealings our country was placed in an equivocal position.

[66] Hist. of Pac. Coast (1918), Joseph Schafer, p. 174; British Attitude Toward the Oregon Question, by Joseph Schafer, American Historical Review, Vol. 16, pp. 273 et seq., and references cited. Webster made a remark to Ashburton that was reported by the latter to Lord Aberdeen in which he indicated a willingness to abandon Northern Oregon, but he later declared that at no time had he intended to accept a boundary less favorable than 49 degrees.

[67] Adams Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 327. Also in Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. II, p. 261, are printed two letters from Tyler to Webster (undated), from which the following excerpts are taken: "The mere recognition of Texas would have the effect if we went into that matter of separating the question from California, and stirring up all the agitations which you anticipate, whereas introduced into the same treaty, the same interests would be united, and would satisfy all sections of the country. Texas might not stand alone, nor would the line proposed for Oregon. Texas would reconcile all to the line, while California would reconcile or pacify all to Oregon." And also: "A single suggestion as to our conversation is all that is necessary as to all its parts. A surrender of her title is all that will be wanting. The rest will follow without effort." Webster undoubtedly was strongly desirous of obtaining the port of San Francisco, especially in view of Wilkes' unfavorable report on the Columbia after the loss of the Peacock. Ashburton had intimated that Great Britain would enter no objection to a voluntary cession of territory by Mexico, but Webster apparently was unwilling to purchase mere neutrality at the price of a large area north of the Columbia.

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Valley in the new country. This convention adopted resolutions asserting the American right to all the territory between California line and that of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, the line fixed as the southern limit of the Russian claims. Henry Clay's views regarding the meeting and the objects are fully set out in an unpublished letter, the original of which is in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It is dated June 24, 1843, and was addressed to Gen. T. Worthington of Logan, Ohio, declining an invitation to attend the convention to be held at Cincinnati, July 4, 1843, and denying the expediency of the immediate occupation of the Oregon Country by the authority of the Government or especially without its sanction. In this letter he says: "It could not be occupied without great expense. A line of posts would be necessary from the state of Missouri across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. A naval establishment and a permanent naval force would be necessary there. These would subject the nation to a heavy present and permanent expenditure at a time when it is pressed by financial embarrassment. I think our true policy is to settle and populate our immense territory on the east of those mountains and within the U. States, before we proceed to colonize the shores of the Pacific; or at all events postpone the occupation of the Oregon some thirty or forty years." He argued that the population of the United States would reach near thirty-five millions in twenty-five years, and Great Britain was destined to lose all her present possessions in North America in less than half a century either by their "independence or by conquest." He believed that the boundary heretofore proposed by us would finally be agreed to by Great Britain. He referred to the recent reported seizure of the Sandwich Islands by a British officer as an outrage, which if sanctioned by the government of Great Britain should be opposed by the United States and other powers. These views of Clay were shared by others. The Oregon policy of Secretary of State Calhoun during 1843 and the early months of 1844 justified his own subsequent characterization of it as "masterly inactivity." But settlement was rapidly strengthening the American claim to superior right on the ground of contiguity and demonstrating the fundamental soundness of the latter doctrine. Popular sentiment was strongly in favor of asserting title to the entire territory, of giving notice of termination of the joint occupancy treaty, and of extending the protection of the laws of the United States to the settlers, present and prospective, in Oregon.

In this temper also the national democrat convention at Baltimore, which nominated James K. Polk for President, May 27, 1844, adopted a platform containing the following declaration: "Resolved, that our title to the whole of the territory is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England, or any other power: and that the reoccupation of Oregon, and the reannexation of Texas, at the earliest practicable period, are the great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union." A slogan of the ensuing campaign was "Fifty-four-forty or fight!" an interpretation of the platform which was founded on the declaration of the Oregon convention that was held in Cincinnati. Thus the Oregon question was no longer a local question; it became a matter of interest throughout the country.

It is not surprising that the first great immigration of American settlers in 1843 and 1844 carried this sentiment with them. When they were getting up their provisional government they adopted the following as a definition

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of the boundaries of the Oregon Country at a meeting of the legislative committee, December 24, 1844:

"Section 1. Be it enacted by the legislative committee of Oregon, as follows: That Oregon shall consist of the following territory: commencing at that point on the Pacific ocean where the parallel of forty-two degrees of north latitude strikes the same, as agreed upon by the United States and New Mexico; thence north along the coast of said ocean, so as to include all islands, bays and harbors contiguous thereto, to a point on said ocean where the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude strikes the same; thence east along the last parallel as agreed to between the United States and Russia, to the summit of the main dividing ridge of the Rocky mountains, dividing the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; thence southerly, following said main dividing ridge, to the said parallel of forty-two degrees north latitude, and thence west to the place of beginning."

The British Government was well advised by its minister of the trend of sentiment in the United States and again took the initiative in proposing renewal of negotiations. The first move in 1844 was made by Richard Pakenham, the new British minister, who wrote to Secretary of State Upshur, February 24 of that year, that he was ready to take up the question at Upshur's earliest convenience. The death of Upshur interrupted the correspondence for a brief period, and Pakenham in July wrote to Secretary John C. Calhoun reminding him of the pending issue. On August 26, 1844, Pakenham outlined the British offer, which in addition to previous proposals included the undertaking to make free to the United States any port or ports which the United States might desire, either on Vancouver Island or the mainland, south of forty-nine degrees.

Calhoun rejected the offer in a statement in which he reiterated the contentions set up in previous negotiations, and added: "Time indeed so far from impairing our claims has greatly strengthened them. * * * Our well founded claim, based on continuity, has greatly strengthened during the same period, by the rapid advance of our population toward the territory; its great increase, especially in the valley of the Mississippi, as well as the greatly increased facility of passing to the territory by the more accessible routes; and the far stronger and rapidly swelling tide of population that has recently commenced flowing into it. * * * An emigration estimated at one thousand during the last, and fifteen hundred during the present year, has flowed into it. The current thus commenced will no doubt continue to flow with increased volume hereafter."[68] Calhoun's assertion of the principle of superior availability, his contention that the region to Great Britain could be little more than a colony and that it was rapidly becoming the home of people from the contiguous territory of the United States, here gives a glimpse of the broader grounds upon which the issue ultimately was to be determined. Natural developments were rapidly rendering futile the technicalities of international law upon which previous arguments of diplomats had been founded.

Several resolutions directing the President to give formal notice of abrogation of the treaty were offered in Congress in 1844, and the chairman of the committee on territories introduced a bill to extend the jurisdiction of the courts of Iowa over the region between the parallels of forty-nine degrees

[68] Correspondence Relative to * * * the Oregon Question, pp. 18-19.

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and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, providing for an additional judge of Iowa who should reside in Oregon, and granting 640 acres of land to each inhabitant. In December, 1844, after Polk had been elected but before his inauguration, a bill for organization of a government in Oregon was introduced, but it was permitted to rest in committee because of the pending diplomatic negotiations.

Polk was elected in November, 1844, on the platform which asserted the claim of the United States to the "whole of the territory" of Oregon, and in his inaugural message, March 4, 1845, he repeated the language of the platform that our "title to the country of Oregon is 'clear and unquestionable,'" and declared it to be his duty to assert and maintain by all constitutional means the right of the United States to "that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky mountains," omitting, however, the claim to the "whole" of the territory, asserted in the platform. This aroused deep interest and some resentment in Great Britain, and at the same time constituted notice to the statesmen of that country of the strength of American determination not to yield any material portion of the disputed region. James Buchanan now succeeded Calhoun as secretary of state and he renewed negotiations in a more moderate spirit than the "fifty-four-forty or fight!" campaign slogan would have indicated. In a letter to Pakenham, July 12, 1845, he signified Polk's willingness to recede from the fifty-four degrees forty minutes line, on the ground that he had "found himself embarrassed, if not committed, by the acts of his predecessors." "In view of these facts," said Buchanan, "the President has determined to pursue the present negotiation to its conclusion upon the principle of compromise in which it commenced, and to make one more effort to adjust this long pending controversy." He then proposed to divide the territory on the forty-ninth parallel, at the same time offering to make free to Great Britain any ports on Vancouver Island south of that parallel which it might desire. Pakenham, on his own responsibility, July 29, 1845, rejected this proposal which, he said, offered less than had been tendered in the negotiations of 1826, and therefore Buchanan withdrew it. The Earl of Aberdeen disapproved Pakenham's summary action and proposed that "unless Mr. Buchanan should be disposed to renew his late proposal, which is greatly to be desired," the "whole question of an equitable division of the territory" be submitted to arbitration. This proposal for arbitration was formally made by Pakenham to Buchanan, December 27, 1845, but was rejected by the latter, who characterized it a mere proposal to divide the region, and "as precluding the United States from claiming the whole territory," and in response to subsequent advances on the part of the British minister, Buchanan declared that the President "does not believe the territorial rights of this nation to be a proper subject for arbitration."[69]

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[69] Buchanan again declared the continued conviction of the President that the United States "hold the best title in existence to the whole of this territory," as expressed in the President's message of December 2, 1845, and denied that the territory was of equal, or nearly equal, value to the two powers. "Whilst it is invaluable to the United States," he said, "it is of comparatively small importance to Great Britain. To her Oregon would be but a distant colonial possession of doubtful value, and which, from the natural progress of human events, she would not probably long enough enjoy to derive from it essential benefits; whilst to the United States it would become an integral and essential portion of the republic."

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The British Government ordered two warships to the Pacific coast soon after Polk's belligerent inaugural message was received in London; two British military agents, Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, were dispatched overland from Canada to examine into conditions in that country, particularly with reference to its possible defense, and Lieut. William Peel, son of Sir Robert Peel, the British premier, was sent from a British frigate in Puget Sound to obtain information concerning the progress of American settlement in the Willamette Valley. Peel's confidential report, which he hurriedly carried to England, and the news that the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company had found it expedient to unite with the Oregon provisional government, gave further notice to the British Government of the gravity of the situation. These circumstances influenced the British leaders in moderating their policy.

There was much talk in Washington of war, which, however, the thoughtful leaders desired to avoid if possible. Affairs were nearing the climax late in 1845, as is shown by an entry in Polk's diary of December 23, four days before the British proposal for arbitration was submitted. The official atmosphere was surcharged with apprehension lest the arbitration proposal should be accompanied by an ultimatum also. "A grave discussion took place," wrote Polk in his diary, "in view of the contingency of war with Great Britain, growing out of the present critical state of the Oregon question. Mr. Buchanan expressed himself decidedly in favor of making vigorous preparation for defense, and said it was his conviction that the next two weeks would decide the issue of peace or war. I expressed my concurrence with Mr. Buchanan that the country should be put in a state of defense without delay. * * * A private letter of Mr. McLane (American minister to Great Britain) of the 1st instant was also read. The opinion was then expressed by Mr. Buchanan that the British minister would soon propose arbitration as an ultimatum. All agreed that we could not agree to arbitration, first, because the question of a compromise of territorial limits was not a fit subject for such reference, and second, because in the existing state of the principal powers of the world an impartial umpire could not be found * * * Mr. Buchanan repeated the anxiety he had often expressed to permit the negotiations to be reopened, with the hope that the dispute might be settled by compromise."[70] At this meeting of the cabinet Buchanan inquired whether, if the British minister should offer the parallel of forty-nine degrees from the mountains to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, leaving the southern end of Vancouver Island to Great Britain, Polk would "submit such a proposition to the senate for their previous advice." Polk replied that "if an equivalent, by granting to the United States free ports north of forty-nine degrees on the sea and to the strait of Juan de Fuca should also be offered," he would "consult confidentially three or four senators from different parts of the union, and might submit it to the senate for previous advice."[71] Polk did call in several senators, who agreed with him in opposing arbitration. Turney, of Tennessee, told him that "Mr. Benton would not support the administration on the question, and that Mr. Benton and Mr. Calhoun, in his opinion, would be found acting together in opposition. * * * He said many members from the south were opposed to war and would follow Mr. Calhoun, while some members from the west were almost mad on the subject

[70] Polk's Diary, Vol. I, p. 134.
[71] Id., p. 135.

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of Oregon, and that I was between these two fires, and whatever I might do I must dissatisfy one or the other of these sections of the party."[72]

In a message to Congress, March 24, 1846, the President recommended an increase of the navy and the raising of an "adequate military force to guard and protect such of our citizens as might think it proper to emigrate to Oregon," and called attention to warlike preparations which were even then being advocated in Great Britain. Bills were introduced in Congress in furtherance of the President's request, but by this time diplomatic exchanges between the governments were generally more amicable in tone. Lord Aberdeen privately favored drawing from the American Government a concession of the forty-ninth parallel, with free ports south to the Columbia, inclusive. The British Government, however, felt by this time that the United States would elect war rather than make material concessions, and Sir Robert Peel increased his efforts to avoid a final rupture, in which he was favored by a compromising spirit in Washington, so that by April, 1846, the resolution pending in Congress instructing the President to give notice of abrogation of the joint occupancy treaty had been amended in the interest of peace, by inclusion of the words: "And that the attention of the governments of both countries may be the more earnestly directed to the adoption of all proper measures for a speedy and amicable adjustment of the differences and disputes in regard to the said territory."[73] Lord Aberdeen then directed Pakenham to present the project for a treaty fixing the boundary on the line of forty-nine degrees to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, granting to the Hudson's Bay Company free navigation of the Columbia River for the term of its existing charter and guaranteeing the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company south of the forty-ninth parallel. This was laid before the Senate by Polk on June 10, 1846, with a message in which the President said: "In the early periods of the government the opinion and advice of the senate were often taken in advance upon important questions of our foreign policy. General Washington repeatedly consulted the senate and asked their previous advice upon pending negotiations with foreign powers. * * * This practice, though rarely resorted to in later times, was, in my judgment, eminently wise, and may on occasions of great importance be properly revived."[74] The Senate responded by voting two days later, thirty-seven to twelve, in favor of acceptance of the treaty, which was thereupon signed in Washington on June 15, 1846.

The last chapter of the Oregon boundary dispute was not written, however, until 1872, by which time the Territory of Washington had been in existence nineteen years, and Oregon, in a more limited political sense, had long been established as a state of the Union. A brief review of events in this connection subsequent to 1846, and until the final settlement, is justified here in the in-

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[72] Id., pp. 139-140. Among the influential American citizens who advised against war was the venerable Albert Gallatin, who wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "The Oregon Question"(New York, 1846), which was issued just in time to have a powerful effect. Moderate in tone, it was a calm and impartial review of the grounds on which the two nations rested their respective claims, showing that there was reasonable argument on both sides, that war would be useless as a practical means of settling the controversy, and advising a new joint occupancy convention and a postponement for further consideration.

[73] Congressional Globe, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 716.

[74] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Edition of 1897, Vol. VI, p. 2299.

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terest of historical continuity. The treaty of June 15, 1846, provided (in Article I) that the boundary shall be "continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's island; and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific ocean." But there was a considerable archipelago in the waters between Vancouver Island and the mainland, and there were at least two channels. The Americans claimed as the boundary the broadest and deepest of these, the Canal de Haro, which gave them most of the islands; the British contended for the more frequented Straits of Rosario, farther east. The American contention was that the primary, indeed the only, purpose of deviation from the forty-ninth parallel was to give the whole of Vancouver Island to the British,[75] and that, besides, the Canal de Haro was obviously the main channel, because of its superior volume and the greater directness of communication by this route between King George's Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

An attempt to settle the controversy was made in 1856, when Congress appointed two commissioners and Great Britain two, who labored two years and made extensive surveys and soundings, but failed to agree. In 1859 a colony of Americans settled on San Juan Island and came in conflict with the British authorities over an issue of trespass by livestock, and the governor of Vancouver Island, Sir James Douglas, asserted British sovereignty over San Juan. Douglas, in his official character, ordered Admiral Baynes, then at Esquimault with a British fleet, to drive the Americans from the island, an order which, as governor of a British colony, he was authorized to give. Admiral Baynes, however, disobeyed it on his own responsibility, declaring it would be ridiculous "to involve two great nations in war over a squabble about a pig."[76] A company of United States troops was sent to San Juan in this year, in command of Capt. George E. Pickett, who afterward distinguished himself as a confederate general at the battle of Gettysburg in the war between the states, and these troops were ordered off by the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, who claimed the entire island as the property of his company. Admiral Baynes blockaded the island with a flotilla of British warships, but Pickett prepared to resist attack and was reinforced by all the available United States troops then in the Northwest, who eluded the British blockade and landed in a fog. At one time the United States had some five hundred troops on San

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[75] The issue of the intent of the negotiators of the original treaty became paramount. The American case was largely contained in the statement that no other concession than that of Vancouver Island was ever contemplated by the American negotiators of the original treaty, or expected by the British. This is repeatedly sustained by the diplomatic correspondence of 1845-6. The offer of Buchanan, July 12, 1845, to Pakenham, the first American concession in this connection, was to "make free to Great Britain, any port or ports on Vancouver's island, south of this parallel (the 49th), which the British government may direct." This was the proposal which Pakenham rejected on his own responsibility, thereby incurring the disapproval of Lord Aberdeen. The latter in his letter of instructions to Pakenham of May 18, 1846, directed: "You will accordingly propose * * * that the line of demarcation should be continued along the Rocky mountains to the sea-coast, and from thence, in a southerly direction, through the center of King George's sound and the straits of Fuca, to the Pacific ocean, leaving the whole of Vancouver island, with its ports and harbors, in the possession of Great Britain." (Berlin Arbitration, Vol. II, p. 52.)

[76] Life of General Isaac I. Stevens, by Hazard Stevens, Vol. II, p. 292.

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Juan, while five British ships of war, carrying 167 guns and 2140 men, held the island in a stage of siege. Hostilities were prevented by the disinclination of the military commanders to precipitate a conflict without specific instructions from their respective governments.[77]

A nominal joint military occupation followed, lasting thirteen years. The British in 1860 proposed arbitration, suggesting as arbitrator either the King of the Netherlands, the King of Sweden and Norway, or the President of Switzerland. Negotiations were interrupted by the war between the states, and were then resumed in 1869, when a treaty was entered into for submission of the issue to the President of Switzerland, but this treaty failed of ratification by the Senate. The question was then absorbed into the numerous differences arising between the United States and Great Britain as the result of our own war, which were referred to the Joint High Commission of 1871, one of the members of which was George H. Williams, a distinguished citizen of Oregon. The Joint High Commission agreed on a treaty by which the San Juan controversy was referred for arbitration to Emperor William I of Germany, who decided in favor of the Canal de Haro as the boundary, sustaining the claim of the United States.

The award was dated October 21, 1872. Ninety years had passed since Great Britain had first formally recognized the existence of the United States as an independent state. From that time, wrote George Bancroft, then our minister to Germany, the controversy regarding the boundaries of the respective possessions in America had not ceased even for a single day. "During this period," added Bancroft, "the two countries have repeatedly been on the verge of war, growing out of their opposing claims to jurisdiction. After an unrelenting strife of ninety years, the award of His Majesty, the Emperor of Germany, closes the long and unintermitted and often very dangerous series of disputes on the extent of their respective territories, and so for the first time in their history opens to the two countries the unobstructed way to agreement, good understanding, and peace."[78]

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[77] The Last Phase of the Oregon Boundary Question, the Struggle for San Juan Island, by Andrew Fish. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XXII, p. 162.)

[78] Bancroft to German minister for foreign affairs, Berlin Arbitration, Vol. II, pp. 267-8. Bancroft's Manuscripts and collection of books and pamphlets relating to this arbitration are in New York Library, Manuscript Room. See also President Grant's Message to Congress, December 2, 1872. (Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 184.)

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CHAPTER XXXII

OREGON TERRITORY—(1848 to 1859)

The opening years of government as a Territory of the United States were filled with political and legal controversy out of which came much bitterness of spirit. There was a sharp difference of opinion between the whigs and democrats, as would be natural, but it grew into a permanent condition of personal and political antagonism that left a corroding effect upon prominent men of the young commonwealth, not to be erased for many years. Govérnor Lane, who was a democrat, served from March 3, 1849, to June 18, 1850. The secretary of state acted as governor for two months and was then succeeded by the whig governor, John P. Gaines, a veteran of the Mexican war, and former congressman, who arrived in Oregon in August, 1850. The Organic Act, Section 6, expressly provided that "to avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one act such things as have no proper relation to each other," every law of the territory should embrace but one object and that should be expressed in the title. This fundamental requirement had been overlooked by the legislature in 1849 in adopting a law primarily intended to change the location of the seat of government to Salem, instead of at Oregon City where it had existed under the provisional government and where the first session of the territorial legislature was held. The new act was entitled "An Act to provide for the selection of places for location and erection of the public buildings of the Territory of Oregon," and contained ten sections.[1] It purported not only to locate and establish the seat of government, and to instruct the future legislative assemblies to meet there, but it located the penitentiary at Portland, and university at Marysville.[2] Governor Gaines, in a message, February 3, 1851, long before the time for the session, took the position that this law which afterward came to be familiarly called the Omnibus Bill, embraced more than one object and was therefore void, so that in his opinion the seat of government lawfully remained at Oregon City; and in this he had the support of the opinion of Amory Holbrook, the United States attorney, who was another of the new whig appointees. The vials of wrath of the democrats, led by Matthew P. Deady and Asahel Bush, were then opened, and soon the quarrel raged fiercely.

In due season the majority of the members of the legislature proceeded to Salem, but Governor Gaines and the territorial secretary, Edward Hamilton, refused to attend. They maintained the executive offices at Oregon City, and the minority members of the legislature met there. But having no quorum in either branch, the latter body adjourned from day to day and finally gave up

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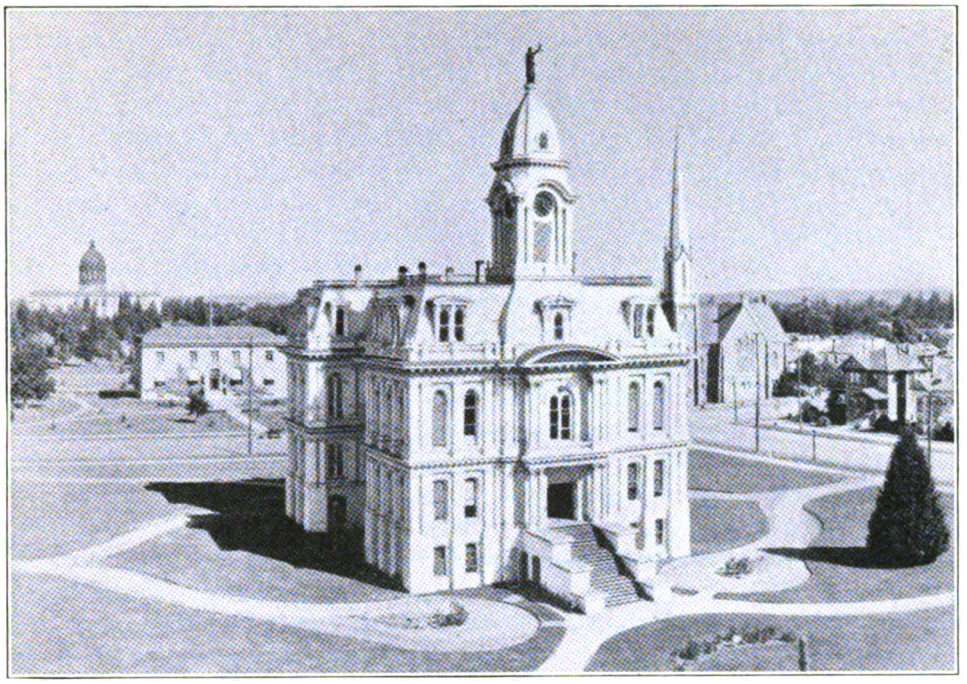
[1] General Laws, 1850, p. 222.

[2] Marysville afterward became Corvallis. For history of the capital controversy, based chiefly upon the Oregonian files, see The History of the Oregon Country, Leslie M. Scott, Vol. II, p. 311; See also Walter C. Winslow, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 173.

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and dispersed, December 17, 1851. Two of the three judges of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Thomas Nelson and Judge William Strong, in a suit entitled "Amos M. Short versus R. Ermatinger," at Oregon City, had an opportunity to express their views and they upheld the territorial officers and the minority of the legislature. In separate, long, written opinions, these judges each argued that the seat of government was lawfully at Oregon City and demonstrated to their own satisfaction and that of the whig office holders that the statute attempting to change it to Salem was absolutely void because of the defect in the title and failure to conform to the plain requirements of the organic law. On the other hand, the third judge of the Supreme Court, Judge O. C. Pratt, who was a democrat appointed by President Polk, in response to a resolution of the majority members of the legislative assembly sitting at Salem, rendered an elaborate opinion, advising that the decision of Judges Strong and Nelson was void, because they had held court at Oregon City instead of at Salem, and that the statute was entirely valid and binding. His opinion was dated on Christmas day, 1851, and as the views expressed by him accorded with the Salem legislature's desires and opinions, its members continued in session and proceeded to enact laws and to discharge the usual duties of such a body. Judge Pratt was at once a popular man at Salem, especially among those of the democrats that were led by Asahel Bush, editor of the Statesman and public printer. By invitation the judge read his opinion to the joint meeting of the two houses, January 9, 1852, whereupon that body voted to print three thousand copies. But the judge could not render an opinion that would have the force of an adjudication, since he had no cause before his court for decision, and so his opinion did not really have binding force, although it was printed in full in the Statesman and was highly praised by those whose views it confirmed. The Salem legislature completed its work and adjourned, January 12, but the controversy continued to rage. The minority, who had met at Oregon City, had not been able to muster more than four members. They were Lancaster, Wait, Matlock and Kinney, and of these Lancaster and Matlock memorialized Congress on several subjects of interest to the territory, without however alluding to the burning question of the times. On the other hand the Salem legislature, after full debate, sent a memorial of its own, claiming that prima facie at least the seat of government was at Salem, which was the only place at which court or legislature could sit, and that the majority judges had abused their high office in attempting to hold court at Oregon City or to decide the statute void. That memorial accused the judges of "fulminating" against the legislature and its acts, and of issuing paper decrees characterizing the members as revolutionists and disorganizers. It expressed the opinion that public confidence in the judiciary department had been seriously impaired, and it strongly intimated that the judges were unfit for their high office. As for Governor Gaines, it was plainly said that he had already proved a failure, and that his administration was characterized by a total want of confidence and sympathy between himself and the people. "Ever since he landed upon our shores and entered upon the duties of the office," said the memorialists, "either from mental perverseness or, what is more probable, the mischievous advice of the District Attorney, Amory Holbrook, he has sought by indirect and extra official acts to usurp the powers placed in the hands of the representatives of the people alone, and the consequence has been that confusion and discord have, like the cloud that precedes the storm, overshadowed our

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MARION COUNTY COURTHOUSE, SALEM



POSTOFFICE, SALEM

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public affairs." Matthew P. Deady was chairman of the committee that prepared the memorial and this was probably in great part his own language.

The opinion of the attorney general of the United States, to whom the legal question was referred by the treasury department, was that the majority judges of the Oregon Court were right, and that the only lawful seat of government was at Oregon City, thus upholding Governor Gaines and incidentally stamping as illegal all of the legislative acts adopted at Salem.[3] The opinion upheld the refusal of the territorial secretary to issue warrants for the payment of salaries and expenses incurred at Salem.

But the triumph of the Oregon whigs was short-lived. Congress, at the instance of General Lane, the delegate from Oregon, adopted a joint resolution, May 4, 1852, which settled the legal question by ratifying and approving the act of the legislative assembly of Oregon establishing and locating the seat of government at Salem, and by declaring the laws adopted by the Salem session to be "in conformity with the provisions of the act" and "to have been held in conformity to the provisions of law." The Oregon Statesman, strong democrat organ that it was, did not refrain from pointing out that this was by unanimous vote of the committee on territories of the national House of Representatives, composed of whigs as well as of democrats. It proceeded to take the satisfaction that was obviously to be derived from this situation in an editorial[4] which was characteristic of the political amenities of those days in Oregon, as follows:

Poor "Supreme Court"! Alas! Alas!

"The 'Supreme Court' is 'done for,' laid out, kilt; or as our classical 'brother Dryer'[5] would say, in the 'jargon of the country,' kockshut, memloosed, halo! It was a feeble, rickety concern to begin with, and the rough usage it received from the legislative assembly and the people nearly knocked the breath of life from it, and finally Congress gave it the finishing kick, and it was no more forever. No one appeared to administer consolation in the agonies of death. Not a voice was raised, not a vote was given to succor and to save. Out of three hundred members of Congress, more than one-third of them whigs, not one was found to do it reverence. Its condemnation was decreed, every voice answering aye! and it passed to the tomb 'unknelled, unhonored and unsung.' It is a melancholy reflection, and we banish it, while grief yet leaves our utterance unchoked, and tears our eyes undimmed. Perhaps before leaving the subject we had better advertise for a few bottles of lavender water in which to preserve a copy of its 'decision,' and the record of its never-to-be-forgotten session. In after times they will be looked upon with the same painful interest with which John Rogers' children 'looked upon their father's face when he was dead and gone.'"

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[3] See Oregon Weekly Times, December 27, 1851, and February 7, 1852, for full copies; and House Ex. Doc. No. 104 of 32nd Congress, 1st Session, containing letter from the Secretary of Treasury and copies of correspondence between that department and E. Hamilton, Secretary of the Territory of Oregon, in reference to the location of the seat of Government, etc. (May 3, 1852, laid on the table and ordered printed.) See also an article by James K. Kelly, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 185. Several letters from Judge Pratt to General Lane, territorial delegate at Washington, are in the possession of Oregon Historical Society and show the intense interest of the writer, who urges Lane to procure congressional action to vindicate and confirm the Salem legislative proceedings.

[4] Oregon Statesman, June 8 and June 29, 1852.

[5] Thomas J. Dryer, whig editor of the Oregonian.

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The democrats made the best of the opportunity and constantly insisted that the effect of the congressional resolution was to hold that the Salem legislative proceedings were legal. Wincing under this lash, Holbrook wrote to President Fillmore complaining of the executive approval of the resolution, and sending a pamphlet on the subject. The President promptly answered by letter marked private, dated July 26, 1852, in which he expressed surprise at the claim that the congressional resolution was a decision in favor of the validity of the Salem legislative proceedings. "I did not scrutinize the resolution when presented to me for my approval," said he. "I supposed it was intended merely to legalize the proceedings of the legislative assembly at Salem, but not to express any opinion whether they were legal or illegal under the Organic Law. On that point the Attorney-General had given his opinion in which I fully concurred then and do now, and the very fact that this joint resolution was passed was an evidence, at least, that these proceedings were not considered as valid without being ratified by Congress. There may have been some artful design in the wording of the resolution, intending to give it a local effect in Oregon, of which I was wholly unaware. I regret, however, that anything should have transpired that should have led any one to suppose for a moment that I had changed my opinion in reference to the true construction of the organic law."[6]

The legal principle involved in the seat of government contest, as applied by the whig judges, developed a juristic tangle in another direction, resulting in a situation that, however amusing to posterity, was serious enough among the politicians of the day. It was nothing short of a violent dispute as to what laws were in effect for the governance of the young commonwealth.

The various and successive provisional governments had on three separate occasions adopted bodily the statutes of Iowa to be the law of Oregon.[7] Each of these acts of the voluntary political organization of the settlers had alluded specifically to a certain compilation of the Iowa territorial statutes printed in 1839, being the statute laws enacted at the first session of the legislative assembly of that territory. This book was bound in blue boards and it came to be popularly known in Oregon during the years from 1843 to 1849 by familiar designation as the Blue Book. Now, when the Territory of Oregon was created by Congress the first territorial legislative assembly, notwithstanding the provision in the organic act that kept alive all existing laws of the provisional government, deemed it necessary again to adopt the Iowa statutes, and proceeded to do so by an enactment that referred to a later compilation of the Iowa statutes, printed in 1843, being the revised statutes of the Territory of Iowa, contained in a more portly blue volume.[8] Like the statute already mentioned changing the seat of government to Salem, this action of the Oregon Legislature ignored the basic provision of the fundamental act of Congress which has been quoted and which required that every act should embrace but one object to be expressly in the title. The code of laws as adopted was derisively nicknamed the "Steamboat Code," since it carried a miscellaneous cargo. The appellation is attributed to Amory Holbrook.

The conflicting views of the judges in the seat of government controversy,

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[6] Mss. letter in archives of Oregon Historical Society.

[7] July 5, 1843, June 27, 1844, and August 12, 1845.

[8] The enactment was September 29, 1849.

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when applied to the new code resulted in the claim on the one side that the enactment was void and that the Steamboat Code or Big Blue Book, as it was variously called, had no authority, and that the old Blue Book or Little Blue Book was still the authorized version. The Big Blue Book (or simply the Blue Book, as distinguished from the Little Blue Book), was repudiated in the district in which Judge Nelson presided, composed of Clackamas, Marion and Linn counties, and also in Judge Strong's district, composed of Clatsop County and those north of the Columbia River, while in the district presided over by Judge Pratt the Little Blue Book was anathema. Judge Pratt's district covered nearly all the territory west of the Willamette River, and included the counties of Washington, Yamhill, Polk and Benton. In this district, the Big Blue Book or Revised Statutes of Iowa of 1843 came to be recognized as the compendium of law, and a compilation or selection therefrom was prepared by a legislative committee of which Col. W. W. Chapman was chairman. There were but two copies of the Big Blue Book in Oregon, and the Chapman printing was not ready until the latter part of 1853, when a few copies were furnished by the territorial printer. This latter edition was generally known as the Chapman Code, and meantime the lawyers of that district having no copies, Judge Pratt's court had to get along with little learning and less law. In the districts of Judges Strong and Nelson the difficulty was scarcely less, for there were but three or four copies of the Little Blue Book in the entire territory.[9]

As Judge Pratt was popular with the Legislature and his views coincided with those of the members, an act was passed detaching Marion and Linn counties from Judge Nelson's district, thus leaving Clackamas County alone to the latter. Of course Judge Nelson refused to recognize the validity of such an act adopted by what he deemed an illegal legislative body. James K. Kelly in describing this situation in an address delivered before the Oregon Bar Association many years afterward said: "In the act it was provided that the terms of court in Marion and Linn counties should commence one week earlier than they did under the old law. So Judge Pratt held court at Salem and Albany under the new law, and a week later in each county Judge Nelson went to Salem and Albany to hold the district court under the old law. He found, however, that Judge Pratt had preceded him, held the court, and adjourned for the term. Judge Nelson finding that no business was prepared for hearing before him by the lawyers, returned somewhat disgusted to Oregon City, and was soon after relieved by the appointment of Hon. George H. Williams as chief justice of the territory."[10]

The remedy was found in the passage of an act by the Legislature in January, 1853, providing for the election of commissioners to draft a new code of laws. James K. Kelly, Reuben P. Boise and Daniel R. Bigelow were selected for this duty and the task was completed with the help of Joseph G. Wilson, clerk. About 200 copies were printed by the state printer for the preliminary use of the Legislature in considering the report. Both Kelly and Boise were elected members of the Legislature at the election in June, 1853, and when that body assembled in December of that year the code so prepared was adopted in separate parts, all to take effect May 1, 1854.

This effective date gave time for the printing and binding of the code in

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[9] James K. Kelly, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 188.

[10] Id.

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New York, where it was sent by the state printer because of the lack of facilities in Oregon. But unfortunately all of the copies excepting about 200 were sent from New York to Oregon by way of Cape Horn by sailing vessel and these never reached Oregon. They were either shipwrecked or so damaged that they were useless. The 200 that came to Oregon by way of Panama were used, but the Legislature at its session commencing in December, 1854, ordered a new edition, and this was printed in New York in 1855 and contained in addition to the code such statutes as were adopted at that session, and those of the preceding session of the Legislature.[11]

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[11] Colonel Kelly has said: "Between May 1, 1854, when the code took effect, and the arrival of the first copies of the printed volume from New York, we were somewhat troubled for want of evidence of existing statutes, and the judges and lawyers used in the courts copies of the printed draft reported by the code commissioners. A few of these unbound volumes still remained and such changes as had been made by the legislature were noted in them. Some of the lawyers even went to the trouble of having them indexed so as to be more convenient for reference and citation." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 193.)

The early compilations of the Oregon laws were the following:

(1850) Acts of the Legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon, passed at their sessions begun and held at Oregon City in July, 1849, and May, 1850, Oregon City, Robert Moore, Printer, 1850. This compilation in paper covers was signed by W. W. Buck and George L. Curry, a committee of one from each House, pursuant to resolution May, 1850, authorizing printing of 200 copies.

(1851) Statutes of a general nature passed by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon at the second session, held at Oregon City, December 2, 1850. Oregon City, Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, 1851. This compilation was authorized by joint resolution directing publication by the secretary. See Journal, Local Laws and Joint Resolutions, Second Session, Oregon City, December 2, 1850. Oregon City, Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, 1851.

(1851) General and Local Laws of Oregon, Third Session, 1851.

(1853) Laws of a general and local nature, passed by the legislative committee and legislative assembly at their various and successive sessions from the year 1849, except such laws of said session as were published in the bound volume of Oregon Statutes dated Oregon City, 1851. Collected and published pursuant to an act of the legislative assembly passed January 26, 1853. Salem, Oregon, Asahel Bush, Territorial Printer, 1853.

(1853) The Oregon Archives, including the journals, governor's messages, and public papers of Oregon, from the earliest attempt on the part of the people to form a government, down to and inclusive of the session of the territorial legislature held in the year 1849. Collected and published pursuant to an act of the legislative assembly passed January 26, 1853. By Lafayette Grover, Commissioner. Salem, Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1853. (Memorandum: This fails to include mss. laws of August session, 1845, now in possession of Oregon Historical Society, a print of which was made in 1921 by N. A. Phemister & Co., New York, under the title Oregon Acts and Laws passed by the House of Representatives at a meeting held in Oregon City, August, 1845. First Printing.)

(1854) The Statutes of Oregon, enacted and continued in force by the legislative assembly at the session commencing December 5th, 1853, Oregon. Asahel Bush, Public Printer, 1854. (Memorandum: This is the first edition of this compilation edited by J. K. Kelly, Reuben P. Boise, and Daniel R. Bigelow.)

(1855) The Statutes of Oregon enacted and continued in force by the Legislative Assembly at the fifth and sixth sessions thereof. Oregon: Asahel Bush, public printer, 1855. (This is the second edition of 1854 compilation but adds the acts of session to January 17, 1855.)

The later compilations were: (1863), Code of Civil Procedure and other general statutes of Oregon. Code Commissioners M. P. Deady, A. C. Gibbs, J. K. Kelly. (1866), Organic and other general laws, 1845-1864, M. P. Deady. (1874), Organic and other general laws, 1843-1872, M. P. Deady and Lafayette Lane. (1887), Codes and General Laws, William Lair Hill. (1892), Codes and General Laws, William Lair Hill;

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During the period of the territory, the following attorneys were admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court: Columbia Lancaster, Amory Holbrook, Aaron E. Wait, Edward Hamilton, John B. Preston, Alexander Campbell, William W. Chapman, William T. Matlock, Jesse Quinn Thornton, Simon B. Marye, David B. Brenan, Cyrus Olney, John B. Chapman, James K. Kelly, Joseph G. Wilson, Reuben P. Boise, David Logan, Milton Elliott, James McCabe, George McConaha, Matthew P. Deady, Addison C. Gibbs, A. B. P. Wood, A. Lawrence Lovejoy, W. Stuart Brock, Benjamin Stark, P. Q. Marquam, Lafayette Grover, Eli M. Barnum, Benjamin F. Harding, Riley E. Stratton, James C. Strong, Mark P. Chinn, Lafayette Mosher, Stephen F. Chadwick, Columbus Sims, George K. Sheil, Delazon Smith, Noah Huber, Stukely Ellsworth, Thomas H. Smith, Sylvester Pennoyer, Benjamin F. Bonham, Andrew J. Thayer, John Kelsay, William W. Page, Lansing Stout, R. B. Snelling, Benjamin F. Dowell, Chester N. Terry, George B. Currey, John R. McBride.

A profound change was wrought meanwhile in the condition of the people by the discovery of gold in California, news of which reached Oregon in July, 1848. It is no exaggeration to say that nothing in all the history of the colony, except the final determination of its nationality by the boundary treaty in 1846, so influenced its destiny. The viewpoint of the people was changed, while physical conditions were turned topsy-turvy. From an agricultural community, content with the production of its own primary necessities, Oregon was transformed into an ambitious, enterprising and efficient source of supply for those who were too busy hunting for and mining gold to take the necessary time to produce the prosaic foodstuffs they required. After the first flush of excitement, in which about two-thirds of the able-bodied men of the territory left hurriedly for the new El Dorado, thereby depleting the population to an extent which even the indian war had not done, those who remained at home found opportunity to organize agricultural and industrial production on a new and better basis. By the spring of 1849 a large inflow of gold had created a circulating medium which gave life to commerce; markets had been established which promised a certain and profitable outlet for all that farmers and lumbermen could produce; flour mills and sawmills flourished whenever they could obtain hands to operate them. Whereas there had been a distinct feeling of depression throughout the region as the result of the over-population by the migrations culminating in 1847, this now gave way to the spirit of the optimism that high wages and advancing prices create. Debts were paid throughout the territory; new manufacturing enterprises were started; towns sprang up; the river was filled with vessels awaiting cargoes of supplies for the mines.

The steps by which the new conditions of local prosperity were achieved were attended by picturesque and romantic incidents. The first tidings of the gold excitement came by way of Honolulu, whence they traveled to Nisqually, thence finding their way to Fort Vancouver. At that place a vessel from San Francisco was in the river, and the captain, who was energetically obtaining supplies of picks, crowbars, axes and other hardware, had let it be understood

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(1902), Codes and Statutes, including session laws 1901, Charles B. Bellinger and Wm. W. Cotton. (1910), Lord's Oregon Laws, including sessions of 1909, William Paine Lord and Richard Ward Montague. (1920), Oregon Laws, including special session 1920, Conrad Patrick Olson.

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that he was purchasing these supplies for the use of coal miners engaged in digging fuel for mail steamers.[12] Until this vessel was about to sail no news of the gold discoveries had transpired, but the story soon traveled throughout the Oregon Country. No wagons had ever traveled overland from Oregon to California, but in a few days a typical expedition had been organized, one of many to traverse the headwaters of the Willamette River and to penetrate the Shasta Mountains in the years immediately following. It consisted of 150 stout, energetic and robust men, with fifty wagons and ox teams. These men were off to the mines, leaving everything behind them. The Applegate trail from the Umpqua to Klamath Lake was now pressed into service again, but from the point where it intersected Fremont's old route it lost interest for the argonauts, who were bent on making all haste, and who turned south along the general line followed by Fremont in retracing his steps to California in 1846. Entire settlements were deserted, as Lieutenant Talbot found, for example, on his exploratory trip across the Coast Range in the summer of 1849.[13] Crops were neglected; indian wars forgotten. The provisional government in this year was not able to muster a quorum of the legislature for the transaction of public business. There are gaps in the files of the newspapers of that time which bear eloquent testimony to the inability of employers to obtain help. From September 7 until October 12, 1848, for illustration, the Spectator failed to appear, and on the latter date its editor apologized to its readers in the following words for its remissness: "The Spectator, after a temporary sickness, greets its patrons, and hopes to serve them faithfully, and as heretofore, regularly. That 'gold fever' which has swept about 3000 of her officers, lawyers, physicians, farmers and mechanics of Oregon from the plains of Oregon into the mines of California, took away our printers also—hence the temporary non-appearance of the Spectator." The Free Press, which had been founded by George Law Curry in March, 1848, ceased publication in October of the same year, mainly because of the rush to the mines. Depopulation was in fact so nearly complete that many families were deserted by their breadwinners without provision for sustenance.

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[12] Letter of Dr. W. C. McKay to Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, dated February 11, 1892, Mss. Oregon Historical Society. "The first intimation of the discovery of gold in California was brought by Captain Newell of the brig Honolulu, being a very fast sailor and was chartered for this especial trip, to buy all the crowbars and picks and iron to manufacture same, also coarse clothing for miners, and provisions, and fill up with flour. He represented that he was buying these tools and other things for coal miners, as they had to supply the mail steamers, till after he had everything bought up and ready to sail. He then brought out his Gold Dust sack and explained the wonderful discovery on the American fork of the Sacramento. It made our population wild and in a few days the country was depopulated." Peter H. Burnett, who was among the first to respond to the new movement, gives the following account of the receipt of the news: "In the month of July, 1848 (if I remember correctly), the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Oregon. It passed from San Francisco, thence to Nesqually, and thence to Fort Vancouver. At that very time there was a vessel from San Francisco loading in the Willamette River, the master of which knew the fact but concealed it from our people for speculative reasons, until the news was made public by the gentlemen connected with the Hudson's Bay Company." (Recollections of an Old Pioneer, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 371.)

[13] On a journey Talbot made from Vancouver to Oregon City in July, 1849, he notes in passing up the Willamette that "Linnton is now deserted as are most of the settlers' houses we passed on the R. (river)." (Mss. Journal in Library of Congress.)

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The first orphanage in the territory was a school that had been founded in 1847 by Rev. Harvey Clark and by Mrs. Tabitha Brown, widow of an Episcopalian clergyman. This woman had crossed the plains with her sons in 1846, having a journey of nine months and arriving after great hardships by way of the uncharted route to Southern Oregon. She was introduced to Mr. Clark and his wife, who invited her to spend the winter of 1846-7 at their home at Forest Grove. At her suggestion that she would like to establish herself "in a comfortable house and receive all poor children and be a mother to them," Mr. Clark had responded with quick appreciation and had arranged for use of the log school house. Here in March, 1848, with the assistance of many generous pioneer families, the beginning was made, a teacher was provided, and the school was opened. A boarding house was built the following summer and there were then thirty children, ranging in age from four years to twenty-one. Soon after a charter for Pacific University was obtained from the legislature and the school thus established grew in strength and usefulness. The children of many settlers who rushed away to the California gold fields in the period of the excitement were tenderly and faithfully cared for by Mrs. Brown, who indeed became a mother to all of them.[14]

Even missionaries left their labors for the time. Rev. Ezra Fisher, who was striving to give the Baptist denomination a footing in the pioneer community, was actuated by the higher motive that led many men to abandon their usual vocations temporarily. He was among those who departed early and was one of the first to return. "I went to the mines," he wrote to the secretary of his home board, in July, 1849, being then on his way back to his missionary station in Oregon, "principally to raise something to give my family something of the bare comforts of life. God has mercifully blessed me with about $1000 worth of gold, and in all probability if I had stayed three or four months longer and had been blessed with a continuance of my health I should have raised from $3000 to $4000 more."[15] The churches were disappointed in their hopes of obtaining accessions to the local ministry. Clergymen on the way to Oregon, traveling by way of California, caught the infection and stopped short of their original destination hoping to improve their temporal fortunes in the mines. Concerning the effect of this transformation upon the material and moral welfare of the people, men were then of two minds; yet it is observable in the perspective of history that the good results which flowed from it in all probability outweighed the bad. On the debit side, it is recorded that there was a mighty upheaval in the community that until now was almost Arcadian in its simplicity, that restlessness and speculation displaced contentment, that the rough, uncouth and unruly element which accompanied the argonauts gave a new and undesirable character to the population as a whole. It was the judgment of one of the immigrants who endured the hardships and privations of the southern route in the memorable year of 1846 that "from the first settlement of this country until 1850, the time when gold commenced flooding the

[14] See the simple but graphic story of Mrs. Brown in a private letter written by her in 1854, published in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 199, which depicts the experiences of a pioneer woman and should serve to place her name among the heroic figures of Oregon. The Origin of Pacific University is the subject of an article by James R. Robertson, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 111.

[15] Correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher, edited by Henderson Latourette, p. 260. Also published in Oregon Historical Quarterly.

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country from California, were the happiest days the country has ever seen. The unexpected acquisition of wealth" (this writer continues) "caused the people to discard, to a large degree, the essential elements of true happiness. All thought and effort was turned to the gaining of more wealth, paying little regard to the manner in which it was acquired."[16] Yet it can be said to the credit of this period of development that a larger vision was made possible, that the sense of isolation was removed, that the people came to a new realization of their relationship to the world, and that the horizon of the community was immeasurably broadened. There is no doubt that the era of more modern comforts, of better facilities for transportation, of the physical materials for human well-being, dates from the stimulus given to the colony by the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast, which by coincidence is associated with the launching of the territorial government in Oregon.

The immigration to the Oregon Country in 1849, the first year of territorial existence, was very small, owing to the conditions described, but in the following year it was somewhat increased by two causes. The California gold excitement led to a natural movement to prospect the mountains and valleys of Oregon in the hope of discovering another El Dorado, and by 1850 it had become known that there was profit in the business of growing and manufacturing supplies to meet the necessities of miners, as well as profit in the quest of gold, the less spectacular industry offering great certainty of moderate reward if not the gambler's chance of obtaining great wealth quickly. The donation land law of September 27, 1850, granted 320 acres to every male settler or occupant of the land, above the age of eighteen, being a citizen of the United States, or who should declare his intention of becoming one on or before December 1, 1850, while if he were then married or should marry within one year from December 1, 1850, the law allowed 640 acres, "one-half to himself and one-half to his wife, to be held by her in her own right," and the surveyor-general was directed to designate the part inuring to the husband and that to the wife. Married women's right to hold real property, so generally recognized now but so rarely allowed in any civilized country then, was thus early in Oregon's history established by law. Half as much land was granted to all above the age of twenty-one, who should settle in the territory between December 1, 1850, and December, 1853, with the same provision as already stated as to married persons. The land law not only encouraged settlement, but it was the cause of many marriages throughout the territory. Brief courtships and early weddings became the rule, and brides in their early teens were not uncommon.

It was due to the donation land law to a great degree that the immigration trains of the early fifties were composed chiefly of the hardy elements in which the homeseeker and builder predominated. The climax, in respect to numbers, was attained in 1852, a year memorable in the history of the steadily flowing movement over the famous Oregon trail. This route, which only ten years before had been a scarcely definable path, so vague that Dr. Elijah White and his companions had been compelled to employ guides to show them the way, had now become a mighty highway, rutted hub-deep by the great procession of ox-drawn vehicles marching in an almost continuous line from the frontier to the Cascades and then crossing the mountains into the Willamette Valley by

[16] Tolbert Carter, Pioneer Days, in Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1906, p. 102.

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way of Samuel K. Barlow's trail. No authentic record was ever kept of this movement, the very magnitude of which involved it in confusion, but there has been a curious tendency to underestimate its numbers, rather than to exaggerate them. The early and long accepted estimate of 2500 immigrants for 1852 falls far short of actuality. In the light of later information it would seem that the number of immigrants who arrived in Oregon in that year was in all probability not far short of 15,000.[17]

The first officers of the new territory besides Governor Lane[18] and the judges already mentioned were Joseph L. Meek, whose spectacular trip across the plains as the bearer of a memorial praying for federal aid, just after the Whitman massacre, had won him the office of United States marshal; Kintzing Pritchett of Pennsylvania, secretary of the territory, and Gen. John Adair of Kentucky, collector of customs at Astoria. The first judicial appointees were William P. Bryant of Indiana as chief justice, and James Turney of Illinois and Peter H. Burnett, formerly of Oregon but then of California, as associate justices. Turney, however, declined the appointment and O. C. Pratt, a native of Illinois then residing in California, whose name has already been mentioned in this chapter, was nominated in his stead. Judge Bryant resigned soon afterward and returned home, so that when Judge Pratt was summoned to California early in 1850 to sit in a number of admiralty cases pending in the federal court at San Francisco, the Oregon Territory was actually without a judge. The resignation of Governor Lane, which took effect June 18, 1850, left Pritchett to act as governor for two months, when John P. Gaines, as already mentioned, succeeded to the office. The census ordered by Lane on his accession in 1849 had showed a population of 9,083, of which 8,785 were citizens and 298 were foreigners, 5,410 were males and 3,673 females. The counties of Vancouver

[17] F. G. Young in 1900 estimated that the immigration of 1850 consisted of about 2,000 persons, that of 1851 about 1,500 and of 1852 about 2,500, but accompanied this with the qualification that "data for determining the numbers that came across the plains to Oregon during the successive years are as yet very unsatisfactory. The estimates * * * especially from 1847 on, are from no very tangible basis." (F. G. Young, The Oregon Trail, Ore. Hist. Quar., Vol. I, p. 370.) However, it is possible now to arrive at a closer approximation of the figures for 1852 by a process of deduction. There was printed in the Portland Oregonian of October 29, 1853, a list of immigrants to Oregon who were registered at Umatilla agency in the season of 1853, and this accounted for a total of 6,449. The number of stock passing the agency in that year was as follows: Oxen 9,077; cows, 6,518; horses, 2,009; mules, 327; sheep, 1,500; wagons, 1,269. Beginning in 1900 it has been the custom at the annual meetings of the Oregon Pioneer Association to register the members who attend by the dates of their arrival in the territory, the proportion of arrivals of 1852 to those of 1853 being a little more than two to one. This would indicate that the immigration of 1852 consisted of at least 13,000 persons, probably more.

[18] The day before Lane was appointed, a commission as governor was offered to Gen. James Shields of Illinois, August 17, 1848. (Bureau of Archives and Indexes in the Dept. of State, Dom. Let. 37.) This was not accepted. (For Abraham Lincoln's near duel with Shields, see Tarbell's Lincoln, Vol. I, p. 172.) Shields was elected senator from Illinois and served from December 3, 1849, till March 3, 1855. (Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography.) J. W. R. Bromley was offered the appointment as United States Attorney. He did not go to Oregon. The Government arranged for transportation for some of the Oregon officials by the Sylvia de Grace as far as San Francisco. (Letter, Department of State, James Buchanan, to Secretary of the Navy, Oct. 25, 1848, Bureau of Archives and Indexes, Dom. Let. 37; S. A. Clarke, Pioneer Days, Vol. II, p. 721.) The latter says Meek, who was then at Washington, on being appointed marshal carried Lane's commission to him in Indiana, and the two named then traveled overland to San Francisco by the Sante Fe route, and thence to Oregon by the Jeanette.

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and Lewis, then comprising all the region north of the Columbia River, had 304 inhabitants, of whom 189 were citizens and 115 foreigners, 231 were males and 73 females. But the United States census of 1850, taken about the time that Gaines assumed the governorship, showed a total population of 13,294, of whom 1,049 resided north of the Columbia River. This increase, which is not accounted for by immigration, indicated that settlers who had early flocked to California were already beginning to return, and that land hunger was operating again, this time to induce settlement of the Cowlitz Valley and the region around Puget Sound as well as of other parts of Oregon.

Meanwhile, in 1849, Samuel R. Thurston had been elected the first delegate to Congress from the new territory and had proceeded by sea to Washington, bearing a memorial from the Oregon legislature. He lost his baggage on the way east and with true western enterprise drafted a memorial of his own as a substitute for the one which the legislature had committed to his care, and the substitute served the purpose well enough. Thurston signalized his entry into the public service by his zeal in attacking the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, and also was instrumental in framing and obtaining the passage of the donation land law. This act, however, was not Thurston's original conception but it embodied the principles conceived a decade previously by Senator Linn.[19] He was active in Washington from November 29, 1849, when he arrived there, until the close of the following summer, particularly in procuring appointments and furthering legislation for the territory.

Governor Gaines when appointed was a non-resident. The experience of the people in managing their own affairs ever since the beginning of the provisional government had created a sentiment distinctly in favor of home rule. Gen. Edward Hamilton of Kentucky who came with Gaines as secretary of state for the territory, and William Strong of Ohio who came as associate justice of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy left by Burnett's declination, were also non-resident appointees. They all traveled together to Oregon by ship by way of Cape Horn.[20] The voyage consumed seven months and eleven days, during which time local democrats declaimed against alien officials who dallied on the way while the territory was left to shift as best it might with a temporary government. In these circumstances Gaines, nothwithstanding certain undeniable personal graces, was predestined to encounter partisan opposition. His attitude on the seat of government question would have been enough perhaps to have made him the target of political opponents. In accordance with the prevailing spirit, a feature of which was what was called freedom of speech, characterized by great outspokenness in personal matters, he was almost immediately assailed because of certain incidents associated with his career as an officer of the Mexican war and a bitter and protracted discussion in the columns of the newspapers ensued. Gaines, for example, was dubbed in pure derision

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[19] His diary covering this period is in the possession of Oregon Historical Society, and was published in the Quarterly, Vol. XV, p. 153.

[20] Judge Strong gave an interesting account of the voyage and of the conditions in Oregon in 1850 in an address in 1873, before the Oregon Pioneers (Trans. 1878, p. 13). The vessel was the United States store ship "Supply," which carried the officials and their families as far as San Francisco, where they were transferred to the sloop-of-war Falmouth for Oregon, arriving at Astoria, August 14, 1850.

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the "hero of Encarnacion," in allusion to the capture of his detachment by a Mexican force.[21]

In December, 1852, the political controversy broke out afresh, when the legislative assembly met. The excuse this time was that the governor had sent a message to the legislature without having been requested to do so. The message itself was innocent enough, and in a later time would have provoked no controversy. It called the attention of the legislature to the necessity for the immediate construction of a penitentiary, and urged the improvement of the western end of the immigrant route, in view of the hardships suffered by incoming settlers. These proposals undoubtedly would have been popular if initiated by a governor chosen from among the residents. The message recommended the passage of a law to provide for the creation of commissioners to take acknowledgment of deeds, then a patent need; it reviewed the resources of the territory and urged that home industry be stimulated whenever possible; and it expressed the views of the governor as to places where spirituous liquors were for sale. "If," said Gaines, "these establishments may be regarded as public benefits, the amount exacted for a license seems to be exhorbitantly high; if, on the contrary, they are justly considered as unmixed evils, the tax should be greatly augmented, or by adequate enactments they should be prohibited altogether."[22]

A member of the assembly, Mr. Cole, introduced a resolution declaring that "whereas, this house has listened to the message of the governor, but inasmuch as the legislative department of this territory is in nowise connected with or dependent upon the executive department, for legislative purposes, therefore be it resolved that the further consideration of the message be indefinitely postponed."[23] The speaker made the point that the first message to a territorial legislature, delivered by Lane, had been submitted by request. "Now, sir," he vociferated, "the first message to the legislature of this territory was a message by General Lane, at the request of the assembly. Did the assembly ask Governor Gaines for a message? No. In answer to the resolution of this house, simply informing him that we were in session and transacting business, he gives us a message, instead of a report."[24] John H. Anderson advocated indefinite postponement of consideration of the message on the ground that there was no connection between the legislative and executive departments of the territory. "Congress," Anderson added, "placed the interests and rights of the people of this territory in their own hands and they exercise these rights through their representatives."[25]

The first territorial legislature in 1849 changed the name of Vancouver County to Clark, in honor of Gen. William Clark, that of Twality County, or district as it has been called in earlier times, to Washington, and of Champoeg to Marion,[26] acts which were significant of the patriotic sentiments of the in-

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[21] A letter printed in the Oregon Statesman, November 27, 1852, was typical of the partisan rancor against Gaines. The letter was full two columns long and was signed "Polk County," and denounced Gaines principally upon his war record.

[22] Oregon Weekly Times, January 1, 1853.

[23] Oregonian, December 18, 1852.

[24] Oregonian, January 8, 1853.

[25] Oregon Weekly Times, January 1, 1853.

[26] "This change was made in honor of Gen. Francis Marion of the American Revolutionary war. The Weems-Horry life of Marion was then largely read in Oregon and the

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habitants. The legislature of 1851 proceeded to create new counties. These were Pacific, on the coast north of the Columbia River, and Lane, in the Willamette Valley south of Benton and Linn, and Umpqua, south of the Calapooya Mountains and the headwaters of the Willamette River. This legislature also passed acts for the incorporation of the towns of Portland and Oregon City, and for the construction of plank roads from Astoria to the Willamette Valley and from Portland to Yamhill County.[27] The legislature of the following year 1852, created the new county of Thurston, out of Lewis, north of the Columbia, and named it for Samuel R. Thurston, who meanwhile had died while on his return from the national capitol, and about the same time there was carved the counties of Douglas and Jackson out of Umpqua in Southern Oregon. The legislature of 1852 adopted several memorials to Congress asking for appropriations for military roads, for the improvements of rivers and harbors, and the establishment of lighthouses and other aids to navigation. A military road from Scottsburg to the Rogue River and another from Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, to Walla Walla, were asked for among others.

It would have been too much to expect that the federal customs laws would come into operation in the new territory without friction, and these were the cause of several clashes of authority between territorial officers and British shipmasters. The situation was particularly critical on Puget Sound, on account of the location of stations of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria and Nisqually, on opposite sides of the boundary and at an inconvenient distance from the only Oregon port of entry, which was then Astoria. A case which almost resulted in serious international complications arose from the seizure of the British ship Albion, which entered Puget Sound in 1849 in evident ignorance of the new revenue laws. Her crew cut a quantity of spar timber, for which offense Collector Adair's deputy, George Gibbs, libeled the ship and put vessel, cargo and stores in charge of a caretaker, who either looted them or allowed others to do so. The vessel was sold at auction at Steilacoom for $40,000 but the money did not reach the federal treasury.[28] Subsequently, so flagrant were the cir-

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frontier settlements. The praise of Marion in this book greatly appealed to these people." (Frederick V. Holman, History of the Counties of Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 33.) The word "County" instead of "District" had been authorized by Act of December 22, 1845. (Laws 1843-1849, p. 35.) Washington County had Hillsboro for county seat, and that county then included the present County of Multnomah, which was segregated in 1854, when Portland became a county seat.

[27] A military road was provided for by an act of the thirty-third Congress, to extend from Astoria to Salem, and an appropriation of $25,000 was made to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War. "Early in 1855, Lieutenant Derby, well-known as a facetious writer over the signature of 'Phoenix' alias 'Squibob,' alias 'Butterfield' and sundry other nommes de plume, was ordered to take charge of the work, and during that spring (1855) he proceeded to Astoria, and commenced operations, and has worked at it at intervals until recently (1856) it has been placed under the charge of Lieutenant Mendell." (Swan, Three Years Residence in Washington Territory, p. 238.) Twenty-two miles of this road was completed, extending from near the custom house at Astoria eastward. In 1853, Congress made an appropriation for a road from Fort Steilacoom on Puget Sound to Walla Walla. It was partly built across the Cascade Mountains by citizens of the territory in 1853, to accommodate the expected immigrants in the fall of that year, and the Government appropriation of $25,000 was spent under the directions of Capt. George B. McClellan upon that part of the road. (Id., p. 399.) The principal road in Washington Territory was the mail route road extending from the landing at the head of navigation on the Cowlitz River to Olympia, a distance of about fifty miles.

[28] "This money, which fell into bad hands, failed to be accounted for. Nobody sus-

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cumstances of this seizure and sale, the British minister made formal complaint to the American secretary of state, and Congress averted further trouble by authorizing the secretary of the treasury to indemnify the owners of the ship.

Somewhat similarly, the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner Cadboro was seized in the same year, 1850, for carrying goods direct from Victoria to Nisqually, without first entering them at Astoria. The same company's steamer Beaver was seized for landing a passenger at Nisqually without first reporting at Olympia. Creation of a Puget Sound collection district in 1851 removed part of the cause of trouble. Operation of customs laws nevertheless hastened the withdrawal of the Hudson's Bay Company from south of the forty-ninth parallel, for although it had the right of free navigation of the Columbia River, expressly reserved to it by the treaty of 1846, the customs regulations hampered the enjoyment of the privilege.

During the Gaines administration an extension of surveys in the southern region was undertaken, including the further exploration of the Umpqua Valley by Jesse Applegate. Umpqua City, Scottsburg, Elkton and Winchester were established upon the Umpqua River. The last named town made a promising beginning as the county seat of Douglas County, and the Legislature of 1851-2 authorized a road to be built from Marysville or Corvallis to Winchester. The distinction was lost in 1852, when the voters decided in favor of Roseburg as the permanent county seat. Thereupon the people of Winchester, not to harbor a grudge perpetually, moved their town bodily to this new settlement, which had been laid out by Aaron Rose and there they cast their fortunes with their victorious neighbors.

Two noteworthy lawsuits engaged the courts about this time. One was a test of the statute empowering the sheriff to sell property to enforce payment of taxes, in which case Judge Pratt sustained the right of the territory and decided that the sheriff was not a trespasser.[29] The other was a suit involving the constitutionality of the law excluding negroes from the territory, a law which, originating with the provisional legislative committee of 1844, had been preserved in various forms through the statutes and revived and perpetuated by the first Territorial Legislature. Chief Justice Thomas Nelson, who had been appointed to succeed Judge Bryant, upheld the law.

In the territorial days, before court houses were constructed, the judges and juries had to resort to primitive makeshifts in some of the counties. At Eugene the first term of court was held under a convenient oak tree. Lawyers

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pected the integrity of the marshal (Joe Meek), but most persons suspected that he placed too much confidence in the district attorney, who had charge of his accounts. On some one asking him, a short time after, what had become of the money from the sale of the smuggler, he seemed struck with sudden surprise. 'Why,' he said, looking astonished at the question, 'there was barely enough for the officers of the court.'" (Victor, River of the West, p. 505.) See, for report on the seizure of the Albion and the Cadboro, Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 30, February, 1851, 31st Cong., Second Session.

[29] Judge Pratt's term expired in 1852. He had in the previous year written to General Lane several times unnecessarily and emphatically saying that he was through with office holding and would not be a candidate for any political office after the expiration of his term as judge. But in a subsequent letter he took it all back and asked Lane to step aside at the next election and let him try for the office of delegate. (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.) Pratt opened a law office at Multnomah City (opposite Oregon City) for a brief time, and then went to California where he became a judge and a man of prominence in the early history of that state.

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and judges, riding the circuit together, learned to know each other intimately. The accommodations for board and lodgings were often primitive in character, and jurors attending court, officers, litigants, witnesses and accused persons were sometimes thrown together in familiar contact. A description of the conditions under which the United States District Court in Pacific County in the Territory of Washington was opened are thus described by a participant:

"The building selected as a courthouse was a small one-story affair, measuring about twelve feet by fifteen, or somewhere near that; at all events, it was so circumscribed in its limits that, when the jury were seated, there was barely room left for the judge, clerk of the court, and counsel, while the sheriff had to keep himself standing in the doorway. The outsiders could neither see nor hear till some one suggested that a few boards be knocked off the other end of the house, which was soon done, and served the purpose admirably.

"The grand jury were then called in and sworn, and the usual forms gone through. There was nothing of importance on hand except a case of homicide, and the judge charged particularly on that point. It was a charge against a resident of Chenook named Lamley, who was well known to us all, and who had been the former sheriff. * * * The counsel for the defense was a former judge of the same court, and considered one of the most able lawyers in the Territory. The prosecuting attorney was a younger brother of his, who was now to make his first attempt to manage a criminal prosecution.

"The grand jury, having been duly instructed, were marched into old M'Carty's zinc house near by, as that was the only unoccupied place in town. There were but two rooms in this house, one of which contained several hogsheads of salt salmon, and all of M'Carty's nets and fishing-gear, and had certainly an 'ancient and fish-like' perfume. Although every one of us were well acquainted with the smell of salmon, from partaking of it every day boiled with potatoes, yet this was too much of a good thing; but there was no help for it, so we proceeded to business. Now a grand jury are presumed to do their business in a very quiet manner, and, to further the ends of justice, a culprit must not know that there is any bill against him till it is popped in his face by the sheriff; but old Mac's zinc house was just as sonorous as a drum, and, for all purposes of secrecy, we had better have held our deliberations on the logs of Chenook beach than where we were. The outsiders either crawled under the house or stood outside, where they could hear perfectly well what was going on; and if any one was a little deaf, all he had to do was to get a nail and a stone and punch some holes through the zinc, then clap his ear to the aperture and become perfectly cognizant of all our proceedings. And, in addition to this publicity, when the petit jury were called, the challenge exhausted all the people present, and they were obliged to take nine of the grand jury to serve as petit jurors. * * * When the jury was called and the challenges exhausted, it was found that there were no more persons to draw from. So the two counsel agreed on a compromise, which was, that nine jurors should be selected from among the grand jury who had just solemnly rendered a true bill against the prisoner. However, in a new country, old forms can not always be adhered to; but as it is considered that any proposition between conflicting parties 'is fair if you only agree to it,' the jurors were accordingly selected, and the case proceeded.

"This being the first time the district attorney had ever addressed a jury on

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FIRST BUILDINGS ON THE BLOCK ON FOURTH STREET, BETWEEN MADISON AND JEFFERSON, PORTLAND

The first building in the foreground was built in 1852. The view is from the southeast to the northwest. This is where the City Hall now stands.



PORTLAND STREET SCENE FROM OAK STREET SOUTH ON FRONT STREET, 1850

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a criminal case, he proceeded to elucidate the points in a speech of considerable length, commencing from the American Revolution, and continuing his deductions to the time of Washington's death, and closing with a beautiful tribute to the memory of the Father of his Country.

"This argument had such a direct bearing on the case on trial that the counsel for the defense was forced to reply to it by quotations from ancient authors, and to prove his position by reciting extracts from the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which, although not considered so orthodox as Coke and Blackstone, had the effect to mystify the prosecuting attorney, who forgot the 'order of his going,' and, beginning at both ends of his case, broke down in the middle; and the case being submitted to the jury, they returned a verdict of not guilty. The argument of the two counsel caused the most intense delight to the court and spectators, and the result was just what we all hoped for, and every body was satisfied."[30]

Journalism also began to flourish at about this time, being stimulated partly by growth of population, and also by the intensity of local partisanship. But three papers had existed here prior to the territorial era.[31] Now, however, others were established, the first in the field under territorial government being the Western Star, published by Lot Whitcomb at Milwaukie, a town that was a rival of Portland for civic honors. Then followed the Weekly Oregonian, at Portland, founded by T. J. Dryer, a printer with political ambition, the first number appearing December 4, 1850, and the Oregon Statesman, first published in March, 1851, at Oregon City, by Asahel Bush, and afterward removed to Salem. The Oregonian and Statesman are still published. With them in the field, both whigs and democrats were vigorously represented.

Now also a movement to divide the territory by establishing a new commonwealth north of the Columbia River was set on foot and, being favored by conditions, soon acquired momentum. The river had been a natural boundary almost from the beginning of negotiations between the United States and Great Britain over the title of Oregon. In a local political sense it was hardly less a distinct division line in 1851.

Figures from the census reports of 1849 and 1850 have already been given, and it is fairly estimated that by 1851 the number of whites north of the river was not less than twelve hundred. Settlement by American families had first begun in 1845, when a small group led by Col. M. T. Simmons located in the vicinity of Puget Sound. Among these were James McAllister, Samuel B. Crockett, Jesse Ferguson, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones and George W. Bush, nearly all of them having families. They had come across the plans with the overland caravans of 1844, and had arrived at Fort Vancouver in the autumn of that year. Doctor McLoughlin advised them as he did others that the Americans were taking up the rich lands of the Willamette Valley and that a provisional government had already been erected there. Now they learned that this provisional government had prohibited free negroes from residing in the territory, but that the provisional laws at that time were confined in their opera-

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[30] Three Years Residence in Washington Territory, by James G. Swan, p. 293.

[31] These were the Oregon Spectator, first published February 5, 1846; the Free Press, founded by George Law Curry in March, 1848; and the Oregon and American Evangelical Unionist, first printed on the Tualatin Plains, June 7, 1848. (See further note respecting early newspapers in Chapter XXXIX, infra.)

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tion to the district south of the Columbia River. One of their own party, Bush, was a free mulatto, who had a white wife, and as he had been generous and helpful on the overland journey and many were under obligations to him, they all decided to stand by him. They remained near Vancouver until the spring of 1845, when in spite of the hints that the north of the river was to be British soil they ventured to the Puget Sound Country for settlement. Colonel Simmons was a Kentuckian of strong personality and he became an active figure in the territory. He began to establish a town under the name Newmarket, but afterward called Tumwater. It was not long until the provisional legislature removed Bush's disability, and Congress gave him 640 acres of land. These settlers were soon followed by others among whom were Ford, Sylvester, Rabbeson, Chapman, Chambers, Ebey, Landsdale, Collins and Maynard. Some of these settled on Whidby Island, others found locations near Steilacoom. Prior to 1851 several settlers had located on Cowlitz River and at Chinook, Cathlamet and opposite Oak Point on the Columbia River, but the settlements, considering the vast extent of the fertile lands free for the taking, were still sparse and far apart.[32]

Distance from the seat of government, as well as commerce and the interests of trade, counted in favor of a separate government. The Puget Sound basin had sea communication with San Francisco, where it found a rich market for its lumber and agricultural produce in the gold-mining period, while travel from the settlement at Puget Sound to the Willamette Valley by way of the Cowlitz River was difficult and precarious. Since the Willamette Valley and Puget Sound had the same kind of products, trade from both localities obeyed a simple economic law in flowing southward by water to a common market, which then was San Francisco. There was so little occasion for commercial interchange between the two Oregon districts that their people were practically unacquainted. John B. Chapman, the Fourth of July orator at Olympia in 1851, therefore, struck a responsive chord when he alluded in a flight of patriotic fancy to the "future state of Columbia," and considerable enthusiasm was manifested at a convention held at Cowlitz Landing August 29, 1851, to take into consideration the position of the northern counties, their particular wants and the propriety of appealing to Congress for a division of the territory. Although the Cowlitz convention recommended division into new counties, the action of the Oregon Legislature in the winter of 1851-2 in providing for only one fanned the flame of desire. A memorial, with copies of the proceedings of the convention as reported in the Oregon Spectator September 23, 1851 and in The Oregonian, September 20, 1851, were forwarded to General Lane at Washington, who acted with vigor and promptness in having a bill favorably reported. The movement was renewed, being now ably supported by the first newspaper established north of the Columbia River, the Columbian, issued at Olympia in September, 1852. Another convention was called for November 25, 1852, at Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz River, chosen for the purpose with prudent regard for its influence on the settlers living near the north bank of the Columbia. At this meeting, which was attended by delegates from the new settlement at

[32] The Political Beginning of Washington Territory, Thomas W. Prosch, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VI, p. 47; History of Pac. Northwest, edited by Elwood Evans, Vol. I, p. 336. The Oregon Country (Scott), Vol. II, pp. 28 and 244, gives a full account of pioneer beginnings on Puget Sound, largely based upon editorials in the Oregonian, but supplemented by the notes of the compiler.

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Seattle—now appearing in historical annals for the first time—and from as far north as Port Townsend and Whidby Island, another memorial to Congress was adopted which set forth the isolation of the northern community and other reasons why the people desired a government of their own, and urged Congress to set apart the country north and west of the Columbia River, an area of some thirty-two thousand square miles, or less than a tenth of the entire territory of Oregon. The name Columbia was chosen, in both of these memorials. The Oregon Legislature, November 4, 1852, adopted a memorial of similar purport, in the view that distant government was equally burdensome to both the governed and the governors. Congress acted with almost unprecedented promptness. Pressed by Lane, the bill for the creation of the new territory was passed by the House of Representatives almost immediately, encountered little opposition in the Senate and was signed by President Fillmore, March 2, 1853. The name was changed in the House to Washington at the suggestion of Representative Stanton of Kentucky, and in the Senate, Stephen A. Douglas, reported an amendment substituting the name Washingtonia, it was said to avoid confusion in the mails.[33] The amendment was not urged, because the term of Congress was drawing to a close. The boundaries were changed, however, to include all the region north of the Columbia River to its intersection with the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude and north of that parallel to the established eastern boundary of Oregon—then the summit of the Rocky Mountains. This placed the greater portion of the present "panhandle" of Idaho and most of the part of Montana west of the Rocky Mountains in the new territory.[34]

An effort, which was unproductive of results, was made in 1853 and 1854 to start a movement for the creation of a separate territory in Southern Oregon, where also the people felt a sense of remoteness from the seat of government and where recent mining activity was creating a population whose interests differed somewhat from those of the inhabitants of the Willamette Valley. Pursuant to a call published in the Yreka (California) Mountain Herald of January 30, 1854, a mass meeting of citizens of Jackson County was held at Jacksonville "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a new territory and to devise means to effect the same."[35] Samuel F. Culver was elected chairman and T. McF. Patton, secretary. According to the meager records of the meeting, L. F. Mosher, a son-in-law of Joseph Lane, was called on to explain the purposes of the movement and a committee of five was appointed to draft a memorial to the legislature. Delegates were

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[33] The memorial of the Monticello convention and the resolutions of the Legislature arrived too late to influence the results. (The Cowlitz Convention, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, p. 3.) Edmond S. Meany says (History of the State of Washington, p. 158), that the Douglas amendment was not printed, but that subsequent search of the manuscript records of the Senate showed that the committee did not favor an indian name, which Douglas at first advocated.

[34] The boundary underwent numerous readjustments before it was settled as at present. When Oregon was made a state in 1859 its eastern boundary began on the north at the intersection of the Snake River and the forty-sixth parallel, extending south up the middle channel of the Snake River to its junction with the Owyhee River, near the present town of Nyssa, and thence south to the present northern boundary of Nevada. Washington Territory in consequence had an area of about 244,000 square miles for a time, while that of the State of Oregon was 96,690 square miles. By the creation of the territory of Idaho the area of Washington was reduced to 69,180 square miles, as at present.

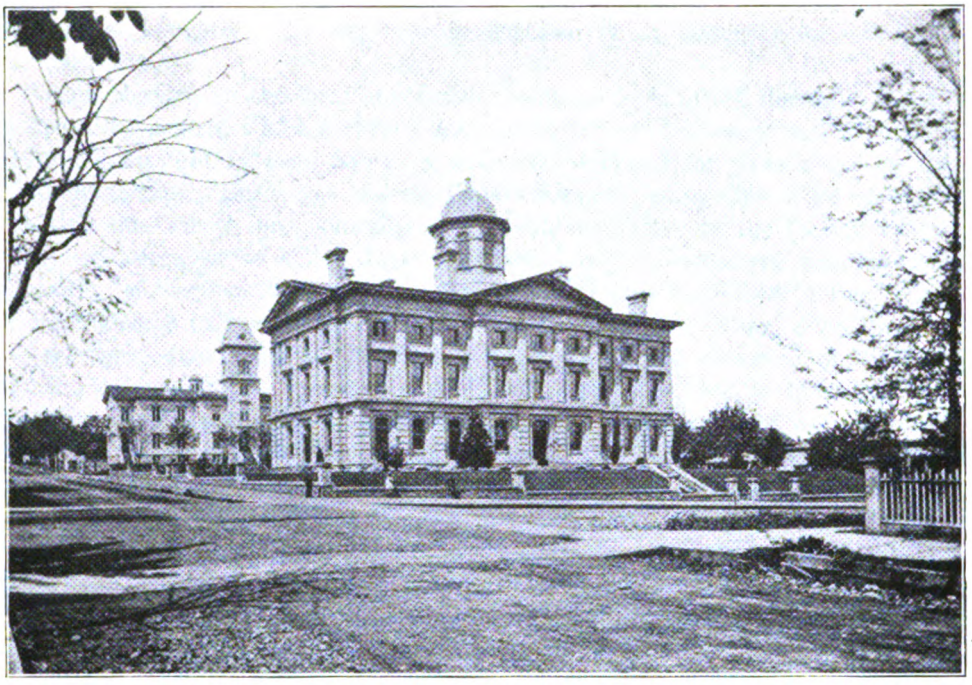
[35] Oregon Weekly Times, February 11, 1854.

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elected to attend a general convention, the date of which was set for February 25, and the secretary was instructed to enter into correspondence with citizens of other Southern Oregon counties. The movers appear to have been unsuccessful in their efforts to persuade their neighbors that a new territory was practicable, or expedient, and the plan died a natural death. The projected convention was never held.

The organization of the democrat party in Oregon Territory early in 1852 was a matter of considerable moment because it marked the beginning of local political thinking in terms of natural issues. Although, as has been made plain, Americans had forced the issue of provisional government and had shaped its course, abating nothing of their nationalism except on the occasion when in 1845 the Applegate expedient was resorted to as a compromise with the Hudson's Bay interests, party lines as they existed elsewhere in the United States were not locally defined in the early days of territorial government. Thurston, the first delegate, was a democrat, but there was no party organization at the time of his election. When Lane, who was a democrat, in 1851 ran for the place left vacant on Thurston's death, his opponent was W. H. Willson, a former ship carpenter, who had come out with the first reinforcement of Jason Lee's mission in 1837, and who represented the early missionary hostility to the Hudson's Bay Company, but he was also a democrat, so that no party issue was joined here. By 1852, the opposition to the whig, Gaines, who happened to be also a non-resident appointee, crystallized into the form of an organization of the democrat party, of which Lane became the logical candidate, since he had avoided making political enemies, had a record in public affairs which most of the people approved, and had a talent for effective campaigning in the frontier settlements. The democrats first made themselves known as an organization by holding a convention July 4, 1851, and thereafter by holding caucusses of the democrat members of the legislature of 1851, at which a central committee was chosen and J. W. Nesmith was made chairman. The population was preponderantly democratic since it came principally from democratic states, and the party organization had no difficulty in electing a large majority of the legislature in June, 1852. Lane, a little later, on the accession of President Pierce, was a second time appointed a governor of the territory; this was to succeed Gaines, and he accepted the appointment as a personal tribute, resigning, however, May 19, 1853, three days after displacing Gaines, as it was his avowed purpose to become a candidate for delegate to succeed himself. This made George Law Curry, who had been appointed secretary of state by Pierce, and had taken office May 14, 1853, ex-officio governor until December 2 of the same year, when Pierce appointed John W. Davis of Indiana to the vacant governorship. Lane, who was a shrewd politician, counted his chances accurately, for he was reelected delegate by a majority of 1570 in a total vote of 7588 in the election of June, 1853. His chief opponent was Alonzo A. Skinner, formerly a judge under the provisional government, a commissioner with Gaines to treat with the indians in 1851, and later agent of the Rogue River tribes. Skinner was nominally a whig. He knew that this was a fact unfavorable to his prospects in the then-existing political atmosphere, for the whigs were not yet organized as a party in Oregon nor were they politically popular, but he proceeded to attempt to disarm partisanship by announcing that he had become a candidate at the behest of certain of his fellow-citizens without dis-

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PORTLAND FEDERAL BUILDING AS IT APPEARED IN 1876



POSTOFFICE, PORTLAND, 1920

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tinction of party, and by deprecating partisan strife among neighbors in a new territory.[36]

Other changes in the local government came as a result of Pierce's election as President, among which a clean sweep in the federal judiciary was important because it brought forward two men who were destined for prominence in the affairs of territory and state. All the federal judges then in office were removed. Pratt's name was at first submitted by President Pierce to the United States Senate as successor to Chief Justice Nelson, but it encountered the personal opposition of Stephen A. Douglas, so that Judge George H. Williams was named as chief justice instead. The other appointee was Cyrus Olney, a resident of the territory since 1851.[37] Matthew P. Deady was now assigned to the first district, comprising the counties of Southern Oregon, Olney to the third district, originally composing the northern counties but which had been reduced in size by the creation of Washington Territory, and Williams to the remaining counties. The new judges held one term of court, when Deady was removed and Obadiah B. McFadden arrived with a commission to serve in his stead, but the latter was appointed a judge of the territory of Washington soon after and Judge Deady was reinstated. In order to equalize the judicial burdens, the legislature soon redistricted the territory, placing Marion, Linn, Polk and Benton counties in the district presided over by Williams; Clatsop, Clackamas, Washington and Yamhill in Olney's district; and the remaining counties in

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[36] "I hold," said Skinner, in a statement, "that parties are unnecessary and pernicious unless when organized to effect some practical measure of a public and beneficial nature. Whilst we are in a territorial condition we have no power by our own votes, or by the votes of our representatives, to affect in the slightest degree the national politics. The introduction of them into our midst I should hold therefore fraught with no good consequences, but only of ill blood, strife, evil. I hold that a delegate from Oregon should not be the representative of a whig party, nor a democrat party, but the representative of Oregon. He ought not to endeavor to secure the adoption of either whig measures, or democratic measures, but the adoption of Oregon measures. Whatever will develop the resources, advance the interests, and promote the prosperity of the country deserves his cordial support, irrespective of its party effects." (Portland Oregonian, May 21, 1854.) Skinner outlined an ambitious program of internal improvement at federal expense. He favored connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans with an "iron track"; he advocated liberal appropriations by the general government for roads into and through the territory, "not for military purposes only, but for the benefit of the people of Oregon"; he urged appropriations for surveying and improving rivers and harbors, grants of land for schools of agriculture, revision of the land laws, to permit the heirs of a deceased settler to take such land as the settler would have been entitled to claim if he had lived, and extension of the commutation privilege to Oregon, so as to permit citizens to take land and pay for it at a price to be fixed by the Government, without the requirement of residence on their claims.

[37] A complete list of the appointments to the Supreme Court of the territory follows: William P. Bryant, Chief Justice, appointed 1848, resigned 1850; Peter G. Burnett, Associate Justice (declined) 1848; James Turney, Associate Justice (declined) 1848; Orville C. Pratt, Associate Justice, appointed (vice Turney) 1848, term expired 1852; Thomas Nelson, Chief Justice, appointed 1850 (vice Bryant), term expired 1853; William Strong, Associate Justice, appointed 1850 (vice Burnett), term expired 1853; George H. Williams, Chief Justice, appointed 1853, re-appointed, resigned 1858; Cyrus Olney, Associate Justice, appointed 1853, re-appointed—resigned 1858; Matthew P. Deady, Associate Justice, appointed 1853 (commission vacated as informal); Obadiah B. McFadden, Associate Justice, appointed 1853 (removed 1854); Matthew P. Deady, re-appointed 1854 (vice McFadden), term expired by admission of Oregon, 1859; Reuben P. Boise, Associate Justice, appointed 1858 (vice Olney), term expired by admission of Oregon, 1859.

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Deady's district as before. Other federal offices filled by appointment of President Pierce were: Superintendent of indian affairs, Joel Palmer; United States district attorney, Benjamin F. Harding; United States marshal, James W. Nesmith; collector of customs for the port of Astoria, John Adair; collector for the port of Umpqua, Addison C. Gibbs; postal agent, A. L. Lovejoy.

An uproar which arose in connection with the appointment of Deady was heard from one end of the territory to the other. Deady had not much more than taken his place on the bench in pursuance of his appointment when McFadden's arrival with a commission appointing him to the same position suddenly deprived Deady of the honor and emoluments he had scarce begun to enjoy. The regularity of the credentials which McFadden produced seemed unquestionable so he qualified and held one term of court in the district. It was found that in the commission issued to Deady the latter's given name was written "Mordecai," whereas, it in fact was "Matthew." In some quarters it was attributed to the machinations of the whig Amory Holbrook, who was in the East at the time Deady was appointed, but this only intensified the feeling that the national administration was out of touch with Oregon affairs.[38] At the time Deady and his group were in control of the democrat political organization. McFadden was received with extreme coolness and the suggestion was openly conveyed to him that he ought to resign. He protested that he had had no knowledge that he was to succeed a democrat and that he had believed he was displacing one of the whig appointees. The party was deeply stirred, but the matter was finally adjusted by appointing McFadden judge for Washington Territory, whereupon Deady was reappointed in February, 1854, and again took the oath of office and resumed his seat upon the bench. His temperament was that of an advocate rather than a judge, and he was not of a forgiving disposition. He was unable therefore to withdraw entirely from partisan politics and he continued for a long time to bear a part of the responsibilities of political management.

The currents of political action now became more turbulent as the result of several circumstances, one of which was the capable organization of the democrats, who were dominated by forceful characters, like Asahel Bush, editor of the Oregon Statesman, Lafayette Grover, B. F. Harding, J. W. Nesmith and R. P. Boise,[39] usually denominated the "Salem clique." Governor Davis, for all that

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[38] Nesmith to Deady, October 21, 1853, (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.): "I know that the late fed'l officers and especially Holbrook would do anything in their power to damn you," wrote Nesmith, "but what appears strangest to me is that a Democratic administration should take so important a step upon the recommendation of its enemys. I suppose that the thing has been brought about by that renowned Brigadier Gen'l Cushing, aided and assisted by Amory Holbrook." Lane, in Washington, disclaimed knowledge of the cause of the contretemps, and wrote to Nesmith: "It is not necessary for me to say that I am and have been from the first greatly pained at the removal of Deady, and if it had been possible would have had him put right before now. It must be done. But, my dear friend, you and others must have patience." And in a postscript: "Deady shall be put right or I shall have a row." (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.)

[39] These were popularly conceived as the members of the so-called "clique." (W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 102.) Judge O. C. Pratt, although a federal appointee, was by some regarded as also a member of the inner council. The word was humorously pronounced "kli-kew" by their political foes, and many stories of the intolerance of these leaders enliven the intimate history of the period. The attack on Joel Palmer for appointing "know-nothing whigs" to positions under his indian agency was laid at

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he was a democrat, was unable to propitiate them, although he profited by the experience of Gaines and sent no messages to the legislature when not asked to do so. Not even the fact that he brought with him $40,000 which Congress had appropriated for the construction of a capitol building and a penitentiary sufficed to establish him in the good graces of the dominant powers, and he resigned after nine unhappy months in office, in which the whigs made the most of the fact that a democrat president had refused to recognize the local demand for home rule, precisely as Taylor had done in appointing Gaines. The governor enjoyed a reprisal when he declined the proffered honor of a farewell banquet in a public letter in which he tendered the democrats of Oregon some sound although unsolicited advice.[40]

In Oregon Territory, as in other territories of the United States, the appointment of non-residents by the Government at Washington to administer the principal offices of the local government was a source of irritation. In 1851, while Gaines was governor, a public meeting was held in Portland at which a resolution was adopted setting forth that "there are many respectable individuals in Oregon capable of discharging the duties devolving upon the judges, as well as filling any other office under the territorial government, who would either discharge the duties or resign the office."[41] The territorial legislature in December, 1851, adopted a memorial asking Congress so to amend the organic act as to permit the people of the territory to elect their own officers. This was not a demand for statehood, but it was very close to that. At the following session an act was adopted, however, by the two houses and signed by their respective presiding officers January 19 and January 20, 1852, which provided that in the event that Congress should adjourn without acting upon this memorial, the president of the council and the speaker of the House of Representatives should issue a proclamation authorizing a poll to be opened within sixty days thereafter for the purpose of taking a vote of the people upon the question of calling a convention to form a state constitution.[42] Almost at once, therefore, after organization as a territory the young commonwealth began to

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their door, and they opposed the naming of any others than democrats even as officers of volunteers in the early indian wars. Deady was always consulted.

[40] Davis' letter, addressed to George H. Williams and others, assigned domestic reasons for his resignation, expressed regret that the people of Oregon had voted against holding a constitutional convention, and continued: "I will be pardoned, I know, if I say a parting word, by way of admonition, to my political friends. More than thirty years of continued advocacy of democratic principles entitles me to assume this privilege, and to you I say, you can only maintain your supremacy by being united in your efforts; all sectional and personal considerations should be abandoned, at once and forever, and principles only made the foundation of your efforts. We believe we have the right and truth with us, and want no other aids to insure success; a firm, decided, but respectful exercise of these weapons will ever keep the party in the ascendant, while division and discord must inevitably result in defeat. Our opponents are entitled to their opinions equally with ourselves, and this difference of opinion does not necessarily bring with it an interruption of our social relations, for the old maxim is not more trite than true, that 'it is manly to differ but childish to quarrel because we differ'; and when among our political opponents there are found those who, acting upon the principles that 'the end justifies the means,' resort to slander and detraction, as adjuncts to their cause, they have more claim to pity than to anger." (Portland Oregonian, August 5, 1854.) With this parting shot Davis left for Indiana with the expressed intention of returning later to make his home in the territory as a private citizen, but died soon afterward in the East.

[41] Oregon Statesman, April 11, 1851.

[42] Laws of a General and Local Nature, 1851-2, p. 62.

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aspire to statehood and home rule. The arrival of Governor Davis, with credentials showing his appointment to the principal territorial office, which made it appear that the democrat national party was no more likely than its whig predecessor had been to recognize local claims, was the signal for the passage of this legislative act. It met with opposition founded in part on belief that the statehood movement was primarily a democratic scheme to obtain more offices, but also on the real or pretended ground of economy. The Oregonian crystallized the sentiment of the opponents of the measure in an appeal to the people in which it said: "Let them understand that your votes cannot be obtained for a measure, which must inevitably be destructive to the masses of the people, merely to pacify the morbid appetites for office and power on the part of a few party hucksters. * * * Tell these office hunters to go to work and earn their bread by the sweat of their brows."[43] The measure was duly voted on by the people in the election of June, 1854, when the proposal for a statehood convention was defeated by a majority of 869. But the agitation was continued, and the proponents of statehood made a better showing in 1855, when 4420 votes were cast in favor of framing a state constitution and 4835 against, a negative majority this time of only 415. Meanwhile Curry had acted as governor ex-officio in succession to Davis, and November 1, 1854, he was appointed governor by President Pierce. This ought logically to have satisfied the aspirations of the home rule party, but as a matter of fact the early advocates of statehood as a measure of expediency had so far become converted to the general principle that, notwithstanding the appointment of an Oregon man, the constitution movement continued. Its adoption by the democrats as a party measure gave it the benefit of party organization when the "democratic dogma of statehood" became the predominant issue in the territory, and it also received the support of one of the whig leaders, David Logan. Another bill submitting the question to the people, therefore, was passed at the legislative session of 1856, and a special election was held in April, 1856, at which the majority against a constitution was reduced to 249. Lane, in Congress, this year introduced a bill for admission to statehood by congressional action. His bill failed to pass for the ostensible reason that the members of Congress thought the population of the territory insufficient, but also because of whig apprehensions in the eastern states lest the new state, which had persistently sent a democrat delegate to Congress, should array itself on the side of slavery in both House and Senate. Soon after this, however, there was a sweeping change of sentiment in the territory, which found expression in the declaration of the whig leaders in Oregon that President Buchanan was preparing a policy of forcing slavery upon free territories by federal action, and that " if we are to have the institution of slavery fastened upon us here, we desire the people resident in Oregon to do it, and not the will and power of a few politicians in Washington City."[44] The question of statehood was submitted again in the 1857 election, and this time it was carried by a vote of 7617 to 1679, a decisive, overwhelming majority of 5938.

There was more than the usual surface opposition to Lane for delegate to Congress in the election of 1857, too, which was the direct result of his known pro-slavery inclinations. A peculiar combination of circumstances by this time

[43] Oregonian, August 5, 1854.

[44] Oregonian, November 1, 1856.

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prevailed which made it seem not only possible but even highly probable that slavery might be imposed upon the territory. The party division in Oregon was preponderantly in favor of the democrats and while it was true that many local democrats were opposed to slavery, it could not be denied that nationally the real democrat issue above all others was slavery.

It is interesting now after the lapse of so many years and after the burning questions concerning slave holding are no longer living issues to note that there were courageous men among the democrats who did not disguise their opposition to the introduction of slavery into Oregon. As early as 1853, Judge George H. Williams, a democrat appointed to hold office under a democrat administration, dared to decide according to his conscience, although against what was then the prevailing popular opinion. In an address made by him many years afterward to the Oregon pioneers he told the story in these words: "Among the first cases I was called upon to decide when I first came to Oregon in 1853 was an application by a colored family in Polk county to be liberated upon habeas corpus from their Missouri owner, who had brought and held them here as slaves. They were held upon the claim that the constitution of the United States protected slave property in the territories; but it was my judgment that the law made by the pioneers upon the subject (in 1844) was not inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution and was the law of the land, and the petitioners were set free; and so far as I know this was the last attempt at slave holding in Oregon. When the state government was formed, strenuous efforts were put forth to make Oregon a slave state; but inspired by the example and sentiments of the early pioneers we decided to go into the Union as a free state. * * *"[45]

The undercurrents of opinion, the conflicting desires and emotions of the people, and in particular the sound reasons which the opponents of slavery had for apprehension as to the outcome, have been set forth by a keen observer of and participant in the events of that stirring time, T. W. Davenport, who says: "Some pro-slavery democrats, confident of the approval and patronage of the Washington administration, would not be silenced, and were advocates, by speech and press, of their opinions. And they were far more numerous than those democrats of free-state proclivities who dared speak out. And of the latter some would say, 'I shall vote against slavery, but if it carries I shall get me a "nigger." ' Add to all these the fact of the great donations of land by the general government, section and half-section claims occupying the valleys of the richest portion of the territory, and the scarcity and high price of labor, and we may not wonder at their anxiety. They have undoubtedly read in their histories of the frequent attempts of the settlers in Indiana territory to obtain from Congress a temporary suspension of the anti-slavery ordinance of 1787, so they could obtain laborers to open their timbered farms, but the pioneers of Indiana were restricted in their land holdings as compared with

[45] Occasional Addresses, by George H. Williams (1895), p. 62. Williams became a member of the constitutional convention in 1857 and actively opposed the recognition of slavery therein, and subsequently when the question was before the people for decision his speeches did much to turn the tide against admission of slavery. He was active in organizing the union party movement, supported Lincoln during the war and was elected in 1864 United States senator as a union republican. Although Oregon became a free state by majority vote, it elected an outspoken pro-slavery democrat (Whiteaker) as its first governor.

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the Oregonians."[46] It was the mature opinion of this commentator a full half century after the event, that the people of Oregon "were in far more danger of the introduction of slavery among them than the people of Kansas were at any time."[47]

National democrats in various counties bolted the regular conventions of 1857 and their disaffection crystallized in support of G. W. Lawson, a free state democrat, for delegate to Congress, who announced his candidacy as an independent. But Lane was elected, receiving 5662 votes to 3471 for Lawson. The republican party had now come into being as a national organization and had especially attracted former whigs and know-nothings. Meetings had been held with a view to organization in the state, but the new party did not yet consider itself sufficiently strong to venture with a territorial ticket. Nevertheless the division among the democrats of the territory impaired that party's hold on the local government. There was a democrat majority of only one in the council, and the combined opposition elected ten members of the lower house of the legislature. Of the delegates to the constitutional convention, one-third were non-democrats. This much had resulted from the injection of the slavery issue into Oregon politics, and from the organization of the Free State republican party of Oregon. The republicans in the territory had laid the groundwork of an organization as early as May, 1856, prior to the nomination of Fremont for President, at a meeting held at Lindley schoolhouse, in Eden Precinct, Jackson County, and afterwards another meeting had been held by friends of the republican cause at Albany, August 20, 1856, to adopt measures for the organization of the republican party in Oregon. At the latter meeting James Hogue presided and Origin Thompson was secretary. The platform adopted contained the declaration: "Resolved, that we fling our banner to the breeze, inscribed, free speech, free labor, a free press, and Freemont." Local republican mass meetings were held in various localities in the fall of 1856, and the party had progressed so far by February 11, 1857, that delegates from eight counties attended a party territorial convention at Albany on that date. W. T. Matlock of Clackamas was chairman and Leander Holmes of Clackamas secretary. The convention selected a committee to prepare an address to the people on the slavery question, and this address, not published until two months afterward, was an able, dispassionate and convincing document, which placed the issue squarely before the voters for the first time. John R. McBride, one of the delegates to the Albany convention, was subsequently elected a delegate to the constitutional convention, being the only one chosen under that party designation. Organization of the new party was received with volleys of partisan abuse. The "nigger worshipping convention" at Albany was referred to as a "slim affair" by the leading organ of the democrat machine.[48]

The election at which the people decided to frame a constitution was held in June, 1857; the constitution was to be submitted to the people in November for their approval. The constitutional convention met at Salem, August 17, so that the summer and autumn of 1857 were well filled with political agitation in which slavery overshadowed every other issue. Pro-slavery democrats

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[46] T. W. Davenport, Slavery Question in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, pp. 227-8.
[47] Id., p. 226.
[48] Oregon Statesman, Feb. 17, 1857.

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advocated, on the hustings and in the columns of the newspapers, the introduction of cheap labor to develop the country. John Whiteaker, afterward the first state governor, championed slavery to avoid the evils of race equality. The principal contribution to the anti-slavery political literature of the period was an exhaustive article written by Judge George H. Williams and printed July 28, 1857, in the Oregon Statesman, which had thrown open its columns to both sides in the discussion. In this article Judge Williams adroitly avoided advocacy of the abolition of slavery in those states where it already existed, and confined himself to pointing out the inexpediency of extending it to new territory. "One free white man," he said, "is worth more than two negro slaves in the cultivation of the soil, or any other business that can be influenced by zeal or the exercise of discretion," and he argued that Oregon farmers could employ free labor for the seasons in which they could profitably employ any labor more cheaply than they could maintain slaves, which would inevitably degrade the free labor of the country and result in injury to all concerned. The ethical aspect of the question was ignored by Judge Williams, doubtless for prudential reasons, but his letter was profoundly influential in determining the result, as no direct attack on the institution of slavery itself could possibly have been. "After the circulation of this address," says Davenport, "any observing person could notice that a change was taking place; any sensitive person could feel it. The people for whom the address was intended were beginning to discover themselves and think aloud." [49]

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[49] T. W. Davenport, Slavery Question in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 234. Mr. Davenport cites a number of instances in illustration of the effect of the Williams letter, which gives it a high place in the history of Oregon. For example: "Passing up the valley through Lane County in October I fell in company with Campbell Chrisman, whom I had not met since we started across the plains in the spring of 1851. He gave me a pressing invitation to go home with him for a night's visit, but I parried the invitation by pleading haste to reach Roseburg, where I expected to overtake an absconding debtor for whom I had signed to the amount of several hundred dollars. Mr. Chrisman said that his house on the Coast Fork road was not out of my way and a better one to travel. Finding myself out of excuses, I candidly told him of my real objections to a night's talk, for knowing him to have been a slave-holder in Missouri and a very firm, tenacious and unchangeable sort of character, I said 'Mr. Chrisman, there is no use asking me to go with you, for I am a free-state man and not convertible.' He instantly replied, 'So am I.' I was rather taken aback by this disclosure and queried how this came about. He replied, 'Easy enough, Judge Williams is right; slavery in this country would cost more than it would come to.' After this we talked freely and he informed me that several of his old neighbors from the Platte Purchase (Missouri) had changed their minds and would vote for a free state. He furthermore said that in his opinion Lane County would have gone for slavery six months earlier, but would not in November. At Roseburg, the home of General Lane and Judge M. P. Deady, whose influence, whether authorized or not, was in favor of the institution, I learned from a Reverend Anderson that the tide had turned, and that he met with surprises every day. In Rogue River valley I was assured by my cousins that the tide was running out quite rapidly. The noisy slavocrats of Jackson County had been claiming that county for slavery, but many people were exercising their fancy in supposing the consequences that might ensue when runaway niggers should get with the Modoc and Klamath indians. The picture was not agreeable. The people of Southern Oregon had had enough of indian warfare. The aforementioned impediments to slavery extension, as well as others, were brought to the front by the Judge, in plain straightforward and forcible language, which no doubt set the people to thinking more connectedly and comprehensively than they otherwise would; and while the effects of such a lesson in ratiocination may not be estimated with any approach to accuracy, I am con-

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The constitutional convention itself was not however prepared to accept responsibility for committing Oregon on this issue. When it was opened at Salem, August 17, 1857, Judge Matthew P. Deady, who in making his canvass had openly advocated slavery, was chosen as chairman; and the first resolution, which was offered by Jesse Applegate, and which declared that, since the question of slavery should be decided not by the convention but by the people, all discussion of the issue should be held out of order, was defeated. A proposal to include the anti-slavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787 in the new constitution was introduced by John R. McBride but was decisively defeated, 41 to 9. The slavery issue, and that of admission of free negroes to the territory, were then made into separate proposals, and were disposed of by being submitted to the people apart from the constitution itself.[50]

The constitution as at length agreed on by the convention fixed the salaries of the governor and secretary of state at $1,500 a year, that of the state treasurer at $800 and of the Supreme Court judges at $2,000. Establishment of banks having power to issue paper to circulate as money under state charter was prohibited, the state was forbidden to subscribe to the stock of any corporation; the limit of state debt was fixed at $50,000 except in the event of war or to repel invasion, or to suppress insurrection; and counties were forbidden to create debts or liabilities in excess of $5,000. Chinese who should arrive in the state after the adoption of the constitution were not permitted to hold any real estate, or work any mining claim; negroes, mulattoes and Chinese were disqualified from voting; the seat of government question was again put up to the people with a provision that it should be submitted at the first election following the meeting of the first state legislature, and when established, the capital should not be removed for twenty years. Another clause provided that the property and pecuniary rights of a married woman should not be subject to the debts or contracts of her husband, which had the effect of making the wife of each donation land claimant the absolute owner of her share of the homestead, in addition to her rights, with her children, in the estate of her husband in the event of the latter's death. One of the strong features of the Constitution was in the article relating to education and school lands in which a common school fund was established and required to be set apart and maintained as an irreducible fund, the interest of which together

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fident that it was the most timely and the most effective appeal published during the whole of the controversy." (Id., pp. 234-5.)

[50] The free mulatto provision for example was submitted in accordance with the following resolution: "If a majority of all the votes given for and against free negroes shall be given against free negroes, then the following section shall be added to the Bill of Rights, and shall be a part of the constitution:

"'Section —. No free negro or mulatto, not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside, or be within this state, or hold any real estate, or make any contracts, or maintain any suit therein; and the legislative assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal by public officers of all such negroes and mulattoes, for their effectual exclusion from the state and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state, or employ or harbor them.'"

By the vote of the people at the election this became Section 35 of Article 1 of the Bill of Rights. The restrictions contained therein were, however, abrogated by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, ratified on July 28, 1868. The section notwithstanding its ineffectiveness has been retained as part of the constitution. An amendment providing for its repeal, submitted by the Legislature of 1916, was voted on in the election of November 7, 1916, and lost by a poll of 100,027 yes, 100,701 no.

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FIRST COURTHOUSE OF WASCO COUNTY. FIRST HALL OF JUSTICE BETWEEN THE CASCADES AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. STILL STANDING AT THE DALLES.



MAIN STREET, DUFUR

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with all other revenues derived from school land was required to be exclusively applied to the support and maintenance of public schools, libraries and apparatus.

The vote of the convention on the completed constitution was largely by party lines, thirty-four for its adoption and eleven against, with fifteen absent or not voting, the affirmative showing the strength of the democratic ruling faction.[51] In view of the rancor aroused by the predominant negro issue, notwithstanding the convention's action in submitting it to the voters, it was not surprising that a month of contention should have resulted in a distinct political cleavage in which democrats were arrayed against men of their own party.

The remaining steps by which the territory became a state were chiefly two. First the people adopted the constitution at an election November 9, 1857, by an affirmative vote of 7,195 to 3,215, a majority of 3,980. Slavery was rejected by a vote of 2,645 to 7,727, a majority of 5,082 against. Free negroes and mulattoes were excluded from the territory by a vote of 8,640 to 1,081, showing considerably more opposition to the presence of free negroes than of slaves, although the vote is partly accounted for by desire if possible to improve the chances of success of the free state clause of the constitution in the expected contest before Congress.[52]

The second step was congressional action, which was delayed more than a year by hesitation of the national law-makers, who privately considered whether the new state would ultimately increase the voting strength of the slave power in Senate and House, and publicly debated the sufficiency of its population

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[51] W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 119.

The members of the constitutional convention were: Levi Anderson, Jesse Applegate, A. D. Babcock, Reuben P. Boise, J. H. Brattain, Paul Brattain, W. W. Bristow, B. F. Burch, A. J. Campbell, Hector Campbell, Stephen F. Chadwick, Jesse Cox, Joseph Cox, R. F. Coyle, John T. Crooks, Matthew P. Deady, Thomas J. Dryer, L. J. C. Duncan, Luther Elkins, Solomon Fitzhugh, William H. Farrar, L. F. Grover, S. B. Hendershott, Enoch Hoult, James K. Kelly, John Kelsay, Robert C. Kinney, Haman C. Lewis, David Logan, A. L. Lovejoy, P. B. Marple, William Matzger, John R. McBride, S. J. McCormick, Charles R. Meigs, Richard Miller, Isaac R. Moores, Daniel Newcomb, H. B. Nichols, Martin Olds, Cyrus Olney, William H. Packwood, J. C. Peebles, P. P. Prim, J. H. Reed, Nathaniel Robbins, Davis Shannon, Erasmus D. Shattuck, Levi Scott, James Shields, Robert V. Short, Nicholas Schrum, Delazon Smith, W. A. Starkweather, William H. Watkins, John W. Watts, John S. White, Thomas Whitted, Fred Waymire, George H. Williams.

There were thirty farmers, nineteen lawyers, three mechanics, three miners, two physicians, one editor, one printer and one surveyor. At least twelve afterward became distinguished in public affairs.

Boise was on the Supreme Court bench for many years. Chadwick served as secretary of state from 1870 to 1877 and was acting governor in 1877-8. Deady was territorial judge from 1853 to 1859 and United States district judge from 1859 until his death in 1893. Farrar was mayor of Portland in 1862. Grover was governor of Oregon from 1870 to 1877 and United States senator 1879 to 1885. Kelly was United States senator 1871 to 1877 and chief justice 1878 to 1880. Logan was mayor of Portland in 1863. McCormick was mayor of Portland in 1859. Prim was chief justice in 1879-80. Shattuck was associate justice for many years and chief justice 1866-8; afterward he was circuit judge in Multnomah County. Delazon Smith was United States senator for the short term February 14 to March 3, 1859. Williams was chief justice of the territory 1853-9, United States senator 1865-71, one of the joint high commissioners in settling the Alabama claims in 1871, attorney-general of the United States 1872-75, and mayor of Portland 1903-4. Thirty-two were born in northern states, twenty-six in southern states (including Missouri), one in Germany and one in Ireland. (From a compilation by George H. Himes, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 217.)

[52] The vote by counties was as follows:

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and its exclusion of free negroes, which aroused the opposition of republicans. So, too, Kansas had been refused admission and resentment engendered by this action had not cooled. The admission bill was at length, however, passed by Senate and House and approved by President Buchanan on February 14, 1859. The act of Congress to extend the federal laws and judicial system over Oregon was passed March 3, 1859. By the congressional act the state was required to accept six propositions, in substance: That sections sixteen and thirty-six of the public lands should be reserved as school lands; that seventy-two sections be set apart for the benefit of the state university and for no other purpose; that ten sections be reserved for the completion of public buildings; that salt springs, not exceeding twelve in number, should be set apart to be disposed of as the Legislature should direct; that five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands within the state should be devoted to roads and other internal improvements, under the direction of the Legislature. These were attended by a proviso,[53] and all were formally accepted by the Legislature, June 3, 1859, and this completed the formal incorporation of Oregon into the Union.

It will be necessary to digress for a moment. While the people of the territory were striving to achieve statehood, interesting events occurred. The Legislature of 1854-5 had passed an act popularly known as the "viva voce voting bill," which was conceived in the partisan rancor of the period and

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(From the official returns of the election of November 9, 1857, published in the Oregon Statesman, December 22, 1857.)

	Constitution		Slavery		Free Negroes	
Counties	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Benton	440	215	283	368	132	459
Clackamas	530	216	98	655	113	594
Clatsop	62	37	25	71	25	65
Columbia	30	66	11	84	24	66
Coos	68	26	19	72	10	79
Curry	117	14	35	95	8	121
Douglas	419	203	248	377	23	560
Jackson	465	372	405	426	46	710
Josephine	445	139	155	435	41	534
Lane	591	362	356	602	97	783
Linn	1,111	176	198	1,092	113	1,095
Marion	1,024	252	214	1,055	76	1,115
Multnomah	496	255	96	653	112	587
Polk	528	188	231	484	53	584
Tillamook	23	1	6	22	1	25
Umpqua	155	84	32	201	24	181
Wasco	55	89	58	85	18	122
Washington	265	226	68	428	80	393
Yamhill	371	274	107	522	85	521
Totals	7,195	3,215	2,645	7,727	1,081	8,640
Majorities	3,980			5,082		7,559

[53] The provision is: "That the foregoing propositions, hereinbefore offered, are on the condition that the people of Oregon shall provide by an ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that said state shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil within the same by the people of the United States, or with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing title in the soil to bona fide purchasers thereof; and that in no case shall nonresident proprietors be taxed higher than residents."

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aimed at the American or know-nothing party. This party, in Oregon as elsewhere in the United States, was a secret, oath-bound organization in the particulars of whose principles the reader who has studied the history of the nation will require no especial instruction. It caused a profound political interest in Oregon, whigs not much less than democrats being apprehensive of its reputed power. The viva voce voting law provided that all votes "shall be given viva voce or by ticket handed to the judges, and shall in both cases be cried out in an audible voice by the officer attending, and noted by the clerk in the presence and hearing of the voters."[54] The bill was strongly supported by the democrats, who made it a party issue, and it passed the House, December 15, 1854, by a vote of fourteen yeas, twelve nays, and the council, December 21, by five yeas, three nays. It operated well in the election of 1857 as a check on the designs of those who secretly harbored a desire to see slavery imposed on the new state. But it rose to vex its original supporters in later years, when the democrats who were loyal to the Union desired to make it easier to effect a coalition between republicans and Douglas democrats. In 1864, when a second unsuccessful attempt was made to repeal it, the repealing measure received the support of the five democrats that then remained in the house of representatives.

The Legislature of 1855-6 sat for a brief time at Corvallis but it promptly passed a bill relocating the capital at Salem, and then moved without delay to the latter place. There it submitted the issue of location to the people, to be voted on at the general election in June, 1856. The vote at that time was: Eugene City, 2,627; Corvallis, 2,327; Salem, 2,101; Portland, 1,154. The counties of Wasco, Tillamook, Jackson and Josephine failed to make returns to the secretary of the territory within the forty days provided by law and therefore were not to be counted, so that the result of the canvass as officially announced was: Eugene City, 2,319; Salem, 2,049; Corvallis, 1,998; Portland, 1,154. The act required a majority to decide, and another election became necessary at which the competitors were Eugene and Salem. This special election was held on the first Monday in October, 1856. Little interest, however, was shown by the general public, and the polls were not even opened in Marion, Tillamook, Polk, Curry and Wasco counties. The vote was: Eugene, 2,559; Salem, 444; Corvallis, 318. But there was a strong sentiment among the politicians against recognition of the right of the Legislature to delegate the duties conferred upon it by the organic act, which provided that "at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory at such place as they may deem eligible, which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said legislative assembly." It was contended therefore that the popular election had no binding effect, that it was

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[54] General Laws of Oregon, 1845-1864, compiled and annotated by M. P. Deady, p. 699, note. The general provisions of this law were subsequently carried forward in the new state constitution, which provides (Article II, Section 15): "In all elections by the legislative assembly, or by either branch thereof, votes shall be given openly, or viva voce, and not by ballot, forever; and in all elections by the people, votes shall be given openly, or viva voce, until the legislative assembly shall otherwise direct." The compiler notes that the difference is in the use of the word "openly" in the constitution for the phrase "by ticket handed to the Judges" in the statute, but adds the comment: "The legal effect was probably the same." (Id., p. 102.)

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at most an expression of desire by which the Legislature was not bound.[55] As a consequence the result of the special election was ignored by people and Legislature alike, and the territorial officers remained at Salem, while a bill to resubmit the question was lost in the house at the session of 1856-7 and another, proposing to remove the capital to Portland, was summarily cast aside.

The impatience of the territory to don the habiliments of statehood, once a constitution had been adopted by the people of the territory, led to an anti-climax in the election and inauguration of a full set of state officers before Congress had adopted the act creating the state. Conventions were held and nominations were made in the spring of 1858 for various state officers, on the assumption that statehood was assured, and there was talk during the session of the Legislature of 1857-8, indeed, of proceeding precisely as if the adoption of the constitution by the voters was all that was necessary. There were now three parties, the old line democrats, the so-called national democrats, constituting an independent element, and the republicans. The regulars nominated Lafayette F. Grover for Congress, John Whiteaker for governor, Lucien Heath for secretary of state, J. D. Boon for treasurer and Asahel Bush for state printer. The national democrats put forward for Congress James K. Kelly, an able and rising young lawyer who had been a member of the territorial code commission of 1853 and who had figured prominently in the indian wars, and E. M. Barnum for governor. The republicans nominated John R. McBride for Congress and John Denny for governor. The regular democrats were successful in electing their ticket as usual; and as the constitution adopted by the voters in the preceding November provided that the first state Legislature should meet on the first Monday in July, 1858, and should choose two United States senators, that body proceeded to do as directed and elected Joseph Lane and Delazon Smith to the places. Subsequently, in drawing for choice, Lane won the longer term, ending in 1861, and Smith the short one, ending March 4, 1859. Governor Whiteaker was formally sworn in as governor, July 8, 1858. Lane was already in Washington, and Smith, his prospective colleague in the Senate, and Grover, his successor in the House, soon proceeded to Washington to be in readiness to take their seats.

Oregon was now in a condition of confusion and uncertainty, which was not ameliorated by the delay of the House of Representatives at Washington to pass the statehood bill after it had been passed by the Senate by a vote of practically two to one. The Oregon Legislature adjourned in July until September, but neglected to reconvene at that time in view of continued doubt as to its status. The contingency of delay had not been entirely unforeseen, however, and at the same time that the state officers had been chosen a territorial emergency ticket had been elected. The state legislators now retired to the background while the territorial body resumed the reins of government in De-

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[55] The Oregon Statesman argued that the Legislature could not delegate its power even if it desired to do so, and cited a New York decision of 1853 holding that a certain school district assessment was void from having been referred to the people by the school trustees, who alone were employed to make the levy. (Statesman, July 15, 1856.) The Oregon Weekly Times, June 21, 1856, expressed the view that "when the next legislature convenes they will by these votes of the people have an expression of public sentiment on the point. These votes do not change the location of the seat of government from Salem; but its location rests solely with the legislative assembly—whose action is necessary in locating it—they having all the power to do as they please in the matter."

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No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6



No. 7



No. 8



No. 9

THE GREAT SEAL OF OREGON

Nine forms of territorial and state seals (From F. H. Saylor, in Oregon Native Son Magazine.

Description—An escutcheon, supported by thirty-three stars, and divided by an ordinary, with the inscription, "The Union." In chief—mountains, an elk with branching antlers, a wagon, the Pacific ocean, on which a British man-of-war departing, an American steamer arriving. The second—quartering with a sheaf, plow, and pickax. Crest—the American eagle. Legend—State of Oregon, 1859.

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cember, 1858, and received a message from Governor Curry, who, notwithstanding Whiteaker's inauguration, now came to be regarded once more as governor. Curry was in a peculiar position, since, though a governor appointed for the territory, he himself argued that by adopting a state constitution the people had made Oregon a state, even though Congress had not admitted it to the Union,[56] so that if his contentions had been generally accepted Whiteaker should have been the one to address the Legislature. Nothing much was done by the law makers, however, in view of these uncertainties, and the territory marked time until news of its promotion to statehood was received, near the end of March, 1859.

Notwithstanding the turbulent state of political affairs, the territory made some industrial progress in the closing days. Immigration, which had been interrupted by the indian wars, was resumed and the number of arrivals in 1859 was considerably larger than for several years. Mining had been stimulated by the construction of roads and trails and a new stampede to the Fraser River Country, north of the British Columbia boundary, had furnished a new outlet for restless spirits. Whereas the indian troubles had caused business depression in the Willamette Valley about the middle of the decade, there was now a revival, and Southern Oregon in particular began to show new signs of enterprise. Large shipments of potatoes from Scottsburg to San Francisco, where they brought excellent prices, gave encouragement to settlers in the Umpqua region. The Coos Bay district was attracting attention, and coal mines were being opened on Yaquina Bay. Livestock in this period also became an important source of income to the people. It was estimated by a statistician of the time that between February 1 and June 16, 1857, for illustration, 28,000 head of cattle were driven through the Umpqua Valley to markets in the mining regions of Southern Oregon and California.

The need most felt by the people was for means of communication and transportation. Every Legislature during the territorial era importuned Congress to construct roads for military purposes and a beginning was made by opening a way from the Willamette Valley to Scottsburg, then an important and thriving community. General Harney in 1858 ordered Capt. D. H. Wallen to make a reconnoissance for a road from The Dalles to Salt Lake, particularly with a view to ascertaining whether a way through the John Day Valley could not be opened up. A steamer was built in this year to run between The Dalles and Walla Walla and some two thousand settlers, in view of the relative scarcity of new land in Western Oregon, took up claims in the pleasant region of Walla Walla and near the Umatilla river. Agitation for the construction of an electric telegraph was also begun as early as 1854, and local enterprise built a line between Portland and Oregon City in 1855, which reached Salem in 1856. It proved, however, to be somewhat in advance of the real needs of the population, and lacking connection with points outside of the state, it

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[56] Bancroft suspects Curry's design in thus "introducing this subject in an executive message under the existing peculiar political condition of Oregon." (History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 436.) He notes that Lane had previously given advice, "which the Statesman had the good sense to discountenance, that the state, having been organized, should go on as a state, without waiting for the authority of congress. He was afterward accused of having done so with a sinister motive, to bring Oregon into the position of a state out of the union." (Id., p. 434.)

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languished.[57] Travel was usually by horseback throughout the territory, but in the '50s stage coach lines were established. At the end of that decade the stage between Portland and Salem was making the trip in a day, and a weekly stage service between Salem and Jacksonville was begun in 1859. The mail service between the settlements was primitive and unsatisfactory, however, and was a favorite topic of complaint until some time after statehood had been achieved.

The population of the territory, according to a census taken in 1858, was 42,677. The federal census of 1860 showed a population of 52,416.

[57] See note on the early telegraph lines in Oregon, Chapter XXXVII, infra.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

INDIAN WARS AND TREATIES (1848-1854)

The decade of 1848 to 1858 was marked by indian wars, growing out of a number of causes, among which was the inevitable conflict between civilization and savagery—between the necessities of a people who were fated to occupy and utilize the land for the benefit of a teeming population, and those of a primitive race whose members could not justify their exclusive possession of this vast region on economic grounds. These wars in a large sense were wars of destiny, perhaps inseparable from the process of eliminating the indian claims. Until it became apparent that the white men were determined to possess the territory, conflicts between the races were restricted to minor and more or less individual encounters. It is noteworthy that no collisions deserving the name of war occurred in the period preceding the arrival of the first immigrants. So long as traders only occupied the field, and while their interests and those of the natives were mutual, manifestations of indian hostility were not particularly common and were usually traceable to previous excesses committed by the whites, or at least to some failure of the latter to comprehend the indian's character or to sympathize with his customs and traditions. Historical candor requires the admission that the natives did not always lack provocation. A careful reviewer of more than one hundred cases of first contact of whites with indians reached the conclusion that in practically every instance the demeanor of the indians in the beginning was that of admiration for superior beings. "More valuable still," says this writer, "their attitude was uniformly and almost without exception friendly, until it had reason to be inimical."[1] There is no doubt that early traders took advantage of the untutored savages, and that the conduct of the whites was often selfish, brutal and arrogant, even dishonest. Such friendly sentiments as the natives at first may have entertained were not infrequently turned to hatred by the acts of those who should have set an example of virtue. Newcomers reaped the harvest that their predecessors had sowed. The massacre of Jedediah Smith's party on the Umpqua in 1828 did not occur until some years after traders had stimulated in the indians of the coast an avaricious desire for white men's goods. Yet in the main during the fur trade period indians felt no antipathy for whites. Race prejudice did not exist. The Hudson's Bay Company during the greater part of two decades was able with a relatively small number of persons to com-

[1] O. B. Sperlin, "The Indian of the Northwest," Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, p. 7, already cited in Chapter III, supra, on "The First Oregonians." While the estimate is somewhat exaggerated, and certain of the tribes undoubtedly were treacherous and hostile from the first, just as others were always thieves, the indians of the Oregon country were generally friendly and well disposed in the beginning. A review of the indian wars in the Northwest by Leslie M. Scott, in his History of the Oregon Country, Vol. II, p. 328-334, collects much scattered information from the files of the Oregonian and elsewhere.

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mand the adherence of these natives and to compel respect for the property of the company and the persons employed in its business. This was partly due to the far-seeing policy which governed the company's dealings with the natives. But it was also the product of the company's community of interest with them in preserving the wilderness as the indians themselves would have preserved it. The issue of land occupancy was unimportant during the fur trade era.

The earliest missionaries, arriving in Oregon in 1834 and thereafter increasing in numbers and in moral and economic influence, and the first of the settlers who followed in their train, presented the issue to the natives in a new aspect. But the coming of the settlers had been preceded by reports not flattering to Americans. Intercourse between the tribes east and west of the Mississippi River had long been established after a fashion, and as a result those of the West were made aware of the dissatisfaction arising out of the absorption by the whites of the lands of the eastern tribes. By its treatment of the Choctaws, the Delawares, the Sacs and Foxes, the Wyandottes, the Chickasaws, the Kickapoos and the Osages, the Federal Government had prepared the way for discord between whites and indians. There were charges of bad faith in execution of treaties, of exchanges of good lands for bad, of delays in performance—these had been widely circulated, and were generally believed by the natives prior to the massacre at Waiilatpu in November, 1847. Unfortunately, too, a number of incidents occurred during this period which tended to increase distrust. It is doubtful whether at any time the missionaries really understood the indians, and it is certain that some others of the superior race made no effort to do so. An encounter at the Willamette Falls in 1844, in which an indian named Cockstock and two settlers were killed, furnishes one example of the tendency of some of the first-comers to find the material for a general conflagration in what may have been a purely local disturbance.[2]

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[2] The Cockstock affair was the outgrowth of a private dispute between two negro settlers, Winslow Anderson and James D. Saules, and a Wasco indian named Cockstock. Cockstock had been hired by Anderson to perform certain labor on a land claim, in payment for which he was to have received a horse. Before the completion of the contract Anderson sold the land claim and also the horse to Saules, who refused to deliver the animal to Cockstock. The latter then appropriated the horse; the negroes appealed to Dr. Elijah White and Doctor White compelled Cockstock to surrender it. Cockstock threatened all concerned with violence and White offered a reward of $100 for Cockstock's arrest. On March 4, 1844, Cockstock and four Molalla indians rode into Willamette Falls, armed, and in an attempt to arrest them George W. LeBreton, clerk and recorder of the provisional government, a highly esteemed citizen, received a fatal gunshot wound and a man named Rogers was wounded by a poisoned arrow, dying on the following day. Winslow Anderson, going to the rescue of LeBreton, dispatched Cockstock by breaking his skull with the barrel of his rifle. The incident created great excitement in the Willamette Valley and resulted in the organization of the mounted rifle company known as the Oregon Rangers, of which T. D. Keysur was captain, the officers being duly commissioned by the executive committee of the provisional government. This constituted the first military force ever authorized in the Oregon Country. The company, however, was never called into action. The Wasco indians were much agitated by the killing of their fellow tribesman, and also believed that Cockstock had not gone to Willamette Falls on a hostile errand. Doctor White visited them and pacified them by compensating Cockstock's widow. White's own account of the adjustment of this difficulty (Ten Years in Oregon, p. 237) is: "I told them we had lost two valuable innocent men; and should our people learn that I had given them presents, without their giving me two blankets for one, they must expect nothing but the hottest displeasure from the whites. After much deliberation among themselves, they with one voice concluded to leave the

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In the earliest indian wars the pioneer settlers volunteered, and the campaigns were chiefly although not wholly carried on by them. These included the Cayuse War of 1847-8, the Rogue River wars ranging through the years between 1854 and 1856, and the Yakima War of 1855-6. The later wars, however, were largely in the management of government forces, on the side of the white men. They covered the Eastern Oregon conflicts of 1865-6, the Modoc War of 1872-3, the war with the Nez Percés in 1877, and the war with the Bannocks in 1878.[3]

After Doctor White's appointment as sub-indian agent, he got out his code of laws for the Nez Percés, to which allusion has been made. This was because of a rumor that an alliance had been formed, in the autumn of 1842, by the Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Nez Percés for aggression against the missionary stations in the interior and against the Willamette Valley settlements. He proceeded in November, 1842, to obtain the services of Thomas McKay, step-son of Doctor McLoughlin, and of Cornelius Rogers and Baptiste Dorion, the latter the son of Wilson Price Hunt's interpreter, Pierre Dorion; and with these and a small armed party, which was joined at Fort Walla Walla by Archibald McKinlay, the Hudson's Bay Company chief trader there, he traveled directly to the Nez Percés country. Here he called a council of the principal chiefs, to whom he gave assurances of the kind intentions of the United States Government, "and 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."[4] Doctor White was peculiarly fortunate on this occasion in his choice of companions. McKay, half-breed son of one of the partners in the Astor company who had been lost with the ship Tonquin, and McKinlay, representing the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company among the tribes, were in themselves a guarantee of at least the partial success of his mission. But in assuring the natives of the "sad consequences which would ensue to any white man who should invade their rights," the sub-agent was not only promising more than he could then perform but was preparing a foundation for subsequent accusations on the part of the indians that the whites wished to have one set of laws for the natives and another for themselves. When, for example, in 1844, Elijah Hedding, a young Walla Walla chieftain, son of Peu-peu-mox-mox, head chief of the Walla Wallas, was wantonly slain by miners at Fort Sutter, California, the occurrence created in the minds of the natives throughout the West an impression unfavorable to the whites. The slogan, "the slayers of the son of Peu-peu-mox-mox were never hanged," was a rallying cry of the disaffected members of the tribes in the Cayuse War of 1848 and in subsequent indian wars.

Doctor White reversed the time-honored policy of the Hudson's Bay Company by bringing about the election of one Ellis as chief of the Nez Percés and the appointment of twelve sub-chiefs. The Hudson's Bay officers, having

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whole matter to my discretion. I at once decided to give the poor indian widow two blankets, a dress and a handkerchief, believing the moral influence to be better than to make presents to the chief or tribe and receive nothing at their hands. * * * It is to be hoped that the matter will here end, though that is by no means certain, as at present there are so many sources of uneasiness and discontent between the parties."

[3] For full bibliography of the indian wars in the Northwest, see Leslie W. Scott, in History of the Oregon Country, Vol. II, p. 328, Compiler's Appendix.

[4] Elijah White, Ten Years in Oregon, Ithaca, N. Y., 1848, p. 182.

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acquired a rather intimate acquaintance with indian character, had on the contrary ignored the principle of chieftainship, and had played the influential members of the tribes one against the other, as a measure to forestall disastrous alliances. Doctor White conceived the idea that the indians should organize a more compact tribal government, without really considering its effect on their future relations with the white men. His conference with the Nez Percés was a picturesque and noteworthy incident in the early annals of American endeavors to bring about an understanding between these aborigines and the people who were destined to succeed them in the possession of the territory. Twenty-two chiefs, besides a large number of lesser tribal dignitaries, were present. The white visitors made speeches first, while the indians maintained a profound, respectful and inquisitive silence. Five Crows, "a wealthy chief of forty-five, neatly attired in English costume," then spoke. "I am glad," he said, "the chief has come. I have listened to what has been said; I have great hopes that brighter days are before us, because I see all the whites are united in this matter; we have much wanted something; hardly know what; been groping and feeling for it in confusion and darkness. Here it is. Do we see it and shall we accept?"[5]

Bloody Chief, now more than ninety years old, who had been high chief of the tribe at the time of the visit of Lewis and Clark, told the council how he had proudly shown the explorers the wounds he had received in battle with the neighboring Snakes, his hereditary foes, but had been told "it was not good, it was better to be at peace." Doctor White's own account represents Bloody Chief as saying further: "Clark pointed to this day, to you, and this occasion; we have long waited in expectation; sent three of our sons to Red River school to prepare for it; two of them sleep with their fathers; the other is here and can be ears, mouth and pen for us. I can say no more." Six other indian leaders spoke. Doctor White then proposed to the Nez Percés that they select a single high chief, with twelve subordinate chiefs of equal power, each of whom should have five men as a body guard, to execute his lawful commands. White read his code of laws to them. "They were greatly pleased with all proposed," White relates in his journal, "but wished a heavier penalty to some, and suggested the dog law, which was annexed." There were further councils, accompanied by much feasting, Doctor White furnishing a fat ox for the barbecue, and Ellis, the young man to whom Bloody Chief had alluded, and who had been cunningly put forward by White, was elected high chief. The selection afterward proved a mischievous one, since Ellis' natural virtues were not enhanced by his Red River education. He became domineering and arrogant, and attempted to enforce the new code with great literalness and undue severity. It will be borne in mind in considering the effect of Doctor White's laws upon the indians that they made criminal offenses of acts which before that time had meant to the native mind no breach of law or morals.[6]

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[5] Elijah White, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 185.

[6] The so-called "laws of the Nez Percés" prepared by Doctor White are especially interesting because they embody the first attempt made by whites west of the Rocky Mountains to teach the indians to govern themselves according to alien standards. White sets them forth as follows (Ten Years in Oregon, p. 189):

"Art. 1. Whoever wilfully takes life shall be hung.

"Art. 2. Whoever burns a dwelling shall be hung.

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The Cayuses in the vicinity of Doctor Whitman's Mission meanwhile were becoming restive. They were on the line of the Oregon Trail, in the path of immigration of which Doctor White's own party had been the first important forerunner. But they had been told, as has been stated, that the custom of the whites was always to possess themselves of the indians' lands, usually in ruthless disregard of indian rights. Doctor White made an unsuccessful attempt to allay their misgivings. The Cayuses were manifestly suspicious at a council called by Doctor White at Waiilatpu, and there Tau-i-tau, a Walla Walla chieftain, argued eloquently that the whites were much more to blame than the indians; that three-fourths of them, though they taught the purest doctrines, practiced the greatest abominations—alluding to the conduct of many in the Rocky Mountains, "where they meet them on their buffalo hunts and witness the greatest extravagances." Tau-i-tau gave a graphic account of his vain endeavor to reduce his tribe to order, by flogging the young men and reproving the middle-aged, until his popularity had declined almost to zero. White made small headway here. He returned to the Walla Walla Valley, however, in May, 1843, in response to a rumor that the tribes contemplated an attack on the expected immigrant train that year. He was then accompanied by Rev. Gustavus Hines, and learned that apprehensions concerning the coming of large bodies of settlers were the chief cause of the indians' disquietude. The young Cayuse chiefs were in favor of raising a large war party at once, marching on the Willamette settlements and cutting off the inhabitants at a swift, sharp blow.[7] The older chiefs pointed out the difficulty of conducting an expedition across the snow-covered Cascades and advised caution. Nevertheless the tribe was deeply imbued with the feeling that their lands were to be taken from them. They told White's interpreter that they had received their information concerning the designs of the Americans from a half-breed who had said that it would be useless for them to continue to cultivate their grounds, that the whites would come in the summer, and kill them all off, and destroy their plantations.

"Art. 3. Whoever burns an outbuilding shall be imprisoned six months, receive fifty lashes, and pay all damages.

"Art. 4. Whoever carelessly burns a house, or other property, shall pay damages.

"Art. 5. If any one enter a dwelling, without permission of the occupant, the chiefs shall punish him as they think proper. Public rooms are excepted.

"Art. 6. If any one steal, he shall pay back twofold; and if it be the value of a beaver skin or less, he shall receive twenty-five lashes; and if the value is over a beaver skin he shall pay back two fold, and receive fifty lashes.

"Art. 7. If any one take a horse and ride it, without permission, or take any article and use it, without liberty, he shall pay for the use of it and receive from twenty to fifty lashes, as the chief may direct.

"Art. 8. If any one enter a field and injure the crops, or throw down the fence, so that cattle and horses go in and do damage, he shall pay all damages, and receive twenty-five lashes for every offense.

"Art. 9. Those only may keep dogs who travel or live among the game; if a dog kill a lamb, calf or any domestic animal, the owner shall pay damages and kill the dog.

"Art. 10. If an indian raise a gun or other weapon against a white man, it shall be reported to the chiefs and they shall punish it. If a white do the same to an indian, it shall be reported to Doctor White, and he shall punish or redress it.

"Art. 11. If an indian break these laws, he shall be punished by his chiefs; if a white man break them, he shall be reported to the agent, and punished at his instance."

[7] G. Hines, History of Oregon, Ed., 1859, p. 164.

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The Cayuses were less tractable than the Nez Percés had been. At another council held on May 23, 1843, they repeatedly reminded the American envoys that promises made to them by the whites had not been kept. Ellis and a young chief named Lawyer, of the Nez Percés, who had been called to meet with the other tribes, reminded Doctor White that they expected pay for being chiefs.[8] One of the difficulties for the commissioners to settle was the matter of payment for some horses the indians had given Rev. Jason Lee when Lee first came to Oregon in 1834. This was adjusted by promise to give the indians a cow for each horse. On the third day the Cayuses elected Tau-i-tau chief, but he declined to serve because, he being a Catholic, the majority of his tribe were of a different religion, and his brother, Five Crows, was elected in his place. Doctor White presented the indians with a fat ox and Mrs. Whitman gave them a hog, on which they feasted during the second day. On the third day the indians demanded and received a second ox.

This great council was attended, according to the estimate of Rev. Gustavus Hines, who was present, by 600 Nez Percés and 300 Cayuses and Walla Wallas. Doctor White got them to agree to accept his laws, but they did not manifest much enthusiasm. The increasing influence of the Catholic missionaries, which was shown on this occasion, had no immediate bearing on the issue of peace or war, but operated as a cause of factionalism among the indians themselves. However, the missionaries east of the Cascades, by the retirement of the Methodist missions in the Willamette Valley, were now alone engaged in teaching the indians the arts of husbandry.

News of the Whitman massacre, November 29, 1847, was received at Willamette Falls, seat of the provisional government, December 8, 1847, in a letter from James Douglas to Governor Abernethy, and the governor at once communicated it to the Legislature, then in session, and issued a call for volunteers. Excitement spread rapidly through the valley and a company was organized on the same day with a view to proceeding to The Dalles and guarding against passage of the hostiles down the river to attack the settlements. Henry A. G. Lee, one of the conspicuous members of the immigration of 1843, was elected captain, and Joseph Magone and John E. Ross lieutenants. This company, known as the Oregon Rifles, and consisting of forty-eight men, lost no time in obtaining such equipment as could be procured on the individual credit of citizens of the territory, and departed immediately for The Dalles, reaching there December 21. The provisional legislature meanwhile, December 9, 1847, authorized the raising of a regiment of volunteers and named its field officers. Cornelius Gilliam was colonel,[9] James Waters, lieutenant-colonel, H. A. G. Lee major,

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[8] "Ellis said he had counted the months he had been in office, and thought that enough was due him to make him rich. They left at a late hour without receiving any satisfaction." (G. Hines, History of Oregon, Ed., 1859, p. 183.)

[9] Col. Cornelius Gilliam was an immigrant of 1844, described by Frances Fuller Victor (Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 159) as "of impulsive temper, brave, headstrong, but conscientious." He was "deeply imbued with the fifty-four-forty or fight ideas of the Polk presidential campaign, and still cherished radical sentiments in regard to the rights of the English occupants of the country. He was, in short, of that order of men who fought and prayed with an equal degree of earnestness—the Oliver Cromwells of the frontier states—and was quite capable of believing the English fur company guilty of cherishing heinous designs toward the American colony." He was a native of North Carolina, forty-nine years old. He had served in the Black Hawk war in 1832 and in the Seminole war in 1835. Removing to Missouri, he had been captain of a company used to expel the

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and Joel Palmer commissary-general. The men of the territory responded promptly, many furnishing their entire equipment. An interesting phase of the recruiting was the raising of a company by the French-Canadians, who as a group had held aloof from the organization of the provisional government in 1843. These held a meeting at French Prairie as soon as the governor's proclamation became known and adopted resolutions declaring that "the Canadian citizens of Champoeg county feel it their duty to assist their adopted country in the prosecution of the war against the Cayuse indians for the horrible massacre committed by them upon American citizens at Waiilatpu."[10] All the commissioned officers of the company were named McKay. Capt. Thomas McKay was the son of Alexander McKay, the Astor clerk who was lost on the Tonquin in 1811. Charles McKay was first lieutenant and Alex McKay second lieutenant. An American flag was presented to the company. In accepting it Captain McKay said: "This is the flag you are expected to defend, and defend it you must." The company performed conspicuous service in the brief war which followed.[11]

As the result of this prompt response to the governor's call for volunteers, Colonel Gilliam was able to reach The Dalles late in January, 1848, with fifty men, the remainder of his regiment arriving a few days afterward. It was not then known how widespread the disaffection of the indians had become, and so the Legislature, taking a second thought, designated a peace commission consisting of Joel Palmer, Maj. H. A. G. Lee and Robert Newell, to treat with the eastern tribes and if possible forestall a general coalition. The legislature also dispatched Joseph L. Meek on a memorable winter journey to Washington with a memorial asking the national Government for help, and sent Jesse Applegate with a party of volunteers to obtain aid from the military governor of California. Applegate was unable to cross through the deep snows of the Siskiyous and returned north, his dispatches being forwarded by sea. Meek's long trip across the continent was fruitless. The settlers in the Willamette Valley therefore were compelled to carry on the war without help from any outside sources.[12]

Colonel Gilliam began by vigorously carrying the war into the enemy's country. He established a supply station at the Cascades, which was named Fort Gilliam. A stockade erected at The Dalles was named Fort Lee, and here a nine-pounder cannon, the only piece of artillery possessed by the provisional government, was mounted. Lee's company had several skirmishes with the

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Mormons from that state. He was an ordained minister of the Freewill Baptist denomination and had officiated as minister of a church on the North Luckiamute, in Polk County.

[10] Oregon Spectator, January 20, 1848.

[11] Some account of this is in "Reminiscences of Martha E. Gilliam Collins," (daughter of Colonel Gilliam), Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, p. 358; also Clarence B. Bagley, Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 34.

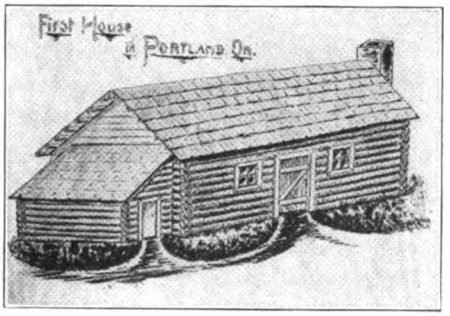
[12] Meek was accompanied by George W. Ebberts, a former trapper and Hudson's Bay man, who had settled on a farm at Champoeg. They left the Willamette Valley January 4, 1848. After waiting at The Dalles until the close of the month they went in company with Colonel Gilliam's regiment to Waiilatpu. Here the bodies of the victims of the massacre were reburied, and Meek performed this duty with the skeleton of his own daughter, who had been in Mrs. Whitman's school. Meek and Ebberts were accompanied by troops to the Blue Mountains from which locality they departed accompanied by five other Americans who desired to return to the states, but two of these went no farther than Fort Boise.

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indians before Gilliam reached him with reinforcements. The first provisional soldier wounded was Sergeant William Berry; those first killed were privates Pugh and Jackson. These casualties were incurred in repelling raids by the indians on the cattle of immigrants and the horses of the rangers. One other soldier, Private Alexander McDonald, was killed by a sentry who mistook him for an indian. Four or five indians were killed and several wounded. Colonel Gilliam, the last week in January, 1848, a few days after the arrival of his first detachment, set out with 130 men in hot pursuit of the main body of the hostiles, who proved to be members of the Des Chutes, John Day and Cayuse tribes, dispersing several war parties on the way to Meek's crossing, at the mouth of a canyon into which he sent Major Lee with a detachment on a reconnoissance. Lee's men found the indians and killed one. Gilliam with the main body pressed forward, engaged the enemy, captured a number of their horses and some cattle, which resulted later in a treaty of peace with these tribes. The engagement in the canyon was a severe test of the mettle of the raw troops, but being frontiersmen and familiar with the indian method of warfare, they stood the test well. Lee's little detachment of skirmishers, in particular, was forced to dismount and seek cover among boulders, while a superior force of pursuing indians rolled avalanches of stones down on them from the cliffs above. The main body of Gilliam's troops in the second day's fighting destroyed an indian village but spared the old people they found there.

Word came from the Yakimas that they would not join the hostiles, since the whites did not pass through their country and they had no quarrel with them, but the peace commissioners were unable to obtain assurances of pacific inclinations of other tribes and Colonel Gilliam took up the march to Waiilatpu. On the way a battle was fought at Sand Hollow, on the immigrant trail, which was of considerable importance because it resulted in the killing of Gray Eagle, one of the Cayuse chiefs, and the wounding of Five Crows, who will be remembered as the one whom the Cayuses had elected as their head chief on the occasion of Dr. Elijah White's visit in 1843. These chiefs, both of whom laid claim to supernatural powers, had attempted a demonstration of their invulnerability by riding close to the troops and shooting a dog. Capt. Thomas McKay of the company raised in the French-Canadian settlement, shot Gray Eagle through the head, and Lieut. Charles McKay of the same company wounded Five Crows with a shotgun so severely that the chief was forced to give up his command. This proof that their leaders were but mortal and that the volunteers were in deadly earnest measurably chilled the ardor of the Cayuses. The battle declined to a skirmish and the soldiers were not seriously hampered in continuing their march to Waiilatpu. They crossed the Umatilla River, despite the boast made by the Cayuse chiefs to their followers that this would be prevented, and reached the Whitman mission, March 2, 1848. The spectacle at the mission grounds, where some of the bodies of the victims had been exhumed by wolves, and the scene of general desolation steeled the hearts of the soldiers and almost led to an open breach between the military forces and the peace commissioners. The latter had been dispatched on their errand of diplomacy in the hope that a general war might be averted by a policy of leniency toward the friendly indians, and their design was to inform the tribes that if the murderers of the Whitman party were surrendered for punishment no further demands would be made. Newell had been chosen as a member of the commission because of his experience as a mountain man and his sym-

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FIRST HOUSE WITHIN THE PRESENT
CITY LIMITS OF PORTLAND



FIRST FRAME HOUSE IN PORTLAND, SHIPPED, KNOCKED DOWN,
FROM MAINE, VIA CAPE HORN, IN 1847

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pathy with the indian point of view. Palmer also had been known to entertain sentiments of moderation in treating with the tribes. Colonel Gilliam chafed under the dual restraint of his implied obligation to the peace commissioners and a scarcity of supplies, which were obviously insufficient for a protracted campaign. At this point also he took leave of Meek, the messenger to Washington, whom he gave an escort of one hundred men to convoy him beyond the hostile lines. He also began at once the construction of a fort out of the debris of the ruined mission houses. He received overtures from Peu-peu-mox-mox of the Walla Wallas and a few friendly Nez Percés, but was unable to obtain guarantees from them that the principal conspirators of the murder would be surrendered. Gilliam proposed to grant immunity to five of the murderers in exchange for Joe Lewis, the renegade who was believed to have incited the massacre, but the peace commissioners would not assent to this. A large party of friendly Nez Percés and Cayuses, however, approached the camp March 6, 1848, and a council was held March 7, in another effort to preserve the peace.[13]

Colonel Gilliam therefore was restrained in his natural inclination to force the fighting further, at least until the commission had had opportunity to test the value of pacific measures, and, although he mistrusted the motives of the indians and suspected them of design to gain time to prepare for further hostilities, he tarried for the council. The Cayuses were represented at the council 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. Among the leaders of the Nez Percés present were Joseph, their head chief in the absence of Ellis on a buffalo hunt; Jacob, half-brother of the Cayuse, Five Crows; James, a Catholic; Richard, who had accompanied Doctor Whitman on the latter's return to the United States in 1835; and Kentuck, who had been Rev. Samuel Parker's guide in Idaho in 1835. Peu-peu-mox-mox, head chief of the Walla Wallas, represented his tribe. Palmer found Peu-peu-mox-mox "decidedly friendly and withal prudent and sensible."[14]

A letter from Governor Abernethy, addressed to "the Great Chiefs of the

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[13] The peace commissioners were acting under specific instructions from Governor Abernethy to avoid war if possible, while exercising the utmost firmness "consistent with the honor of American citizens." Abernethy wrote that there were "some requisitions that must be complied with on the part of the indians." All the murderers must be delivered up for punishment; "the property taken delivered up or an equivalent given, and restitution made of the property stolen last year." The governor continued: "I am aware the greatest difficulty will be in obtaining the persons of the murderers, but the indians must be given to understand in the commencement of negotiations that this must be done; and that no compromise can be made. There may be some among those that are implicated in this affair around whom some palliating circumstances may be thrown; these you will take into consideration; but the principal actors should be executed in the presence of the tribes. * * * You will hold a council with the field officers of the army and decide in council what steps shall be taken to accomplish the much-desired object, restoration of peace. You will use every exertion to have the property and lives of our fellow citizens that may be hereafter traveling through the indian territory preserved; the chiefs are able to govern their own people." (Oregon Spectator, April 6, 1848.)

[14] For an account of the negotiations see The Early Indian Wars of Oregon, by Frances Fuller Victor, p. 182; Our First Indian War, by Clarence B. Bagley, Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. I, p. 35; History of the Pacific Northwest, edited by Elwood Evans, Vol. I, p. 281.

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Nez Percés and other Tribes," was brought forth and the seal broken with solemn ceremony, "after the pipe of friendship had been passed around till our hearts were all good and our eyes watery," as Palmer afterward wrote. Abernethy reminded the indians that the early American missionaries had gone to dwell among them and instruct them at their own request, that Doctor and Mrs. Whitman had been actuated only by good motives, and that the stories the indians had heard, that Doctor Whitman had poisoned them, were not true. "Brothers," Abernethy's letter continued, "our warriors are on the warpath; what shall be done that we may all again be friends, and not enemies? I will tell you what we want; listen to me; we want the men that murdered our brother Dr. Whitman, and the rest of our brothers—Tiloquoit, Tamsukie and all that were engaged * * * and further that restitution of the property stolen and destroyed be made, either by returning the property, or giving an equivalent. If this is done the hatchet will be buried and the indians and Americans will be friends and brothers. Our great chief has always been told that the indians in this country were all friendly; he has not sent any of his war chiefs here. We have not sent word to him that our people have been killed; his war chiefs will come, and should you prefer war to peace, let me tell you, and listen to what I say, they will punish you until you shall be fully satisfied with war and be glad to make peace. * * * My advice to you as a friend is that you deliver up the murderers, or let the Americans go and take them without your interfering with them—in this case do not let the murderers shelter among you, lest your people should get killed through mistake, for which I would be very sorry."

Commissioner Palmer diplomatically informed the Nez Percés that the Cayuses had by their conduct forfeited their lands. "We do not want these lands," he added, "but we wish to open the road for Americans to travel, as they have done before. We shall build a fort and station a number of men at Waiilatpu. Our war chief will hunt these murderers as you hunt the deer, until he drives them from the face of the earth. Suppose you were all to unite with the Cayuses and kill us off; we are but a handful; others would come with both hands full and wipe you out. We are slow to get angry, but when we begin war we never quit until we conquer." Palmer promised that a blacksmith would be sent them, and a teacher to instruct them in mechanical and agricultural pursuits, and that no whites would be permitted to intrude upon them or settle on their lands without first obtaining their consent.

Newell reminded the Nez Percés that he had fought with them and that some of the indians present had been his comrades in battle. "I am not here to fight," he said, "but to separate the good from the bad and to tell you that it is your duty to help make this ground clean. Thank God, you have not helped to make it bloody. What have the Cayuses made; what have they lost? Everything; nothing but a name. All the property they took in a short time will be gone; only one thing left, that is a name, 'the bloody Cayuses.' They will never lose that, only in this way, obey the great God and keep his laws. What is our duty to the great God? This is his law: He who kills man, by man shall his blood be spilt. This is what God says, and be must be obeyed, or we have no peace in the land."

Colonel Gilliam, Major Lee and Captain McKay confirmed the promises of the other commissioners that no whites would be permitted to settle in the indian country without the tribes' consent.

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Camaspello, the Cayuse, declared that though his people seemed to have two hearts, he had but one. He denied that he had given his consent to the murders at the mission, though he admitted that Tamsukie had told him of the plan of the younger men. "I pointed to my sick child," said Camaspello, "and told him my heart was there, and not on murder. He went back and told his friends he had obtained my consent. It was false." Joseph spoke for all the Cayuses present and also for his own people. He did not wish war. "You speak of murderers," he said. "I shall not meddle with them. I bow my head."

Said Jacob: "It is the law of this country that the murderers shall die. This law I keep in my heart, because I believe it is the law of God—the first law. I have heard your speech and am thankful. When I left home I believed the Americans were coming for the murderers only. I thank the governor for this good talk."

Red Wolf said that when he had heard of the murder of Doctor Whitman he had inquired whether the chiefs were responsible, and had learned that they were not all in the conspiracy, but that the young men were to blame. Richard said that the last words of his old chief, Cut Nose, were: "My children, I leave you. Love that which is good. Be always at the side of right and you will prosper." The Nez Percés had been taught not to take bad words from their enemies and throw good words away. Ellis, who was absent, he said, would be glad to hear that his people were for peace. Kentuck said that he and his father fought with the Americans against the Blackfeet, and denied that his people's hearts were with the Cayuses. "We are glad to hear you want none but the murderers," he concluded.

Newell presented the Nez Percés with a large American flag, which he counseled them to keep as a gift from the great white father, to be hoisted on all national occasions. The flag was accompanied by gifts of tobacco. "In the evening," wrote Palmer in his official report to Governor Abernethy, "the Nez Percés gave us a war dance, which amused and delighted us much, and we do them but bare justice when we say the performance was well timed, the parts well acted, characters represented to the very life, and the whole first rate."

The main body of the Cayuses were still encamped at some distance, and evidence was lacking that Camaspello spoke for the really influential members of his tribe. The Nez Percés chiefs, however, agreed to act as emissaries to the Cayuses in an endeavor to persuade them to surrender the murderers. In this they had no success. When the command moved forward, March 8, 1848, it was met by Chief Sticcas of the Cayuses, who was bringing in a band of cattle and personal property and money which had been stolen from the Whitman mission and from passing immigrants. Sticcas then obtained consent to the holding of a tribal council, after which it was announced that the Cayuses refused to surrender Teloukikt or Tamsukie. Newell thereupon gave up all hope of agreement, and concluded at this point that further peace parleys would be useless, and so the peace commissioners returned to the Willamette Valley. On the way home Palmer conferred with indians in the vicinity of The Dalles, and he persuaded them that it was to their interest to remain friendly. They were at least neutral during the remainder of the campaign.

An important point had also been gained in obtaining the neutrality of

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the Nez Percés. Peu-peu-mox-mox, who was also known as Yellow Serpent, continued outwardly to manifest friendship for the whites, and he wished an end to the whole affair, but one of the murderers had fled to the country of the Palouses, and Peu-peu-mox-mox, though he may have desired to see the guilty one in custody, could not arrest him without precipitating war between the Palouses and the Walla Wallas. The Cayuses had lost heart for war on finding themselves abandoned to their own resources, but continued hostilities some time longer in the evident hope of forcing further concessions. They were willing to let bygones be bygones, but the peace party was unable to comply with the primary conditions laid down by the Americans. The hostile faction and the friends and relatives of the murderers retained sufficient power to defeat the aims of those who would have bought security at any price.

Colonel Gilliam hastened in pursuit of the Cayuses, who divided their forces. His command, numbering 158, made a night march and surprised the enemy in camp near the mouth of the Tucannon. But the indians were prepared with subterfuge where open fighting would not serve their end. They represented themselves as friendly Walla Wallas, and while the troops were investigating the truth of their statements the main body of the enemy escaped across the Snake River. On returning from the scene, Gilliam's men were attacked in the rear by a body of about four hundred Palouses and Cayuses. Skirmish fighting ensued as the troops retreated down the Tucannon to a point within a few miles of the Touchet River. Here the men camped without food or fire, and on the morning of March 15, 1848, fought a spirited battle for possession of the ford across the Touchet. "The history of savage warfare," says the report of Capt. H. J. G. Maxon, "contains few instances of greater indian prowess and daring than the scene which followed. The struggle for the ford was obstinate for some time. And here I may say that had it not been for the bold and decided stand of a few young men at the most vulnerable point, the army must have sustained a heavy loss in crossing the stream, perhaps being thrown into confusion and cut to pieces. In an hour the sound of our rifles had hushed. The long battle was ended. We were all over the river, and but nine or ten wounded, none mortally. It was not so with the enemy. The deafening roar of their musketry which had been sounding in our ears for thirty hours had died away—their shrill warwhoop was changed to the melancholy death song. They called off their warriors—more anxious to leave the ford of the Toosha [Touchet] than they had been to gain it. We moved to the fort, at which place we arrived on the evening of the 16th, worn down with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing but a small colt for three days."[15]

Victory was with the troops, the indians being glad enough to escape into the mountains with the livestock which the army had been forced to abandon on its retirement, but the soldiers were in no condition to pursue them. A council of the officers was held March 18 at Fort Waters (Waiilatpu), at which it was concluded that nothing effective could be done without more men and more ammunition. Pursuant to this decision, Colonel Gilliam with two companies, about 160 men in all, moved toward The Dalles. On the way Colonel Gilliam was accidentally killed on March 24, at Well Springs, near the Umatilla

[15] Oregon Spectator, April 6, 1848.

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River, while drawing a riata from a camp wagon, which caused a rifle to be discharged into his body.[16]

Command of the division devolved on Captain Maxon, whose report to Governor Abernethy, dated March 28, 1848, and published in the Oregon Spectator of April 6, 1848, aroused the Willamette Valley to a high pitch of patriotism. The death of Colonel Gilliam brought home to the people the gravity of the war. But Maxon also described the hardships of the troops and graphically depicted their forlorn condition and, further, represented that the entire colony faced the peril of annihilation unless the indians were checked promptly and decisively. "Something must be done," wrote Maxon, "and done at once, or abandon the war and have the indians in the valley in a month, stealing our property and murdering our frontier settlers. * * * A force of less than six hundred men cannot carry on offensive operations, as the enemy have that force or more in fifty miles of Fort Waters. What men we have are in a destitute situation. Some almost without clothing, many without horses, as the principal portion of the horses we have taken have been claimed by friendly indians and given up to them. * * * There are 150 of our boys in the heart of the enemy's country, almost without ammunition—wholly without bread. * * * If there is a continuance of operations I hope there will be more patriotism shown in the valley of the Willamette. Indeed, there must be, or we are lost."[17]

It was easier to stimulate patriotism than to supply the materials of war. Captain Maxon's report contained an appeal to fathers to send bread to their sons, to mothers to send warm garments, and to daughters to "evince your angelic influence for your country's good by withholding your fair hand and fairer smile from any young man who refuses to turn out to defend your honor and your country's rights." Fifteen young women of the valley responded at once by signing a compact framed in the spirit of Captain Maxon's suggestion.[18] At a meeting of the "ladies of Oregon City and vicinity" held at the Methodist Church, April 12, at which Mrs. N. M. Thornton presided, committees were appointed to obtain subscriptions of food and clothing. Two hundred and fifty volunteers enlisted, including a company in Polk and Clackamas counties, of which J. W. Nesmith was elected captain, a company in Linn County of which W. P. Pugh was captain, and a company in Tualatin County, with William J. Martin as captain. Money was extremely scarce in the territory and

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[16] Reminiscences of Martha E. Gilliam Collins, by Fred Lockley, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, p. 364.

[17] Oregon Spectator, April 6, 1848.

[18] This agreement, published in the Oregon Spectator, April 20, 1848, read: "We hereby, one and all, of our own free good will, solemnly pledge ourselves to comply with that request; and to evince, on all suitable occasions, our detestation and contempt for any and all young men who can, but will not, take up arms and march to the seat of war, to punish the indians who have not only murdered our friends, but have grossly insulted our sex. We never can, and never will, bestow our confidence upon a man who had neither patriotism nor courage enough to defend his country and the girls—such a one would never have a sufficient sense of obligation to defend and protect his wife. Do not be uneasy about your claims, and your rights in the valley; while you are defending the rights of your country she is watching yours. You must not be discouraged—fight on—be brave—obey your officers—and never quit your post 'till the enemy is conquered; and when you return in triumph to the valley, you shall find us ready to rejoice with you as we now are to sympathize with you in your sufferings and dangers."

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wheat was the common medium of exchange. But wheat in the raw state was not wanted by the army in the field and the process of converting grain subscriptions into goods required by the commissary was tedious and cumbersome. Supplies were collected in driblets. Lead and powder were almost non-existent. The commissary agent at Salem reported that he had been able to buy only six saddles. Provisions were obtained here and there, a few hundred pounds at one place and a few hundred at another. A forced loan of wheat from certain farmers and from the Hudson's Bay Company granary at Champoeg was seriously considered at one time. The difficulties of the officers of commissary and supply were intensified by their anxiety to relieve the destitute condition of the troops in the field and to reinforce them in anticipation of a vigorous summer campaign.

There was no more fighting, however. Governor Abernethy appointed Maj. H. A. G. Lee colonel to succeed Colonel Gilliam, ignoring Lieutenant-Colonel Waters, who had temporarily succeeded Gilliam in command of the regiment, but Lee magnanimously resigned his commission and served as lieutenant-colonel under Waters. Two months were given to minor excursions in search of the murderers, who with their companions among the hostile Cayuses were supposed to have fled to the mountains in the direction of the Nez Percés country. Suspicion of the good faith of the Nez Percés was bred in the minds of the soldiers by the fact that the Cayuses had been permitted to escape, but friendly members of the tribe atoned for this so far as might be by helping to drive captured Cayuse cattle into camp at Waiilatpu. Word was received from Rev. Cushing Eells, at Tsimikain, containing information that the Spokane indians were divided in opinion although none condoned the murderers. A delegation of forty-three Spokanes accompanied the courier bringing Eells' message, and gave information of the whereabouts of a band of cattle belonging to one of the Cayuse culprits.

If money was scarce in the Willamette Valley, it was even less plentiful among the soldiers, and the necessity for barter to which the whole territory was then reduced is shown by a subscription paper signed at Clearwater Camp, Lapwai, by the men of Lieutenant-Colonel Lee's detachment, for the purpose of providing a reward to be offered to the Nez Percés for the arrest of the criminals. Subscriptions were pledged in the form of wheat, blankets, shirts and miscellaneous merchandise, estimated to represent the equivalent of $125 in goods and wheat, besides sixty-seven blankets and 104 shirts.[19] The reward was never claimed.

The futility of further efforts to arrest the murderers was apparent now that spring had come and the indians were able to scatter out and subsist on the country. The volunteers, though willing enough to fight, were ill-disposed toward the monotony of mere police duty, and their private interests in the

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[19] The text of the subscription compact was: "We, the undersigned, promise to pay to the Nez Percés or other indians, or their agent, the articles, sums, and amounts annexed to our names, respectively, for the capture and delivery to the authorities of Oregon Territory, any two of the following named indians, viz: Teloukikt, Tamsucy, Tamahas, Joe Lewis or Edward Teloukikt, or half the amount for any one of them. We also promise to pay one-fourth of the amount as specified above for the capture and the delivery of any one of the following: Llou-Llou, Pife, Frank Escaloom, Tuiamashoukin, Estools, Showshow, Pahosh, Cupup-cupup, or any other engaged in the massacre. The same to be paid whenever the service is rendered and the fact that it is rendered established."

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Willamette Valley called them insistently. So it was resolved by a council of officers to withdraw the main force from the Walla Walla region. A detail was sent to Lapwai to give a safe conduct out of the country to William Craig, who had been appointed resident indian agent under the compact made with the friendly Nez Percés, but whose situation was precarious while the murderers were free, and a company commanded by Major Magone proceeded to Tsimikain as an escort for Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker, who had remained among the Spokanes. It was now June, and the volunteers more than ever desired to return to their homes, so that when a vote was taken by the officers on the question of leaving a garrison to occupy Fort Waters until the immigrant season closed, the proposal was rejected by a vote of six to five. In order to induce volunteers to remain, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, who had assumed the duties of superintendent of indian affairs on the resignation of Joel Palmer, offered to give written authority for the colonization of the Cayuse country and this had the desired effect. More than the requisite number offered their services. Lee wrote a letter, which was published in the Oregon Spectator, July 13, 1848, in which he informed the people of the Willamette Valley that "there are now in the Cayuse country, grist and saw mills, blacksmith's anvil and bellows, with some tools, a quantity of iron, plows, harrows, a crop of wheat, pease, potatoes and corn, with almost every convenience and facility in forming a settlement." Lee wrote of the superior and peculiar adaptability of that section to the growth of wool and the raising of horses and cattle, while the climate, he added, "for health, and the scenery for beauty, cannot be excelled by any spot of earth." Lee obtained the approval of Governor Abernethy of this new policy of introducing settlers into the very midst of the indian country, and proclaimed the forfeiture of all the lands of the Cayuses, making no exception in favor of friendly members of the tribe.[20] The insatiable land-hunger which supplied a motive for the whole immigration movement, and which subsequently constituted an important obstacle to peaceful settlement of the indian troubles, made the settlers peculiarly receptive to this new opportunity to enlarge their domain. "In middle and eastern Oregon," wrote the editor of the Spectator in his enthusiasm, "there is more prairie land covered with a dense growth of rich grass, upon which horses, cattle and sheep will subsist throughout the year, than all the meadow pasture and plow lands in all New England! Who can estimate the wealth of

[20] The text of Lee's proclamation which was dated July 6, 1848, was: "In consideration of the barbarities and insufferable conduct of the Cayuse indians, as portrayed in the massacre of the American families at Waiilatpu, and the subsequent cause of hostilities against the Americans generally, and with a view to inflict upon them a just and proper punishment, as well as to secure and protect our fellow citizens, immigrating from the United States to this territory, against a course of reckless aggressions so long and uniformly practiced upon them by the said Cayuse indians; and after consultation with His Excellency, Geo. Abernethy, Gov. O. T., and with his advice and consent, I, H. A. G. Lee, Superin't of Indian Affairs, hereby declare the territory of the said Cayuse indians forfeited by them, and justly subject to be held by American citizens, resident in Oregon. To encourage such citizens to occupy and hold said territory, Captain Philip F. Thompson of Yamhill county, James Taylor, Esq., of Clatsop county, and all their associates with all others wishing to settle there, are hereby authorized to take and hold land claims within the territory of the Cayuse indians, according to the laws of Oregon regulating the taking and holding of land claims; and it is also understood that no treaty stipulations shall, hereafter, be entered into with said indians prejudicial to the interests of such settlers, while they conform to the laws of the land." (Oregon Spectator, July 13, 1848.)

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such lands? The volunteers who spent the last winter in the middle country assure us that it was remarkably mild and pleasant. Some tell us that they never saw fat cattle until they saw them at Waiilatpu in February last. * * * Two lead mines were discovered in that portion of the country last winter. * * * The far-famed mountain of marble mentioned by Professor Hitchcock in his Treatise on Geology is in the neighborhood of the Cayuse country." [21]

Notwithstanding this proposal to induce settlement, Major Lee was not yet quite sure that the country was safe for missionaries. Eells and Walker and their families were escorted out of the eastern region early in June, and, June 15, Lee addressed a letter to the Catholic fathers at The Dalles in which he declared it to be desirable that all missionary labors among the tribes should cease. "At present," he wrote, "the relations between the whites and indians are too precarious to allow missionary labors with the indians to be either prudent or effective of good. So soon as circumstances will allow I shall take much pleasure in throwing wide open the door of missionary labor amongst the indians to all Christian missionaries; at present, prudence demands that it shall be closed against all." [22]

In addition to the volunteers who had been left at Waiilatpu, a lieutenant, an orderly sergeant and thirteen privates were detailed to guard The Dalles and the remainder of the regiment proceeded to the Willamette Valley and were mustered out in July, 1848. The company on the Walla Walla passed the summer patrolling the immigrant trail. The Cayuse murderers kept well out of sight and no effort was made to apprehend them, in view of the general expectation that a regiment of United States cavalry would soon be assigned to duty in the territory. The expected regulars were, however, diverted for service in the Mexican War and did not arrive in Oregon until the autumn of 1849, by which time the Cayuses as a nation were thoroughly cowed and heartily weary of being fugitives. Without ammunition for the hunt, compelled to be constantly on the move so that they could not raise crops, they were threatened with starvation. In the end, five of the tribe, Teloukikt, Tamahas, Klokamas, Isaiachalakis and Kiamasumpkin surrendered themselves at The Dalles, where an escort of regular troops that had meanwhile arrived in the territory was sent to receive them and convey them to Oregon City for trial.

While the troops were pursuing the Cayuses, certain of the more restless indians in Western Oregon began a series of tentative raids on the isolated

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[21] Oregon Spectator, July 13, 1848.

[22] Oregon Spectator, July 13, 1848. In a letter to the editor printed on the same page, Major Lee sought to make it plain that he was not influenced by sectarian prejudice. "It is desirable," he wrote, "that the peace of the country should not be endangered by missionaries exposing themselves to the fate of our esteemed and lamented friends at Waiilatpu. In accordance with this desire an opportunity was offered Rev'd. Messrs. Eells and Walker of making their escape from the casualties of savage treachery unawed by efficient military protection. * * * Upon the same principle a note was dropt to the Rev. Fathers, a copy of which I enclose." The latter were loth to abandon the field, however. Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet ministered to the wandering Cayuses. Rev. Father Rousseau remained at Wascopam as a settler but refrained from teaching the indians. The Oblate Fathers who had established themselves in the Yakima Country but had left at the outbreak of the war returned thither and labored unostentatiously until the outbreak of the second and more general war. Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. 1, p. 741, citing Blanchet's Catholic Church in Oregon, p. 173. Also Victor's Early Indian Wars in Oregon, p. 217.

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foothill farms in the Willamette Valley, apparently for the purpose of testing the temper and the resources of the settlers. A war party of Klamaths and Molallas surrounded the home of Richard Miller, a prominent citizen of Champoeg County, in March, 1848, and their boldness so alarmed the people of the valley that a military organization was effected, some sixty men, young and old, volunteering for instant service. Daniel Waldo was elected colonel and R. C. Geer, Allen Davy, Richard Miller and Samuel Parker were chosen as captains. The company pursued the indians to Abiqua Creek, engaged them and killed two. Continuing the pursuit on the following morning, the younger men of the command overtook what they supposed to be the rear guard of the fleeing warriors and again gave battle, killing seven, one of whom proved to be a woman armed with a bow and arrow, and wounding two indian women. The main party of the indians escaped, but were so effectually intimidated that they did not repeat the foray. The true significance of the "battle of Abiqua creek" is derived from the incidental circumstance that it was kept secret from the outer world for nearly twenty years after it occurred, and was seldom referred to by those who participated in it. This silence is more expressive than words could be of the repugnance of the better class of settlers for the killing or wounding of non-combatants under any provocation. It is probable, from the fact that the fighting was carried on at long range in the mist and haze of a March morning, that the volunteers were not to blame for their mistake.

The Rogue River and Klamath indians were also troublesome in the south. A party of eight men led by John Saxton on the way from the Sacramento Valley to the Willamette was attacked on the California trail by members of these tribes, who stole sixty-five horses from them in broad daylight.[23] The crisis was accentuated by the lack of money in the provisional treasury and by the poverty of the people. Both the material resources and the man-power of the colony were already severely taxed by the demands of the regiment in Eastern Oregon. When Felix Scott was commissioned sub-indian agent for Southern Oregon and urged the settlers to raise a company for defense of the settlements, he was frankly told that there were no funds for payment of his expenses. He accepted nevertheless and raised a small company, which performed important service by protecting members of the immigration of 1848 who came in over the southern route.

Remoteness of the colony from the seat of national government and failure at Washington to realize and act on the needs of the settlers were other leading causes of the indian wars. This is illustrated by the tardy arrival, in 1849, of the rifle regiment which had been promised in 1847—although this example was hardly needed in view of the delay of Congress in providing for organization of the territorial government. The treaty with Great Britain by which Oregon was joined indisputably to the United States became effective on June 15, 1846. The act of Congress creating the territory was not approved until August 14, 1848, and Joseph Lane, first territorial governor, did not take office

[23] Oregon Spectator, May 4, 1848. "The indians were very troublesome, firing on them for one entire day, and using every possible stratagem to intercept and cut them off at each of the narrow passes along the road," the correspondent wrote. "None of the men were injured except a Mr. Girtman, who was shot in the thigh by the accidental discharge of his own gun." It was believed that Molallas from the Willamette Valley also took part in this attack.

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until March 3, 1849. The result was that though the boundary question had been adjusted and the people looked to the national government for help, they were still compelled to rely wholly on their own resources for defense. The mounted rifle regiment, first federal troops to reach the territory, came too late to be of any practical service.

Governor Lane employed himself energetically in his capacity as superintendent of indian affairs, this office having been added to that of governor, but was embarrassed by delay of the federal government to grant him authority to act effectually. Having set the young territory on its feet, Congress apparently forgot it again. The indians of numerous tribes bordering on the settlement, hearing that the governor had arrived, came flocking in, "chiefs, head men, warriors and in many instances entire bands, expecting presents, making known that the whites had promised, from time to time, that when the laws of the whites were extended over Oregon, the governor would bring them blankets, shirts, and such other articles as would be useful to them."[24] Every promise made by an indian agent on any occasion now came home to vex the new governor. The superintendent was without funds, and unable to give them anything, but they swallowed their disappointment, professed friendship and "generally expressed a desire to sell their possessory rights to any portion of their country that our government should wish to purchase." This was the beginning of systematic effort to obtain title peaceably to the indian country, an enterprise which, could it have been carried to fruition with reasonable celerity and in entire good faith and well in advance of the oncoming immigration, might have averted the calamitous conflicts which followed.

The natives with whom Lane came in contact were well-disposed, according to Lane's various reports, and the governor pointed out that in the absence of a large proportion of the male population of Oregon, who had stampeded to the California mines, it was more than ever desirable that the indian titles should be acquired by the government. "The necessity for locating them entirely out of the settlements is obviously very great," he wrote to the United States secretary of state, April 9, 1849. He outlined his policy in dealing with the Cayuses in his first message to the Territorial Legislature, July 17, 1849, in which he promised that on the arrival of the expected rifle regiment the Cayuse murderers would be pursued and punished.[25]

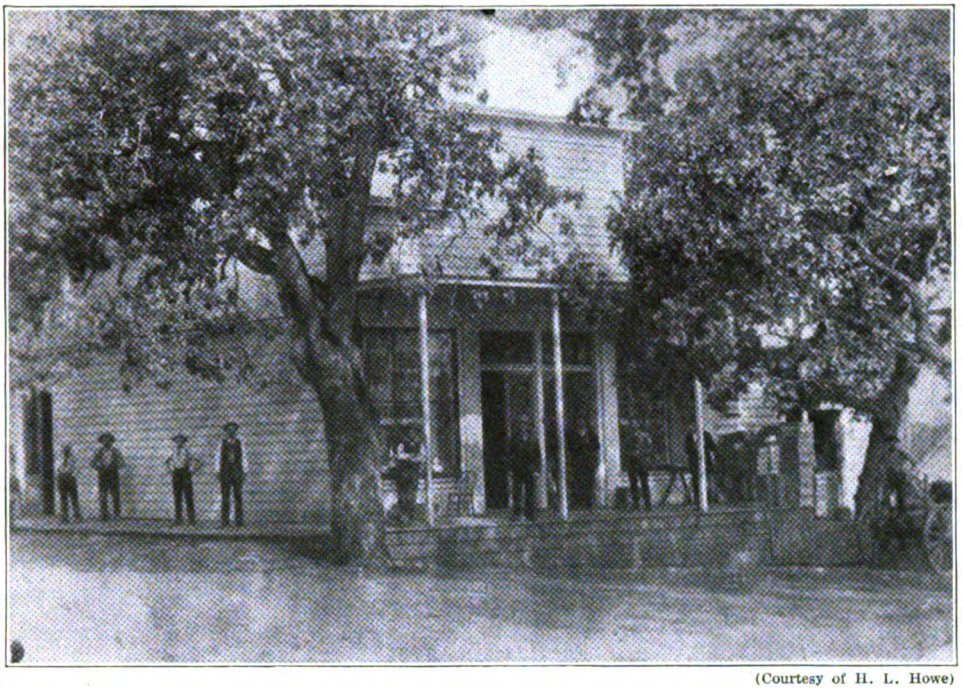
The Klickitats, a bold and enterprising tribe north of the Columbia, made visits to the Willamette Valley, where they committed a few minor breaches of the peace as a forerunner of the more widespread alliance of all the principal northwestern tribes that was to come. A band of Snoqualmies, May 1, 1849, also surrounded Fort Nisqually, the Hudson's Bay Company's station on Puget Sound, in an attempt to capture ammunition kept there, and although the attempt failed they murdered Leander C. Wallace, an American settler. J.

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[24] Lane's report to the secretary of war, October 22, 1849. Senate Executive Document, Vol. 1, No. 1, 31st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 156, et seq.

[25] Lane also pleaded for justice to the indians. "Surrounded, as many of the tribes and bands now are, by the whites, whose arts of civilization by destroying the resources of the indians doom them to poverty, want and crime," he wrote in his message, "the extinguishment of their title by purchase, and the locating them in a district removed from settlement is a measure of the most vital importance to them. Indeed the cause of humanity calls loudly for their removal from causes and influences so fatal to their existence." Oregon Spectator, October 4, 1849.

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(Courtesy of H. L. Howe)

OAK AND THIRD STREETS, HOOD RIVER, 1896



OAK AND THIRD STREETS, HOOD RIVER, 1920

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Quinn Thornton and Robert Newell had been appointed sub-indian agents meanwhile, and Thornton was assigned to the region north of the Columbia River. Thornton offered the Snoqualmies a reward of eighty blankets for the surrender of the murderers, an act that gave Lane another opportunity to assert a vigorous course in dealing with the indians. He disapproved of Thornton's offer, although the promise, having been made, was subsequently performed. He declared that it would not be his policy under any consideration to hire indians to make reparation. They were to be taught, said Lane, that they would be punished, not bribed, whenever they did wrong.[26] The murder of Wallace and the violation of the security of the Hudson's Bay Company, now dependent on the American Government for protection, were avenged by the arrest and execution of two indians, named Kassass and Quallawort. Four others were acquitted by the jury, which sat in judgment on all six. The whole tribe, seemingly, attended the trial and the hanging of the murderers, and the proceeding had the effect temporarily of restraining the Snoqualmies, then regarded as the most fierce and warlike of the tribes on Puget Sound.[27]

Lane lacked authority to conclude the treaties with the indians by which title to the land might be obtained for settlers. Congress expressly reserved, although it delayed in asserting, the right to make regulations respecting the indians, and provided only for expenditure of a nominal sum for gifts to them.[28]

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[26] Governor Lane's reasons for opposing a system of rewards were: "First it holds out inducements to the indians for the commission of murder by way of speculation; for instance, they would murder some American and await the offering of a large reward for the apprehension of the murderers. This done, they would deliver some of their slaves as guilty, for whom they receive ten times the amount that they would otherwise get for them. Second, it has a tendency to make them underrate our ability and inclination to chastise by force, or make war upon them for such conduct, which, in my opinion, is the only proper method of treating them for such offenses." Senate Executive Document, Vol. 1, No. 1, 31st Congress, 2d Session, p. 162.

[27] The territorial government at the time of the trial of these indians was so far from being organized that it was necessary for the Legislature, then in session, to pass a special act providing for a term of court in Lewis County, where the offense was committed. Judge William P. Bryant, of the first judicial district, was assigned to preside at the trial. In his report to Governor Lane, Judge Bryant said: "Those who were found guilty were clearly so; as to three of the others that were acquitted, I was satisfied with the finding of the jury. It was quite evident that they were guilty in a less degree, if guilty at all, than those convicted. As to the fourth, there was no evidence against him, and all the witnesses swore that they did not see him during the affray. It is not improbable that he was a slave, whom the guilty chiefs that were convicted, had placed in their stead, as a satisfaction for the American murdered." The court appointed David Stone to defend the accused men, for which Stone received a fee of $250. Many of the grand and petit jurors travelled 200 miles to attend court.

[28] An act to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon, section one, contains the proviso: "That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person and property pertaining to the indians, in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished between the United States and such indians, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States, to make any regulation respecting such indians, their lands, property, or other rights by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent for this government to make if this act had never been passed." Said J. Ross Browne, special agent of the treasury department, in a report to the commissioner of indian affairs, on December 5, 1857, reviewing the origin of the indian war of 1855-6: "Such portions of the act of 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with the indians, as were found applicable, were extended to Oregon by the act of 1850. This has relation chiefly to municipal control of trade between the settlers and the indians—selling whisky, etc. Here, again, was

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Congress on June 3, 1850, passed a bill authorizing the appointment of commissioners to treat with the tribes west of the Cascade Mountains. The President appointed Anson Dart of Wisconsin superintendent of indian affairs for the territory and also named three commissioners—John P. Gaines, who succeeded Lane as governor on the change in national administration, Beverly S. Allen and Alonzo A. Skinner. The commissioners received only general instructions from the acting commissioner of indian affairs at Washington, who wrote that "the information in the possession of this office is so limited that nearly everything must be left to your discretion beyond what is here communicated and even that may be found by you to be somewhat defective." However, the treaty commissioners were informed that the object of the Government was to extinguish the title of the indians to all the lands lying west of the Cascade Mountains, "and, if possible, to provide for removal of the whole from the west to the east of the mountains." They were told to spare no effort to procure the removal of all in a body; failing in this they were authorized to treat with the tribes separately. Expenditure of $20,000 was authorized, of which $5,000 was to be invested in "goods suitable for presents for the indians, which will be sent around Cape Horn."[29] Notwithstanding their instructions to persuade the western indians to remove to the region east of the Cascades—a policy which would have involved a revolution of their habits of living—the Gaines commissioners made treaties at Champoeg with various tribes in the Willamette Valley, and Dart obtained treaties at Tansey Point, Port Orford and Oregon City with others.

Congress on September 27, 1850, passed an act, generally known as the donation land law, which granted 320 acres to each single person and 640 acres to each married couple, who should establish a residence in Oregon prior to December 1, 1851. The donation land law made no exception predicated on

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another source of trouble. Each settler, under the donation act, holding his title direct from the government, could hire as many indian laborers as he pleased for whisky—the article held in highest esteem by the indians. The indian law of 1834 could not reach this offense, for government had ignored the indian title. It was beyond any military power, and was made the subject of civil action, the same as any other offense against the laws of the territory. The accused was entitled to a trial by jury. The jury consisted of his peers, that is, of men who hired indian labor in the same way. * * * I do not believe offenses of this kind prevailed amongst the better class of settlers in Oregon; but they were sufficiently common to produce constant trouble with the indians." Thus it is seen again that federal neglect was responsible for many of the woes of the distant colony.

[29] Letter of A. S. Loughery, acting commissioner of indian affairs, October 25, 1850. With reference to prices to be paid for indian lands, Loughery wrote: "As to the quantity of land to be acquired and the price per acre to be paid for it, it is impossible for this office to form even a conjecture; the quantity must, of course depend upon the number of treaties to be made—upon estimates of the rights of the indians to the soil ceded by them. As to the price to be paid, that will depend on the locality of the land with reference to its value to the United States, if it is possible to make such distinctions. * * * The maximum price given for indian lands has been ten cents per acre, but this has been for small quantities of great value from their contiguity to the States; and it is merely mentioned to show that some important consideration has always been involved when so large a price has been given. It is not for a moment supposed that any such consideration can be involved in any purchases made by you, and it is supposed a very small portion of that price will be required." No part of the purchase price was to be paid in money, however, but all in "objects beneficial to the indians." The commissioners were authorized in their discretion to enter into negotiations with indians east of the Cascades to procure lands to which to remove the western tribes.

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extinguishment of indian titles and the effect of this omission was to foster settlement in advance of treaty making. Further to complicate this phase of the question, the treaties of Gaines and Dart were never ratified. The reservations which they proposed to create were chosen unfortunately from the settlers' point of view, and the Senate was bombarded with protests. To the indians, however, who had entered into them in good faith, and who could not be brought to understand the reasons for delay in fulfillment of their provisions, this could be only an additional cause of disappointment and irritation.[30]

The treaty commissioners, however, contributed further to misunderstandings between the whites and the natives and laid the foundation for that future alliance of the tribes north and south of the Columbia River which was a few

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[30] The Twality band of the Calapooya tribe ceded the country between the Willamette River and the summit of the Coast Range and between the Yamhill and Tualatin rivers, embracing the sites of the present towns of Lafayette, Dayton, Newberg, Amity, McMinnville and Yamhill. A reservation within this region and about six by eight miles in area was set apart for them, but certain exceptions were made within the reservation, for the benefit of all claimants under the donation land law of 1850, with the provision that "the said land claims are hereby ceded to the United States for that purpose, whenever the same shall be surveyed and marked out as required by said act." The effect of this provision, if the treaty had been ratified, would have been to isolate perpetually those settlers whose claims were thus reserved. Since the pioneers looked forward to development of neighborhood life, the prospect, though their titles were protected, was far from pleasing to them. The treaty provided for payment to the Twality band of $40,000 in twenty annual installments, of which only $500 annually was to be paid in cash, the remainder being expended for merchandise for the use of the indians. Each of the indian treaties was similar in this regard, so that the list of articles specified is typical. The Twalities were promised annually 130 blankets, 38 coats, 26 pairs of pants, 152 shirts, 76 vests, 130 pairs of shoes, 200 yards of calico, 200 yards of linsey plaid, 27 blanket shawls, 200 yards of domestic shirting, 38 hats or caps, 132 pocket handkerchiefs, 24 axes, 5 plows, 10 plow harnesses, 24 hoes, 6 scythes and cradles, "all of which are to be good and substantial articles." It became the custom also to provide by treaty for certain gifts to tribal dignitaries. Thus, it was stipulated that on the occasion of payment of the first two annual installments the United States should deliver to each chief "a good indian horse and a good bridle, for the use of the said chiefs, to encourage agriculture among the said tribe." This treaty was signed at Champoeg, April 19, 1850.

The Luck-a-mi-ute band of the Calapooyas, May 2, 1850, ceded their lands on the west side of the Willamette, south of the foregoing and embracing the present site of Corvallis, for $20,000, with similar indefinite and trouble-breeding exceptions in behalf of white land claimants. Also, May 2, 1850, the Yamhill band ceded the region on the west side between the Yamhill and Luck-a-mi-ute rivers, for $28,000, but the treaty commissioners omitted the exception in favor of white settlers, agreeing instead "to remove all persons who may be residing within the bounds of the reservation."

On the east side of the river the principal band of the Molallas, May 6, 1850, ceded their lands surrounding site of Oregon City, for $22,000, obtaining a reservation from which the claims of settlers were excepted. The Santiam band, May 7, 1850, exchanged its lands south of the foregoing, for a reservation on the upper Santiam, and $20,000.

Dart and his two sub-agents, H. H. Spalding and Josiah L. Parrish, made treaties in August and September with various bands of the Clatsop, Tillamook and Chinook tribes, west of the Coast Range, north and south of the Columbia River, and with two bands of the Rogue River Tribe, and returning to the Willamette Valley in November, 1850, concluded a final compact with the Clackamas Tribe, now reduced to fewer than a dozen adult males, the Government granting the privilege of residing on the grounds then occupied by them at the Clackamas Ferry, and protecting them in their right to fish "at all their former fishing grounds on the Clackamas river, together with the privilege of passing freely from one to the other along the river." The vagueness of this provision, which was contained also in other and later indian treaties, was a frequent cause of friction between the races.

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years later to inflame the entire region with war by ignoring the claims in the Willamette and Rogue River Valleys of the powerful and warlike Klickitats. In the early fur trade era the Klickitats had confined themselves to the region near the headwaters of the Cowlitz, White Salmon, Lewis and Klickitat rivers. and they were unknown south of the Columbia when the Methodist missionaries arrived in Oregon. They were more nomadic than the Willamette Valley tribes, probably because of earlier wars with the Cayuses, who had driven them westward from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Becoming acquainted with other parts of the country, as well as with the advantages of trade, they extended the field of their operations, overflowing their natural boundaries and reaching the Columbia River at some time between 1835 and 1840. Here they began war on the Chinooks and other inferior tribes. The game of the Willamette Valley next attracted them and they made numerous forays against the indolent Calapooyas. The Calapooyas in this period suffered greatly from diseases introduced among them by the whites and were much diminished in numbers and in powers of physical resistance.[31]

These Klickitats boasted that they had taught the Calapooyas to ride and hunt. They were the most skilled of all the Oregon tribes in the use of firearms, and they quickly assumed possessory rights over the entire Willamette Valley, dictated terms to the conquered, established camps, exacted tribute, opened an extensive trade in furs, and made the Willamette Valley their public highway to the north and their depot during the greater part of the year. After the immigration of 1843 they sought work as farm laborers, becoming skilled in husbandry, and also acquainted with the nature and extent of the immigration movement. Their services were regarded by the settlers as superior to those of other indians. In their systematic efforts to obtain supremacy over the southern tribes, they aided the whites in every outbreak in that region. They furnished a small but effective contingent of warriors to General Lane on the occasion of a hostile demonstration in the Rogue River country in 1853.

The Klickitats therefore believed themselves to have acquired—by conquest—the right to be considered in the negotiations to quiet the indian title to the Willamette Valley. They moreover constituted a communicating bond between all the tribes. When they were removed in 1855 by the superintendent of indian affairs for Oregon to their original country north of the Columbia, they accused the Government of cheating them, contended that every right obtained in accordance with indian usage had been violated, and they were, from that moment, in a state of war.[32] The exodus of the settlers to the gold mines in

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[31] The date of the irruption of the Klickitats has not been determined with exactness. J. Ross Browne says that "in 1841 they began to turn their attention to the south side of the Columbia." (Report to the Secretary of the Interior, December 4, 1857, Ex. Doc. No. 40, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 7.) George Gibbs, an ethnologist and indian linguist with George B. McClellan's division of the Northern Pacific Railroad exploration expedition of 1853, says that "it was not until 1839 that they crossed the Columbia, when they overran the Willamette valley, attracted by the game with which it abounded, and which they destroyed in defiance of the weak and indolent Calapooyas." (Gibbs' report to McClellan, March 4, 1854, Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, Vol. 1, p. 403.) They forced their way as far south as the Valley of the Umpqua. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30, Vol. I, p. 713.)

[32] Judicial records bear testimony to the Klickitats' repeated assertion of their rights in the Willamette Valley. At a term of court held in Washington County in 1851, Donald McLeod

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California tempted the indians of the Klamath and Rogue River countries to commit a number of petty thefts and minor depredations. The treasure hunters, a considerable proportion of whom were of a less responsible class than the home-seeking immigrants, retaliated without discrimination, and a state of practical warfare was created which took Governor Lane south in May, 1850, to endeavor to conclude a treaty of peace. Lane's successor as governor, John P. Gaines, had been appointed meanwhile but had not arrived in the territory and Lane forwarded his resignation, to take effect June 18, by which time he expected to have concluded his task.

Lane was accompanied by fifteen Klickitats led by Chief Quatley, and by a small party of white men. Coming upon a camp of Rogue River warriors on Grave Creek he held a council with them which was enlivened by one of the most dramatic episodes in the early history of the dealings of whites with the indians. At a critical point in the conference the Rogue River chief cried out to his followers, who sprang to arms as if by prearrangement. Quatley, the Klickitat, seized the treacherous chief and held him fast, while Lane menaced him with a pistol, and by threatening to kill the chief on the first sign of violence by his followers contrived to get him out of camp as a hostage. Employing this advantage, he induced the leading men of the tribe to sign a peace compact. Lane's boldness on this occasion so impressed the Rogue River chieftain that he took the name of Jo, after the formality of obtaining Lane's consent. The governor then proceeded to the California mines and the indians remained quiet for a short time.

There were repeated encounters, however, between the travelers and the indians, particularly at the ferries, where the indians were wont to steal canoes left by the white men, with the purpose of exacting toll for crossing the river. The treaty obtained by Lane failed of its purpose for reasons not discreditable to the better classes of either race. The earliest settlers, who had come to the country with kindly feelings for the indians, had been accompanied by some who entertained contrary sentiments. The gold mines, as has been said, attracted a more reckless class of whites. There were transient renegades also, among the indians, who committed excesses which were charged to the tribes permanently resident in the region. It is impracticable to fix with exactness the blame for the hostilities in 1851 and thereafter, which some annalists have attributed wholly to disregard of treaty obligations by the indians, and which others, with equal inaccuracy, have charged solely to the whites.[33]

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brought an action for trespass against a band of Klickitats who had destroyed timber he had prepared for his house. Indian Agent Parrish represented them. The indians contended that the timber was as much theirs as McLeod's, that they had acquired the land by conquest and had warned McLeod against settling there, and that the land had never been purchased from them. The judge held that they had a possessory title which had never been extinguished by the Government and refused judgment for trespass. Another farmer built a fence across a trail which was their public highway. They tore down the fence and the court gave a similar decision. (J. Ross Browne, report, p. 8.) Recognition of the claims of the Klickitats by the treaty commissioners would seem therefore to have been suggested by diplomatic considerations, if no others. Omission in this instance may have furnished a motive for the compact between the northern and southern tribes which led to widespread war, and without which it is improbable that the indians would have deemed themselves sufficiently powerful to undertake a campaign of extermination against the settlers.

[33] S. H. Culver, indian agent in the Rogue River Valley, wrote in a report to Joel Palmer, superintendent of indian affairs, July 20, 1854: "With the first emigration hostilities com-

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A succession of encounters occurred in the spring of 1851 on the road from the Willamette Valley to California between parties of travelers and roving bands of indians. In June, 1851, Maj. Philip Kearney, with a detachment of the mounted United States regulars who had been ordered to leave Oregon, arrived on Rogue River. He responded promptly to an appeal by whites in the vicinity for protection by pursuing and engaging the indians near Table Rock on June 17. Capt. James Stuart was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with an indian warrior, and the loss of the hostiles was eleven dead and several wounded. Kearney then waited for reinforcements and attacked the indians again on June 23, on which day there was skirmishing in the forenoon and a four-hour's battle in the afternoon, in which the indians suffered severely but were not humbled. Their answer to a proposal now made by Kearney for a peace treaty was a howl of defiance. But Kearney took up the pursuit again June 30, to discover that the warriors had fled, leaving their women and children behind them. The latter, to the number of thirty, were made prisoners. Lane, who had just been elected delegate to Congress from the territory and was returning to California to look after his mining interests there, arrived in time to take part in the hunt. He was recognized by some of the indians, who pleaded with him from a distance to use his good offices for peace.[34]

The indian captives were delivered by Kearney to Lane, who committed them to the care of Governor Gaines, now approaching the valley on another peace mission. Partly, perhaps, in order to ransom their families, a party of Rogue River indians signed an agreement a few days afterward to keep the peace and restore the property they had stolen. This arrangement was ignored, however, by the war faction of the tribe.

Southwestern Oregon received its first influx of settlers in 1851, when land claims were taken under the donation land act in the Umpqua Valley and its tributaries. Settlement began prior to the visit of Anson Dart on a treaty-making errand. In June, 1851, the harbor of Port Orford was discovered and a party of nine men put ashore from the steamer Seagull with a supply of provisions and a small cannon. The newcomers were ordered away by the

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menced, which were continued by both parties from year to year, owing to mutual misunderstanding, until 1850, when Governor Lane undertook the very difficult task of making peace with these bands, in which he succeeded. But it had become so much a habit with each to shoot the other at sight, that many were not able or did not wish to resist what seemed to have grown into a temptation. Early next summer hostilities again began. * * * Up to the present time much the largest portion of the outrages committed upon the whites has been the work of migratory bands of ungovernable indians. From the want of correct information, our citizens prosecuted a vigorous warfare against the indians of this valley for depredations in the commission of which they bore no part. The indians were compelled * * * to take up arms in self-defense, * * * while our own people supposed themselves also to be prosecuting a defensive war." (Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854, pp. 293-4.)

[34] Letter from Lane in Oregon Statesman, June 22, 1851. "The indians," said Lane, "have been completely whipped in every fight. Some fifty of them were killed, many wounded and thirty taken prisoners. * * * Never has an indian country been invaded with better success, or at a better time." In a postscript Lane wrote: "I omitted to mention that on my way down Rogue river with the prisoners I had a conversation with a considerable number of indians, across the river, who gave me a terrible account of the invasion of their country by our people, that they had come on horses, in great numbers, invading every portion of it—that they now were afraid to lay down to sleep, for fear the white people would be upon them before they would awake—that they were tired of war and wanted peace."

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band of Coquilles residing in the vicinity, who surrounded the camp and made an assault on it. The cannon was discharged by the defenders and several indians were killed or wounded by a single shot. Notwithstanding this initial reverse, the natives continued the attack at close quarters, but were repulsed by the superior arms of the white men. The latter nevertheless took counsel of discretion and, being insufficiently supplied with ammunition for a siege, withdrew one night and set out for the settlements on the Umpqua, which they reached after a painful journey. The travelers found only salmon berries to eat the first four days, and subsisted on mussels after that until they met some comparatively friendly indians with whom they exchanged the shirts they wore for food.

Other settlers were later brought to Port Orford by the same vessel that had set the nine ashore, and by August, 1851, Port Orford had a population of about sixty. In this month W. G. T'Vault, who had come into prominence in 1846 as the pioneer newspaper editor of the territory, led a party of explorers in quest of an overland route to the settlements of the interior. Ten of these men, including T'Vault, after getting lost and wandering for some days in the mountains, engaged some indians to guide them and the latter treacherously led them into an ambush at Coquille Village. Only five escaped and the bodies of the five who were murdered were so mutilated that it was impossible later to identify them.[35] This massacre occurred September 14, 1851. When the news of it reached California a punitive expedition consisting of ninety United States dragoons was ordered into the field. The soldiers devoted a little more than three weeks, from October 31 until November 21, to locating and cornering the Coquilles and then about twenty minutes to a decisive battle in which fifteen indians were killed and many wounded and their village and stores destroyed.

Events of 1852 which command attention by reason of their relation to the indian troubles in Oregon were the discovery of gold in the Rogue River Valley near the present site of Jacksonville, a marked increase of immigration to Southern Oregon, and failure of the United States Senate to ratify any of the treaties previously entered into with the indians. The Federal Government had not yet formulated its policy, and Indian Agent A. A. Skinner, who was assigned to duty in the Rogue River Valley, could only counsel patience and continue to make promises which the Government did not perform. On the other hand, the intractables among the indians grew more menacing, the acts of the peace faction were repudiated, and the larger number of travelers increased the temptation to pillage. The main immigration to Oregon in 1852

[35] The victims were Patrick Murphy of New York, A. S. Dougherty of Texas, John P. Holland of New Hampshire, Jeremiah Ryland of Maryland and J. P. Pepper of New York. The survivors were W. G. T'Vault, Gilbert Brush, T. J. Davenport of Massachusetts, L. L. Williams of Vermont and Cyrus Hedden of New Jersey. Williams was badly wounded by an arrow and Brush by a paddle in the hands of an indian. Here was a notable instance of kindness and bravery on the part of a young indian of the village. T'Vault and Brush were in the river into which they had leaped with a hope of getting away, but a native in a canoe overtook Brush and was beating him unmercifully with a paddle upon the swimmer's head. An indian youth, seeing the desperate straits of the white men, pushed out from the shore in a canoe, beat off Brush's assailant, helped Brush into the canoe, gave T'Vault his paddle, and then leaping in the water, swam to the shore, and left the white men. They subsequently made their way to Port Orford, being aided near Cape Blanco by friendly indians to whom they owed their rescue from starvation and hardship.

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over the usual trail escaped serious encounters because of its very magnitude, but the smaller number of immigrants who traveled over the southern route were not so fortunate. A number of murderous attacks were made on immigrant trains and small parties of miners were waylaid and killed. About one hundred whites were slain in this manner. A company of seventy-five volunteers, commanded by John K. Lamerick, was raised in the vicinity of Jacksonville in July in response to an appeal from settlers whose homes and property were believed to be in danger. One occurrence that had aroused their apprehension is thus related by Agent Skinner in his report to Superintendent Dart: "About the time of the murder of a white man at Scott's valley, Sam, the principal war chief of the indians of this valley, went to the house of Dr. Ambrose, who resides about two miles from the Big Bar on Rogue river (the usual winter residence of Sam) and demanded of him three beef cattle, or that he should immediately leave the place; stating that he, Sam, had previously sold the land to William G. T'Vault, Esq. Sam at the same time proposed to trade two indian children and a horse and some money for a little girl of Dr. Ambrose, about two years of age. Sam's manner at the time was such as to cause the doctor to apprehend that he intended to take the child by force if he could not otherwise obtain it."[36] The volunteers, uniting with a posse from the Shasta Valley, on the California side of the boundary, commanded by Elijah Steele, succeeded in surrounding a considerable band of warriors under Chief Sam and so frightened them with a show of overwhelming force that they sued for peace.

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[36] Although the Ambrose incident was the immediate cause of the defensive organization of the settlers, Doctor Ambrose himself was able to view the relations between whites and indians impartially. In a letter to Judge Matthew P. Deady, dated Jacksonville, October 18, 1855, when the indians were again on the warpath, he made a distinction between the good and bad indians, contrary to the practice in some quarters at that time. "It may be well," he wrote, "to inquire what has caused all this! Last spring when Dryer was here stumping the country, he advised the extermination of the indians, the innocent as well as guilty. Clarenden in his letters has kept constantly before the people this favorite project of extermination, and to excite their passions and prejudices he has magnified every depredation committed by the indians into the most brutal acts of barbarity, without any extenuating circumstance in their favor. The indians have all along been told that just as soon as winter should set in they would all be killed, that the whites were determined to do it, and that if they went to the fort it would be all the same, that Capt. Smith himself would do it as soon as winter set in. And furthermore, everything that was done by indians the past summer in this valley or in California were charged upon the Rogue river indians when they took no hand or participation in it. It is true we had a band of Shasta and Scotan indians who were very bad indians and would resent any injury or anything that might be considered an injury, at any and all hazards, and these are the indians that we have now to contend with, aided and assisted by the Klamaths and all surrounding tribes. In all candor, judge, I do believe this matter has been studied and conned over for two months passed, and when it was found that the indians would not commence the work they had predicted they were compelled to begin it themselves, and accordingly they raised a company of men and made several simultaneous attacks upon the indians, killing some twenty-five or thirty, mostly women and children. Some old gray-headed men were enticed, through the indian women whom they had taken prisoners, to give up their bows and arrows and come out of the brush and they should not be hurt, and when they had complied, all were killed. I give you this upon the authority of James Bruce and Mr. Pelton, who both stated that they saw it done and walked off, in sorrow because their countrymen would do so and they could not control it. The morning you left here, and before you had left, this had been done privily, and unknown to the settlers of the valley, and before ten o'clock these gallant men who had fought so bravely had mostly disbanded and scattered in different directions and some denied any knowledge of it." (Mss. Or. Hist. Society.)

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Captain Lamerick favored rejection of these overtures, declaring that the indians would not keep their pledges and should be severely punished. The settlers urged the pacific course, fearing retaliation after the military organization had been disbanded. A vote was taken. The settlers' party won and a treaty was made by which the Rogue River warriors agreed to respect the property of the settlers and to hold no communication with the Shastas, then in particular disfavor with the whites because of their leadership in outlawry. The treaty was completed July 21, 1852. Agent Skinner resigned soon afterward, leaving the region without even the nominal protection of a representative of the Federal Government.[37]

Hostilities in 1853 were restricted to Southern Oregon and Northern California, but this was a year of historical significance in the great struggle between the races. It is quite essential here to bear in mind the previously established relationship between certain tribes north of the Columbia River and those in the South. And here also enters another dominating character, Kamiakin, chief of the Yakimas, who in this year conceived the idea of uniting all the indians of the Northwest in a mighty struggle for possession of the land. At this time also Lieut. George B. McClellan arrived in the Yakima Valley with the advance guard of an expedition under command of Isaac I. Stevens to explore the route of a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast. Kamiakin, who had not resented the coming of the fur traders or the missionaries, and who had so far shown himself amenable to progress that he was said to have introduced the first cattle into the Yakima region and to have built the first irrigation ditch ever constructed by indians in the Oregon Country, was of a different mind when the soldiers of the United States appeared. Here he saw confirmation of the stories that had been told him by indians farther east, that the white men were coming to take the indians' hunting grounds from them.

Meanwhile, in August, 1853, savages in the Rogue River Valley who repudiated the treaty of the previous year, among them a Rogue River sub-chief named Taylor, suddenly attacked the isolated settlements. The settlers arrested two indians in war paint and took them to Jacksonville and hanged them after a trial. Reprisals and counter reprisals resulted. A coalition between the disaffected Rogue Rivers, Shastas, Klamaths and Siskiyous gave encouragement to the hostiles, who by this time were better armed than were

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[37] The terms of this treaty are set forth in a letter from J. R. Hardin in the Oregon Statesman, August 7, 1852: "An agreement was made and signed which runs something after this manner: That the Rogue river indians should have no communication with the Shasta indians, who are in the habit of committing depredations upon the whites by stealing horses and other property and running them over into the Rogue river valley and securing succor and protection from the Rogue Rivers; that they should expect no more presents from the hias Boston tyee (the President of the United States) unless he wanted to do so; that the Boston have the rights to settle where they pleased and be secure and protected by the chiefs and their counselors in their persons and property; that all cattle in the valley belonging to the whites are to be safe from molestation from the indians; that if any property, of any kind or description, belonging to the Bostons, is stolen or destroyed by the indians, and Sam, the chief, does not produce it in a given time, that he is to be surrendered up into the hands of the Bostons, to do with him as they think proper, even to the taking off of his head." Hardin, writer of the foregoing letter, was mortally wounded when a party of which he was a member was attacked from ambush by indians in August, 1853.

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the whites.[38] Several citizens were ambushed and murdered. Lieut.-Col. Bonneville, the same officer who had led a fur-trading expedition across the Rocky Mountains in 1833, was then stationed at Fort Vancouver, and he responded to a requisition from the governor of the territory for arms by sending a howitzer and rifles and ammunition, with an escort consisting of Lieut. A. V. Kautz and six artillerymen. Forty volunteers from the Willamette Valley, in command of J. W. Nesmith, accompanied the train. Three companies of volunteers, about two hundred men, were recruited in the Rogue River Valley. Eighty residents of the Shasta Valley organized into two companies. Maj. B. R. Alden, then at Fort Jones, Cal., joined the hastily improvised army and took command, which he relinquished a few days afterward, on August 21, 1853, to Lane, who had meanwhile been commissioned by Governor Curry a brigadier-general of volunteers. Lane had heard of the hostilities in the Rogue River Valley while at his home on the Umpqua River and had hastened to the scene with a company of about a dozen settlers. The indians were driven to bay and decisively defeated, August 24, 1853, in a battle in which the whites lost three killed and five wounded and the indians eight killed and twenty wounded. Lane received a bullet wound in his right arm and Major Alden a gunshot wound from which, two years afterward, he died.

The indians by this time had discovered that Lane, for whom they had conceived a savage admiration, was in command of the expedition against them and cried out to him for a parley, which was granted with some misgivings, and this resulted in setting a date early in September for a treaty council, Lane taking as hostage a son of his indian namesake, Chief Jo.

The military position of the whites was strengthened during the period of the armistice by the arrival of Kautz with the howitzer and a store of ammunition, accompanied by Nesmith and his Willamette Valley volunteers, and also by a small detachment of regulars from Port Orford in command of Capt. A. J. Smith, so that when the day of the historic council of Table Rock, September 10, 1853, arrived, the troops made a formidable showing even against the aggregation of Rogue River warriors, estimated by Nesmith at about seven hundred. Joel Palmer had been appointed superintendent of indians affairs for the territory and he arrived on the scene meanwhile, with authority to represent the Government in the treaty-making. Lane, whose policy it was to show no fear in the presence of the indians, had consented, even before the arrival of reinforcements, to preliminary terms to which Nesmith, hardened pioneer and experienced indian fighter that he was, demurred. These were that he would proceed to the indian encampment, which lay at the base of the perpendicular walls of Table Rock, at a distance of some two and a half miles from the military front, attended only by a body guard of ten unarmed men. Lane kept his agreement to the letter, and Nesmith, although he afterward admitted that he had no liking for the adventure, consented to accompany the party as interpreter. "Against those terms," said Nesmith, "I protested, and told the general that I had traversed that

[38] "At the commencement of hostilities, the people of Rogue river valley were sadly deficient in arms and ammunition, many of the settlers and miners having traded their arms to the indians, who were much better equipped for the war than their white neighbors. The rifle and revolver had displaced the bow and arrow and the war club with which the native was armed when the writer of this knew and fought with them in 1848." Reminiscences of James W. Nesmith, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. 7, pp. 216-17.

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same country five years before and fought those same indians; that they were notoriously treacherous and had earned the designation of 'Rogues' by never permitting a white man to escape with his scalp when once within their power; that I knew them better than he did and that it was folly for eleven unarmed men to place themselves voluntarily in the power of seven hundred well-armed hostile indians, in their own secure encampment." Lane replied only that he had fixed on the terms of the meeting and was determined to keep his word. If Nesmith was afraid to go, said Lane, he could remain behind. Nesmith retorted that he was as little acquainted with fear as Lane was, though still insisting that he believed the white councillors were going to their own slaughter.[39]

An incident of the conference almost justified Nesmith's forebodings. In the party of councillors, in addition to Lane and Nesmith, were Indian Superintendent Palmer, Indian Agent Samuel H. Culver, Capt. A. J. Smith, Capt. L. F. Mosher, Col. A. J. Ross, Lieut. A. V. Kautz, R. B. Metcalf, J. D. Mason and T. T. Tierney. Arriving at the meeting ground, they found the indians in full panoply of war; on the plain below and within full view of the indians the dragoons were formed in line, the sunlight of a perfect autumn morning glinting from their white belts and burnished scabbards. Behind the indian camp frowned the perpendicular cliff of Table Rock.

Lane and Palmer made long speeches, which were translated twice—first into the Chinook jargon by Nesmith, and then into the Rogue River tongue by an indian interpreter. The replies of the chiefs were also twice translated, in reversed order. Shortly before the final understanding was reached a naked indian courier rode wildly into camp with tidings that a company of whites at Applegate Creek had captured an indian sub-chief known as Jim Taylor, tied him to a tree and shot him to death. The courier's harangue threw the indians into a turmoil, in the midst of which the indian interpreter informed Nesmith that the braves were threatening to tie the councillors to trees and serve them as the whites had served Chief Taylor. Nesmith "noticed nothing but coolness," however, among his companions. Lane sat immovable

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[39] This is Nesmith's own version. (Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1879, p. 45.) In a letter, dated Roseburg, April 23, 1879, to Nesmith, Lane, to whom Nesmith had submitted the manuscript, wrote: "You could, however, very truly have said that neither you nor myself had a single particle of fear of any treachery on the part of the indians toward us, and the proof was they did not harm us. We had at all times been ready to fight them, and to faithfully keep and maintain our good faith with them. We never once, on any occasion, lied to them, and as you know, when the great indian war of 1855-6 broke out, and you were again in the field fighting them, poor old Jo was dead, and you, or some other commander, at old Sam's request, sent him and his people to the Grand Round reservation. Old John and Adam, and all others except Jo's and Sam's people fought you hard, but the Rogues, proper, never forgot the impression we made upon them in the great council of September 10, 1853. It was a great and successful council; the Rogue Rivers, proper, fought us no more; they did not forget their promises to us." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. 7, p. 221.) Nesmith's estimate of the number of warriors gathered there probably was exaggerated. A census of the upper portion of the Rogue River Valley was taken in 1854, in which the indians were divided into two classes—those who accepted the provisions of the Lane treaty of 1853 and the non-reservation indians. Of the former there were 307 of all ages and sexes, to which estimate Indian Agent Culver afterward added twenty-five per cent, and it is probable also that there were a number of stranger indians with the hostile band. The entire indian population of the upper Rogue River Valley was represented by this census as 547. (History of Southern Oregon, published by A. G. Walling, p. 191.)

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on a log, his arm bandaged from his wound of a few days before. At Nesmith's suggestion the others of the party scattered among the indians, to avoid becoming targets for the hot-headed warriors. After a few tense moments Lane addressed the tribe again. "Owens, who violated the armistice and killed Jim Taylor," he said, "is a bad man. He is not one of my soldiers. When I catch him he shall be punished. I promised in good faith to come into your camp with ten other unarmed men to secure peace; I do not believe that you are such cowardly dogs as to take advantage of our unarmed condition. I know that you have the power to murder us and you can do so as quickly as you please, but what good will our blood do you? Our murder will exasperate our friends and your tribe will be hunted from the face of the earth. Let us proceed with the treaty, and in place of war have everlasting peace." Lane's bold defiance, and a promise to compensate in shirts and blankets for Taylor's death, quieted the excitement. The treaty signed that afternoon was measureably effective in preserving the peace in Southern Oregon for about two years.[40] Major Alden promptly began the construction of a military post on the south bank of the Rogue River, opposite the reservation, which was appropriately named Fort Lane, and which was a military headquarters during subsequent indian wars in the region, but which was abandoned when the treaty indians were removed to another reservation in 1856. Before leaving the country Lane made a less formal peace agreement with Chief Tip-su, whose band laid claim to the region of the headwaters of Rogue River, and September 19, 1853, Superintendent Palmer completed a treaty with the small Cow Creek band of the Umpquas, who relinquished their claims to the Umpqua Valley in exchange for a reservation and $12,000.

The remaining months of 1853 and all of 1854 were nominally peaceful, though marred by several conflicts between nomadic, non-reservation indians and whites who were not settlers, but which conflicts occasionally involved the settlers. A quarrel between two squaw-men and a band of Shastas, for example, resulted in the spreading of a false report by the squaw-men that the indians were on the warpath and the citizens raised a company of volunteers and also obtained the help of a detachment of regular troops from Fort Jones. The captain of the volunteers, R. C. Geiger, was killed before the story of the squaw-men had been discredited and the regulars were withdrawn. But this started another series of reprisals and counter-reprisals in which a number of friendly indians and peacefully-inclined whites were killed. The murder of James Kyle, a merchant, at Jacksonville, October 7, 1853, by two indians who were afterward traced to the reservation once seemed to threaten a serious breach, because one of the murderers was a relative of Chief Jo, but the

[40] The Table Rock treaty was ratified by the United States Senate on April 12, 1854, and proclaimed on February 5, 1855. The indians ceded about 2,500 square miles of the upper Rogue River Valley above Applegate Creek, except approximately 100 square miles east of Evans Creek and north of Rogue River. For this they were to receive $60,000 from the United States, of which $15,000 was retained to pay for property of the whites destroyed by the indians during the war, and about $5,000 was to be expended for goods for the benefit of the tribe, under the direction of the indian agent. The balance of $40,000 was payable in sixteen equal annual instalments, in merchandise. Each of the three principal chiefs received in addition a dwelling house to cost not to exceed $500. The indian reservation was specifically made a temporary one, the United States Government agreeing to pay the indians an additional $15,000 whenever they should be removed to another reservation. Indian Laws and Treaties, Senate Document No. 452, 57th Congress, 1st session, Vol. 2, p. 447.

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guilty men were surrendered by the tribe, and were tried and hanged at Jacksonville, a proceeding which did a good deal to restore the confidence of the white settlers in the good faith of the treaty indians.

A volunteer military expedition commanded by Capt. Jesse Walker deserves a place among the historical events of 1854 because of the signal service it performed in guarding the southern immigrant trail in that season. There were rumors of disaffection among the indians of the interior, concerning whose land no treaties had been made, and Walker's company of seventy-one men was recruited in August, 1854, in response to an order of Governor Davis. It proceeded at once to its task, under instructions from the governor to cultivate the friendship of the indians if possible, but if necessary to the safety of lives and property of the immigration to whip them and drive them from the road, an order similar to that issued by Abernethy in 1848. The Walker expedition engaged bands of Modoc and Shasta indians in several skirmishes and kept the immigrant trail clear during the season.[41]

[41] The cost of the Rogue River war of 1853 was assumed by the United States and the accounts were paid with more than customary promptness, owing in all probability to the fortunate circumstance that Lane, who commanded in the campaign, was also a delegate in Congress and in a position to press their consideration. Lane declined compensation for himself. The volunteers were paid off in coin at Jacksonville and Yreka in June and July, 1855. The subsistence accounts were paid by draft to Governor Curry, who made disbursements to individual creditors. The total thus expended was about $285,000. The expenses of the Walker expeditionary force, however, suffered greater delay, and were not liquidated until the close of the Civil war. Walker's volunteers were recruited with full understanding of the sacrifice expected of them. The territorial treasury was now depleted and Governor Davis wrote to Col. John Ross, in command of the Ninth Regiment of Oregon militia: "I am aware of the many embarrassments under which you will labor if it should be considered necessary to raise such a command without a single dollar to defray expenses; you will be compelled to rely upon the liberality and patriotism of our fellow citizens, who in turn will be compelled to rely upon the justness of the general government for their compensation."

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CHAPTER XXXIV

INDIAN WARS AND TREATIES (1854-1858)

The restiveness of the interior tribes and their growing contempt for the Government that had threatened them with punishment but had not followed threats with action had not been exaggerated. Immigrants traveling in large companies, and well armed, escaped open assault but were subjected to thefts of stock and to other small annoyances; but it was the news of two almost simultaneous treacherous attacks on isolated parties of whites west of Fort Hall, at which point it was now customary for wagon trains to break up into individual units, that awakened the inhabitants to a new sense of danger. The total United States military force in the territory then consisted of nine companies of infantry, but these had been so depleted by desertion, a common practice of the time, that they mustered no more than three hundred and fifty men. Congress had promised military protection to the immigrants but had not kept its promise. About this time, moreover, there arose an unfortunate controversy between the responsible officers of the army, the officials of the indian department and the territorial authorities as to who was to blame for indian hostility. The excesses of irresponsible whites, and the acts, not always prudent, of settlers goaded to desperation by the deeds of outlaw indians, gave just enough color to the theories of those who opposed a policy of stern repression of the savages to embarrass seriously the advocates of a moderate but intelligent policy of controlling the natives by force, in their own interests as well as those of the white inhabitants. The military establishment, such as it was, kept in comparative retirement and did nothing to forestall the serious encounters that followed. Roving indians east of the Cascades who might have been impressed by a glimpse of the power of the Federal Government were left in almost total ignorance of the fact that the army existed.[1]

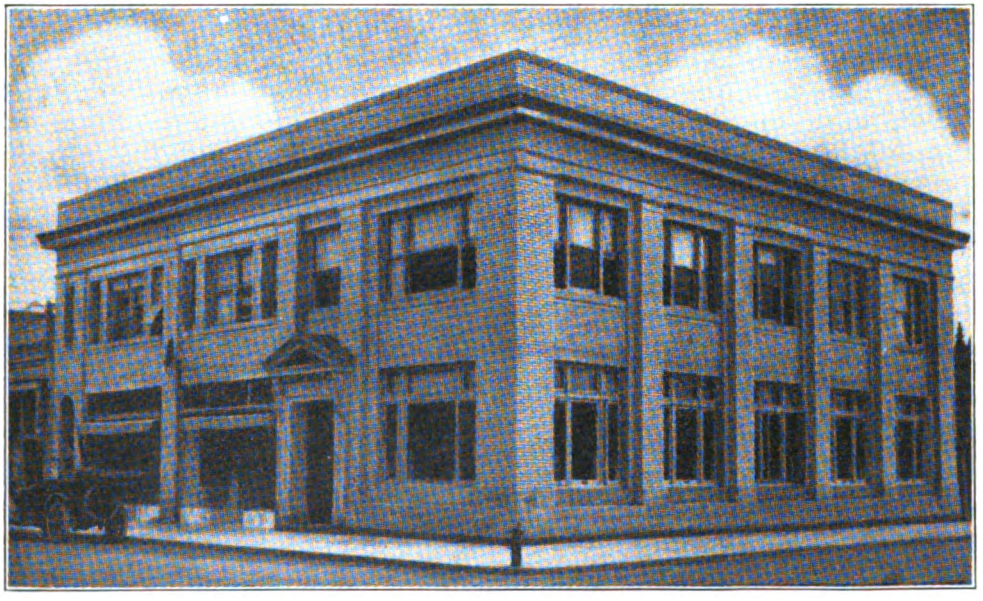
About thirty warriors of the Winass band of Shoshone or Snake indians, August 20, 1854, surrounded a train of five wagons and twenty-one persons, led by Alexander Ward of Kentucky, twenty-five miles east of Fort Boise, and murdered all but two under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, even for indian warfare. The savages first attempted to steal the immigrants' horses. One of the immigrants tried to restrain them and shot one warrior dead with a revolver. In the fighting that ensued all the white men were killed. The savages then brutally tortured and afterward murdered the women and children. Seven members of another train came upon the indians plundering the wagons and gave battle in a fruitless effort to succor the captives, and one of the

[1] "From what I can learn, there is a determination on the part of the Snakes to kill and rob all who may fall into their power," wrote Indian Agent R. R. Thompson to Superintendent Palmer, September 3, 1854. "They say the Americans have been continually telling them that unless they ceased their depredations, an army would come and destroy them; but no such thing has been done, and that the Americans are afraid of them, and that if we wish to fight them, to come on." (Messages and Documents, 1854-5. Par. 1, p. 487.)

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FIRST NATIONAL BANK, ALBANY



FIRST SAVINGS BANK, ALBANY

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would-be rescuers was killed. The survivors of the first train were two young sons of Mr. and Mrs. Ward. One of these, though deeply wounded with an arrow, escaped to Fort Boise,[2] which he reached in a journey of four days, and the other was found in hiding in a thicket by the rescue party. The immigrants then in the region were too poorly armed, however, to undertake a pursuit and were forced to abandon the captives to their fate.

The second attack, which occurred on the day before the Ward massacre, was made on a train of five wagons commanded by Moses Kirkland of Louisiana, ninety-five miles east of Fort Boise, also by Snake indians. The savages greeted the immigrants with manifestations of friendship, and then fired a volley, killing three. The whites resisted and forced their assailants to retire, but lost their horses.

A company of thirty-seven volunteers led by Capt. Nathan Olney was speedily raised in the Willamette Valley and pursued and captured four indians, who were afterward reported to have been shot while attempting to escape. Maj. Granville O. Haller of the Fourth Infantry with twenty-three regulars, took the field but was too late to render service except in guarding the immigrant trail. Haller in the following year, however, captured three of the murderers and hanged them, one at a time, on a gallows erected near the grave of Mrs. Ward and seven of her children.

Want of coördination of the forces which even now might have defended the territory successfully was conspicuous in the events which immediately followed. There was, first, the failure to station a sufficient force within easy reach of the indian country, which has been mentioned. But the inhabitants were of two minds concerning the management of an indian campaign. Western Oregon, deeply stirred by news of the Ward massacre, cried insistently for immediate and adequate punishment of the murderers. The territorial militia had already been reorganized with J. W. Nesmith, veteran of many frontier skirmishes, as brigadier-general, E. M. Barnum as adjutant-general, M. M. McCarver, commissary-general, and C. S. Drew, quartermaster-general, and in response to popular outcry, Governor Curry, who had succeeded Governor Davis, issued a proclamation, September 18, 1854, calling for two companies of volunteers, of sixty men each, every volunteer to furnish his own arms and equipment, for the purpose of chastising the perpetrators "by a punishment commensurate with the magnitude of their crime." But on reflection Governor Curry wrote to General Nesmith, September 22, 1854, inquiring whether a winter campaign in the indian country would be practicable, and on receipt of Nesmith's reply in the negative, rescinded the call for volunteers, an act that was received with lamentations by some of the press and people of the territory.[3] Nathan Olney's volunteers and Major Haller's regulars withdrew

[2] Fort Boise, origin and history of, in Scott's The Oregon Country, Vol. II, p. 304.

[3] A Hillsboro correspondent subscribing himself "A Mountaineer Colonel," wrote, for example: "My own observation and the experience of mountaineer men, and those acquainted with the country inhabited by these indians, not only indicate but establish the truth that the proper time for an expedition against them is the Winter. The snow drives them down from the mountains to the valleys and the narrow gorges of the streams. Their provisions are stored around their camps, and they cannot effect a retreat for any great distance, and cannot subsist when driven from their camps, and they will easily be reduced by either forced engagements or by starvation. In the summer time the mountains and deserts * * * would be an insuperable barrier to pursuit by the regular troops. The indians, on their own ground, know every foot of country, and every pass over the mountains, and trail across the

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from the Snake River Country on receiving assurance that no more immigrants were on the way.

Indian Superintendent Palmer made still another effort early in 1854 to compose the differences between the settlers and the indians of the Willamette Valley by negotiating a new treaty with the Tualatin band of the Calapooyas, to supersede the ineffective compact of 1851, which for want of ratification at Washington had been wholly disregarded by the whites. Palmer outlined the controlling reasons for this treaty in a letter in which he said that "settlers have taken and now occupy within this reserve all the lands susceptible of cultivation, without regard to the occupancy of the indians, who in several instances have been driven from their huts, their fences thrown down and property destroyed." The feelings of the settlers and of the citizens generally toward the indians, he continued, were such as to render the interposition of the indian agents in their behalf ineffectual. "The Wappato, Kammas and other nutritious roots once produced abundantly in the marshes and lowlands around their principal residences, and constituting their principal means of

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deserts. They require no sustenance; crickets and other peculiar insects and animals that infest the mountains and deserts afford the means of life to them. In the winter the whites could subsist themselves on the provisions already gathered by the enemy and reduce them in detail; for which purpose 150 or 200 hardy, active young men accustomed to these fatigues and hardships would be amply sufficient for the purpose, and would end the war before February." (Portland Oregonian, October 7, 1854.) Another correspondent at The Dalles wrote: "It is the opinion of all the old mountaineers in this upper country that a war cannot successfully be prosecuted against these tribes unless carried on in the winter season." (Ibid.)

Nesmith wrote: "Those tribes are divided into small bands, scattered over different portions of this immense region; they possess but little stock or property of any kind which would embarrass their speedy movements, their principal reliance for subsistence being upon the fish obtained from the Columbia river during the summer months, which are dried and cached away for future use. * * * My opinion is that a campaign commenced early in the spring and continued through the summer, would, in addition to protecting the immigrants, accomplish more, with less suffering and expense, and probability of defeat, than could possibly result from a winter campaign." (Correspondence Relating to the Massacre of Immigrants, Salem, 1854, pp. 12-13.) Nesmith also argued that the immigrant season was over and that the indians could do no more damage. "The contemplated movements," he wrote, "partake of the character of an offensive war, in which case it is desirable to ascertain that our resources are equal to the emergency. * * * I admit that defensive war admits of no such prudence."

Curry evidently was in difficulties of his own. Between the issuance of his warlike proclamation, September 18, and his order countermanding it September 22, he wrote to Nesmith, on September 19: "I appreciate your views. These were my own until I learned the inadequacy of the force in the field. As it is I have laid my hand upon the plow and it is too late to look back. * * * My friend, we can do this thing. The country expects something of the kind and I feel that they will respond cheerfully to the call. Delay must not be thought of. Prompt, energetic action must clear the way to success. Even if failure to accomplish the end in view should be the result, still there would be a moral effect about the effort that would redeem it." (Mss., Oregon Historical Society.) On September 21, however, between the date of the foregoing and the countermanding order, Capt. Thomas L. Brent, U. S. A., quartermaster at Fort Vancouver, informed Commissary-General McCarver, that all the transportation at the command of the regulars was in use by the forces already in the field. On the same day Lieut. John Withers wrote to McCarver that Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville had declined to issue an order for furnishing supplies for volunteers. "He (Bonneville) directs me to say," Withers wrote, "that he has official information from the commanding officers at The Dalles that no more troops are required at present." (Correspondence, etc., p. 9.)

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subsistence, have, since the increase of swine, gradually diminished in quantity and must soon entirely fail. The wild game, formerly abundant, is also becoming scarce, and an act of the territorial legislature prohibiting all persons other than an indian from supplying the indians with arms and ammunition renders them unable to avail themselves of the supply the forests might still afford. * * * Their needy circumstances demanded immediate relief and I deemed it wise, expedient and humane to connect the temporary relief afforded them with provisions of permanent character for their comfort and well-being."[4]

By this treaty, which also failed of ratification, the Calapooyas agreed to cede some fourteen hundred and seventy square miles of land which had already been largely settled by the immigrants, in exchange for an undetermined reservation of about forty acres for each family and an annual allotment of goods covering a period of twenty years. On January 22, 1855, however, Palmer obtained a treaty (which the Senate promptly approved, March 3 of that year), with the confederated tribes of Calapooyas in the Willamette Valley, by which the indians formally relinquished all remaining title to the entire Willamette Valley north of the Calapooya Mountains for about $155,000, payable in goods, the Government also agreeing to furnish them with a reservation, with an industrial school, and for a period of five years with a physician, school teacher, blacksmith and superintendent of farming operations.[5]

Of even greater importance, however, because of their bearing on the later relations of the people of the entire Oregon Country with the indians were a number of treaties obtained late in 1854 and during 1855 by Isaac I. Stevens with tribes north of the Columbia River and west of the Cascade Mountains. Washington Territory had been created out of the region north of the Columbia in 1853, and Stevens had been named as both governor and superintendent of indian affairs of the new district. Notwithstanding the political separation, however, the community of interest in the indian problem during this period was so manifest that territorial boundaries were ignored and volunteers from each territory were frequently engaged within the limits of the other. Some of

[4] Letter from Joel Palmer to Indian Commissioner George W. Manypenny, March 27, 1854. (Mss., Oregon Historical Society.) Palmer wrote to General Lane, then in Washington as delegate in Congress, March 20, 1854: "I regard this treaty as but an entering wedge to the greater work before us, and if we can get action by the senate * * * we may hope to accomplish something within the coming year beyond the mere expenditure of appropriations for the payment of agents, etc. * * * You are acquainted with the conditions of affairs in Oregon and with the desire of our settlers to have these indians removed from our midst. The provisions of this treaty may be thought by some to be too liberal toward these poor, degraded beings, and that they are not entitled to the consideration given them. Their very weakness and ignorance is one of the reasons why we should liberally provide for them. No one will for a moment pretend that the amount proposed to be paid them is any consideration, comparatively speaking, for their country." (Palmer letter to Lane, Mss., Oregon Historical Society.)

[5] It was also provided that if any of the bands who signed the treaty should subsequently establish a legitimate claim to any portion of the country north of the Columbia River, their interests therein should be preserved by future treaties. The Government reserved the right to allot land in severalty at a subsequent time, on condition that these allotments should be, during the entire period of territorial government, exempt from levy, sale or forfeiture. An attempt to restrain use of liquor by indians was made in Article 7, which read: "In order to prevent the evils of intemperance among said indians, it is hereby provided that any one of them who shall drink liquor, or procure it for other indians to drink, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine." (Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, p. 500.)

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the treaties made by Stevens—and certain factors of dissatisfaction arising from governmental delay in acting on them—were influential in bringing about the union of the tribes of North and South which prolonged the wars in both territories. Stevens and Palmer, representing their respective superintendencies, also acted together in obtaining a treaty with tribes east of the Cascade Mountains whose hunting grounds embraced both Oregon and Washington. Palmer concluded a treaty with bands of the Des Chutes, Wascoes and Walla Wallas in Central Oregon on June 25, 1855, which resulted some time later in the creation of what is now known as the Warm Springs indian reservation and the removal of the indians to that region. With the exception of one of Stevens' treaties, however, which subsequently also became a cause of strife, ratification of this series of treaties was delayed by the United States Senate until 1859.

The exception alluded to was the treaty of Medicine Creek, so called because the council at which it was agreed on was held on She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek, later known as McAlister's Creek, in what is now Thurston County, Washington. The indians on Puget Sound then numbered some eight thousand five hundred,[6] subsisting chiefly on food from the waters, and on camas root from the low meadows and berries from the foothills; holding captives in hereditary slavery; living at peace with the whites but in perpetual dread of the more powerful Yakimas and Klickitats on the east. To fear of their traditional indian foes was now added apprehension of the increasing encroachments of the white settlers on their fields and fisheries. These indians were chosen by Stevens as a basis for the development of the treaty policy of the Government, as exemplified in the previous treaties made by Palmer and Lane with the Rogue River tribes at Table Rock and with the Umpquas at Cow Creek. Stevens had before him a formal letter of instruction from the federal bureau of indian affairs, approving Palmer's course. The treaties "negotiated by Superintendent Palmer," wrote Acting Indian Commissioner Mix to Stevens on August 30, 1854, "are regarded as exhibiting provisions proper on the part of the Government and advantages to the indians, and will afford you valuable suggestions."

Briefly, the plan was to concentrate the natives on a few reservations, to pay them for their lands, not in money but in useful goods, to instruct them in farming and the manual arts, to prohibit inter-tribal wars, to abolish slavery, to prevent the use of intoxicants so far as possible, to preserve for them during a period of transition from barbarism to civilization certain rights to fish and gather roots at accustomed places, and in an indefinite future time to allot lands to them in severalty. Tribal jealousies made it necessary to increase the number of reservations somewhat beyond the original plan, but the right was retained to remove them later to larger reservations, where they might be consolidated. Stevens' policy was determined upon after consultation with expert advisers, who examined a number of treaties already entered into by the Government with eastern tribes.

Col. M. T. Simmons, one of the first settlers to establish a home north of the Columbia River, B. F. Shaw, whose mastery of the Chinook jargon made his services almost indispensable, James Doty, the governor's secretary, who had passed a winter among the Blackfeet and had studied indian customs there,

[6] Life of Isaac I. Stevens, by Hazard Stevens, p. 450.

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George Gibbs, scientist attached to the expedition to explore a route for a transcontinental railroad, Lieut. William A. Slaughter of the regular army, and several other white men prominent in the territory were present at the council. About seven hundred Puget Sound indians, including a few Snoqualmies, who dwelt on the upper streams having their headwaters in the Cascades, and who had established relations with the Yakimas, attended. One of the representatives of the Snoqualmies present was Chief Leschi, whose name appears attached to the official treaty (Statutes at Large, Vol. 10, p. 1,132) as "Lesh-high."[7] The council lasted three days. The treaty was signed on December 26, 1854, by Stevens for the United States Government and by sixty-two chiefs and headmen, all who were present, representing the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawskin, S'Homamish, Steh-chass, T'Peek-sin, Squi-atl and Sa-heh-wamish tribes. It was ratified by the United States Senate March 3, 1855. The indians thus ceded the region comprising the present counties of Thurston and Pierce and parts of Mason and King, reserving an island of about twelve hundred and eighty acres, and two tracts on the mainland of 1,280 acres each, one near the mouth of Medicine Creek, and the other included within the present site of the City of Tacoma. The seeming inadequacy of a reservation of about three thousand eight hundred forty acres to the needs of an indian population which was able to assemble seven hundred persons at the council was sought to be atoned for by guaranteeing to the indians the right to fish at their accustomed grounds, except for taking shell-fish from beds cultivated by citizens, and to hunt, gather berries and roots and pasture cattle on unclaimed land. They were to receive $32,500 in annuities of goods, in addition to $3,250, to be expended in removing them to their reservations. They were prohibited from trading outside of the dominions of the United States and foreign indians were forbidden to reside on their reservations. This provision was intended to strengthen the hand of the Government in dealing with the liquor question, by checking liquor traffic across the international boundary, and also to curb the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company among the indians.

Stevens concluded three other treaties with canoe indians of Puget Sound in January, 1855, so that by early spring he was free to cross the Cascades

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[7] The official record of Leschi's name in this connection was afterward the subject of controversy. Colonel Shaw, the interpreter, vouched for Leschi's presence at the council, and numerous witnesses attested that he affixed his mark to the instrument. Ezra Meeker, a well-known Washington pioneer and a volunteer of the war of 1855-6, however, after making an investigation in a spirit of friendship for the indians, concluded that Leschi did not sign. Meeker wrote a book on the subject, in which he says: "I have recently interviewed John Hilton, an indian, one of the five survivors of the signers, who steadfastly refused to go into the war. He says Leschi did not sign; that he stood up before the governor and said that 'if he could not get his home, he would fight, and that the governor told him it was fight, for the treaty paper would not be changed.' Continuing, Hilton said: 'Leschi then took the paper out of his pocket that the governor had given him to be sub-chief, and tore it up before the governor's eyes, stamped on the pieces and left the treaty ground, and never came back to it again.'" (Pioneer Reminiscences, by Ezra Meeker, p. 242.) While the controversy was at its height, Meeker wrote (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Dec. 29, 1903): "When Colonel B. F. Shaw says he saw Leschi sign the Medicine Creek treaty I simply do not believe him. I believe he is mistaken. The preponderance of testimony against this one witness is so overwhelming and the probability is so much to the contrary that I think it is a moral certainty that Leschi did not sign the Medicine Creek treaty, although his name is signed with a cross opposite."

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and negotiate with the less tractable tribes of the interior.[8] Of these, the Yakimas had been passive, if not friendly to the whites, being outwardly content with the isolation they enjoyed prior to the beginning of settlement north of the Columbia; but they now began to fear the encroachments of the settlers. To the Yakimas, as well as to the Walla Wallas, Cayuses, Nez Percés and others, Stevens sent couriers advising them of his desire to meet them in a great council at which all matters at issue between the whites and indians might be adjusted. The Walla Walla Valley was chosen for the council ground at the instance of the Yakima head chief, Kamiakin, who said: "This is the place where in ancient times we held our councils with the neighboring tribes, and we will hold it there now."[9] There is an interesting story, however, that Kamiakin had foreseen the issue, and had called a great preliminary council of the eastern tribes, who had met in the summer of 1854 in the valley of the Grande Ronde in a meeting in many respects the most remarkable gathering of indians ever held in that vast territory. Only Lawyer of the Nez Percés, Sticcas of the Cayuses, and Garry of the Spokanes, according to the story, were in favor of making any treaty with the whites. Lawyer and Sticcas, the former because of his long-standing friendship for the whites, and the latter perhaps by reason of recent memories of the experiences of his tribe, held out strongly for a treaty council. All the chiefs except Lawyer and Sticcas thereupon agreed among themselves to mark the boundaries of their tribes, so that the chief of each could rise in counsel and claim his boundaries as a reservation for his people. There being no lands for sale to the whites, so reasoned the wily chieftains, the council would fail.[9a] This plan was communicated to the officials by Lawyer, who, in anticipation of the coming conference, now set about the creation of a counter coalition.

There was opposition also in official quarters to the holding of this council, Joel Palmer among others deeming the time inopportune. Many who knew the indians well had sensed an approaching storm. Stevens, however, procured an escort of forty troopers from Maj. Gabriel J. Rains at The Dalles and reached the council ground, on Mill Creek, near its confluence with the Walla Walla River, May 21, 1855. A large quantity of goods to be used as gifts was transported up the Columbia to Fort Walla Walla by boat, and a company of twenty-five packers, organized at The Dalles, conveyed tentage and provisions to the camp. A herd of beef cattle, a huge pile of potatoes, and large stores of bacon, flour, coffee and sugar were provided for the indians. Palmer, with two indian agents representing Oregon, arrived on the same day and went into camp. The company now awaited the arrival of the indians with feelings not unmixed with apprehension.

The Nez Percés, twenty-five hundred strong, commanded by Lawyer, and flying the American flag which had been given them by Newell in 1848 in appreciation of their friendship for the whites in the Cayuse affair, arrived first, May 24, 1855, and their chiefs and sub-chiefs were banqueted by Stevens

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[8] The Senate did not approve these until March 8, 1859. (U. S. Stat. XII, p. 927.) The treaties were the Point Elliott Treaty, the Point-no-Point Treaty, and the Neah Bay Treaty.

[9] Life of Isaac I. Stevens, by Hazard Stevens, vol. 2, p. 26-7.

[9a] Kamiakin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas, by A. J. Splawn, p. 22. Splawn lived among the Yakimas and Klickitats for fifty years. His book, published posthumously in 1917, is based on information obtained in personal talks with the other indians, and presents the indians' side of the controversy.

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and Palmer. An ominous development of the day was the receipt of a message from Peu-peu-mox-mox that the Walla Wallas, Yakimas and Cayuses, would accept no provisions from the commissioners, but would bring their own, and the messenger refused to accept gifts of tobacco for his chief. Two priests from the Walla Walla and Yakima country arrived to attend the council and brought reports that Kamiakin was inclined to hostility. Three hundred Cayuses and Walla Wallas rode into camp, May 26, 1855, but their chiefs were surly and refused to smoke pipes with the commissioners. Chief Garry of the Spokanes came as a spectator; and a courier who had been sent to the Palouses returned accompanied by only one chief, whose people refused to take part as a tribe. On May 27, which was Sunday, the Nez Percés held religious services, a chief named Timothy preaching in the Nez Percés language and taking the Ten Commandments as his text. Peu-peu-mox-mox, although he found opportunity to profess confidence in the whites, asked that more than one interpreter be employed, that the indians might know that they translated truly. The Yakimas, encamped some distance away, were coldly formal. Peu-peu-mox-mox and a delegation of Yakima chiefs, including Kamiakin, Owhi and Skloom, rode into camp May 28, shaking hands with the commissioners with reserved cordiality; but during the talk with Stevens which followed they declined tobacco proffered them and smoked their own exclusively. Soon after this, Spotted Eagle, of the Nez Percés, informed Stevens that the Cayuses had been long trying to create disaffection among the Nez Percés and had invited three Nez Percés sub-chiefs to confer with them and the Yakimas, without consulting the Nez Percés head chiefs. The atmosphere of indian plot and counter-plot pervaded the preliminaries. On the eve of the formal opening of the council there were some five thousand indians in the valley, including squaws and children.

The council opened May 29, with the customary indian ceremony of smoking, and continued from day to day until June 11, but the treaty which was finally arrived at was dated June 9, 1855.[10] The prevailing distrust of the white people was voiced by Peu-peu-mox-mox at one of the conferences, in a speech in which he said: "In one day the Americans became as numerous as the grass. This I learned in California. I know it is not right; you have spoken in a roundabout way. Speak straight. I have ears to hear you and here is my heart. Suppose you show me goods; shall I run up and take them. Goods and the earth are not equal. Goods are for using on the earth. I do not know where they have given lands for goods. We require time to think quietly, slowly. You have spoken in a manner partly tending to evil. * * * Show me charity. I should be very much ashamed if the Americans did anything wrong. * * * Think over what I have said."

The task of the commissioners was now to convince the indians of the advantages to them of civilization, and of the inevitable coming of the whites.[11]

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[10] It was officially proclaimed as of date June 12, 1855.

[11] On both sides the speakers sometimes strayed far from the point at issue. Lieut. Lawrence Kip, U.S.A., who was present, and whose carefully kept journal is a source of much material concerning the conference, says: "General Palmer made a speech an hour long, in which he endeavored to illustrate to his audience the advantages resulting from their being brought into contact with civilization. His reasoning at one time led him to give an account of the railroad and telegraph. It was sufficiently amusing to listen to this scientific lecture, * * * but it probably would have been much more diverting could we have known the precise impressions left upon the minds of his audience, or have heard them talk it over

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But even Sticcas, a friendly chief of the Cayuses, was dissatisfied with a treaty which left his tribe none of their own lands. Young Chief, also of the Cayuses, who was believed to have been secretly plotting with Kamiakin for the destruction of the whites, declared that the indians had no right to sell the ground which God had given them for their support, unless for a good reason. Peu-peu-mox-mox asked for delay and another council. He opposed the coming of the settlers. "The whites," he said, "may travel in all directions through our country. We will have nothing to say to them, provided they do not build houses on our lands."

Palmer proposed a compromise to meet the desires of the tribes who were unwilling to be placed on a reservation with the Nez Percés, offering them another reservation which would embrace part of the region in which they were then living. This won the assent of all present, except the Yakimas, but a disturbing factor now entered the negotiations when an indian runner arrived with news that Looking Glass, war chief of the Nez Percés, who had been absent on an expedition into the Blackfeet country, was on his way to the council ground. This chieftain, who was seventy years old, had ridden 300 miles in seven days, and his party presently rode into camp bearing aloft a fresh Blackfeet scalp. A great hubbub arose in all the indian lodges and even the Nez Percés withdrew their promises to sign the treaty. The Nez Percés held a council among themselves at which it was proposed to depose Lawyer and place Looking Glass in his stead. The issue was determined by tribal politics. Lawyer's party prevailed and the majority voted that the faith of the tribe had been pledged to sign the treaty as Lawyer had agreed to do. Peu-peu-mox-mox and Kamiakin then yielded, although Kamiakin refused to accept a present for himself when the customary gifts were bestowed. "When the government sends the pay for these lands," he added, "I will take my share." [12]

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afterwards in the lodges." (Sources of the History of Oregon, vol. 1, part 1, p. 17-18.) On a later day Lawyer, of the Nez Percés, made a speech, in the course of which he narrated the story of Columbus and the egg. (Id., p. 19.) Lawyer was friendly and the favorable result of the negotiations was due in no small measure to his influence.

[12] A reported incident which is supported by Lieutenant Kip's Journal, and has been accepted by some writers as the "turning point" of the negotiations is described by Hazard Stevens (Life of Isaac I. Stevens, Vol. 2, p. 47): "Late that evening (June 2, 1855), Lawyer came unattended to see Governor Stevens. He disclosed a conspiracy on the part of the Cayuses to suddenly rise upon and massacre all the whites on the council ground,—that this measure, deliberated in nightly conference for some time, had at length been determined upon in full council of the tribe the day before, which the Young Chief had requested for a holiday; they were now only awaiting the assent of the Yakimas and Walla Wallas to strike the blow; and these latter had actually joined, or were on the point of joining, the Cayuses in a war of extermination against the whites, for which the massacre of the governor and his party was to be the signal. They had conducted these plottings with the greatest secrecy, not trusting the Nez Percés; and the Lawyer, suspecting that all was not right, had discovered the plot by means of a spy. * * * The Lawyer concluded by saying: 'I will come with my family and pitch my lodge in the midst of your camp, that those Cayuses may see that you and your party are under the protection of the head chief of the Nez Percés.' He did so immediately, although it was now after midnight." That Lawyer did so act is unquestioned. Only the fact of the conspiracy itself is in dispute. A. J. Splawn says he talked with many old men who were present at the council, some of them prominent in their tribes. All claimed that there was no foundation of truth to Lawyer's story, and that the Yakimas and Walla Wallas heard of it only after Lawyer had moved his lodge to Governor Stevens' camp, whereupon Kamiakim, Peu-peu-mox-mox and Looking Glass went to the Nez Percés chief and accused him of having a forked tongue. "Personally,"

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The treaties concluded by Stevens and Palmer at Walla Walla were three in number, and ceded more than sixty thousand square miles to the whites. The Nez Percés obtained a reservation of about five thousand square miles and $200,000 in the now customary annuities, besides $60,000 to be expended for industrial improvements. The Yakimas received two reservations, a large one on the Simcoe and a smaller one on the Wenatchee, with payments similar to those made to the Nez Percés. The Umatilla reservation of 800 square miles was set aside for the Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas, with $100,000 in annuities, $50,000 in improvements and $10,000 for moving the immigrant road, which then passed through the reservation. In addition, the head chief of each tribe was granted a salary of $500 a year for twenty years, a comfortable house, well furnished, and ten acres of land, plowed and fenced. Peu-peu-mox-mox also demanded and received especial consideration.[13]

On the theory that the treaties were signed with mental reservations on the part of certain of the chiefs, it would not be difficult to explain a series of

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says Splawn (Ka-mi-akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas, p. 28-9) "I am convinced that Lawyer was only playing the game to procure for his people a larger reservation than the other chiefs would get, and that his Cayuse story was 'rot.' In any event, he gained the end he sought."

That a conspiracy of some kind existed, is indicated by the war which followed, and something is needed to explain the acquiescence of Kamiakin in the treaty after his persistent and consistent opposition to concessions of any nature. It is Hazard Stevens' view that except for Sticcas, the friendly Cayuse, all of the hostiles—Young Chief, Five Crows, Peu-peu-mox-mox, Kamiakin and their sub-chiefs—signed the treaties as a deliberate act of treachery. (Life of Governor Stevens, Vol. 2, p. 61.) Kamiakin's policy was consistent with this supposition. As to Peu-peu-mox-mox, he was long an enigma to the whites, and his alternative name, "Yellow Serpent," a mistranslation of the indian name, which means "yellow bird," is an indication of the appraisal of his character made by some other indians. "Pio-pio-mux-mux," wrote Dr. W. C. McKay, "was entirely a different person at the head of a war party than when he was before the United States commissioners in council, urging to be let alone." (Mss. letter to Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Or. Hist. Society.) Dr. McKay is the son of Thomas McKay, the latter a stepson of Dr. John McLoughlin. Dr. McKay also wrote: "The Walla Walla chief was emphatically chief amongst all tribes. His word was law amongst his people. He was much respected by the traders, as he was powerful and a friend to them and in case of trouble with other indians he could be relied on."

Palmer, colleague of Stevens in the treaty council, discredited both the story of the wide-spread indian plot and the report of the conspiracy as alleged by Lawyer. Palmer wrote to Maj.-Gen. John E. Wool, November 21, 1855: "The reported combination of all these tribes with intent to wage a war of extermination of the whites, is, I apprehend, but a phantom conjured up in the brains of alarmists, * * * and the plot said to have been nearly consummated of cutting off those engaged in the negotiations last June, I regard as of the same character." (House Executive Document, No. 93, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session, p. 115.)

[13] "The first payment to the Walla-Walla chief to commence upon the signing of the treaty. To give to the Walla-Walla chief three yokes of oxen, three yokes and four chains, one wagon, two ploughs, twelve hoes, twelve axes, two shovels, and one saddle and bridle, one set of wagon harness and one set of plough harness, within three months after the signing of this treaty. To build for the son of Pio-pio-mox-mox one dwelling house and plow and fence five acres of land, and to give him a salary for twenty years, $100 in cash per annum, commencing September 1st, 1856."—(Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol. 2, p. 523.) The salaries of all the other chiefs were to begin on ratification of the treaties, which did not occur until March 8, 1859. The Walla-Walla chieftain also was secured for five years in his right to build and occupy a trading post at the mouth of the Yakima river for the sale of wild cattle ranging in that district. He proved the best negotiator in his own interest of all the chiefs present at the council.

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acts which, only a few months afterward, precipitated a general indian war. There was another contributing cause, however, which deserves mention here, as showing that the whites as a race were not wholly without blame. This was the premature and apparently authoritative announcement that the region ceded by the tribes was open to settlement, whereas the treaties were not confirmed by the United States Senate for some four years afterward.[14] Nothing could be done by federal administrative officials in fulfilment of the treaties in advance of their ratification. Meanwhile settlers, acting on what to them seemed good authority, began to occupy the indian lands, and, gold having been discovered on the Pend d'Oreille River in the summer of 1854, prospectors and miners flocked thither in 1855. Whether or not these indians intended when they made the compact to break it, they now believed they had confirmation of their suspicions that the treaty commissioners spoke with "forked tongues."[15] Stevens made a trip northward after the Walla Walla council and obtained a treaty with the Kootenais, Flatheads and Upper Pend d'Oreilles, but failed to induce the tribes in the vicinity of the Spokane and Colville rivers to treat with him. The latter, including the Coeur D'Alenes and Spokanes, were determined that settlers should not occupy their lands on any terms, and they were among the last of the tribes to yield to the final argument of force.

A party of prospectors crossing the country of the Yakimas on the way to the mines in August, 1855, was reported to have disappeared, and soon afterward another party was attacked but not annihilated, two being killed and three escaping to carry the news of their misadventure to the settlements. A. J. Bolon, special agent to the Yakimas, went alone to hold a conference with Kamiakin. Bolon never returned and a Des Chutes spy sent by Indian Agent Nathan Olney from The Dalles ascertained that he had been treacherously shot, September 23, 1855, at a point in the Simcoe Mountains about fifteen miles from the present site of Goldendale, Wash., by a sub-chief named Qual-

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[14] The treaties proclaimed by President James Buchanan at various dates in April, 1859, included the following, concluded in 1855, and ineffective during the intervening period: Dwamish, Suquamish, etc.; S'kallams; Makahs; Walla Walla, Cayuses and Umatillas; Yakimas; Nez Percés; Wascoes, etc.; Qui-nai-elt and Quil-leh-ute; Flathead, Kootenay and Upper Pend d'Oreilles; Molel or Molalla tribe. (U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 12, pp. 927-983.)

[15] Under the heading "New Advertisements," there appeared in the Oregon Weekly Times, June 23, 1855, as well as in the other principal newspapers in the territory of that time, only twelve days after final signature of the Walla-Walla treaties, a description of the region ceded by the indians, signed by "Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of W. T." and "Joel Palmer, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Oregon," and containing the following: "By an express provision of the treaty, the country embraced in these cessions and not included in the reservations is open to settlement, excepting that the indians are secured in the possession of their buildings and implements till removed to the reservations. This notice is published for the benefit of the public. * * * Oregon and Washington papers please copy." Lieut. John Mullan, who was attached to the expedition under command of Colonel Wright which defeated the indians in 1858, wrote to Acting Indian Commissioner Mix, September 5, 1858, from Spokane Plains: "The indian history of this region is different from that of any other quarter of our country. The country is thrown open to settlement before any preparation was made for their reception—before the indian title was extinguished; and hence alone, in my judgment, the cause of most of our indian troubles in this region. I am not forgetful, of course, of the great national cause—the contact of the red and white man—that our history for two centuries past proclaims to be the great radical cause of our indian warfares."—(Senate Ex. Doc. No. 32, Thirty-fifth Congress, second session, p. 29.)

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BENSON HOTEL, PORTLAND



MULTNOMAH HOTEL, PORTLAND

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chan, son of Owhi, and his body and that of his horse burned to conceal the crime. Kamiakin in a talk with the spy was said to have expressed regret only that the killing of Bolon had anticipated his plans for a later well organized and widespread uprising. But the Yakimas and Klickitats had been preparing for war, so that when Major Haller, of the regulars, who left The Dalles, October 3 with eighty-six regulars, under orders to arrest the murderers of Bolon, reached the Simcoe, October 6, he was surrounded by a body of several hundred well-armed warriors and compelled to retreat, suffering a loss of five men killed and seventeen wounded. Haller spiked and buried a howitzer and abandoned it on the way. A company of fifty regulars commanded by Lieut. William A. Slaughter meanwhile had been dispatched from Fort Steilacoom to the Yakima Country by way of the Naches Pass, but withdrew on learning that Haller had been repulsed and that the Yakimas and Klickitats were on the warpath in overwhelming numbers.[16]

News of Haller's retreat, which was exaggerated in the first reports, caused excitement throughout Oregon and Washington and Maj. Gabriel J. Rains, U. S. A., in command of the military district, ordered out all the available troops at Vancouver, The Dalles and Steilacoom, and called on the governor of Oregon for four companies and the governor of Washington for two companies of volunteers, to be mustered into service of the United States. Acting-Governor Mason of Washington responded with the desired quota and at the same time summoned other volunteers to protect the settlers around Puget Sound. Governor Curry of Oregon issued a call, October 11, 1855, for eight companies instead of the four requested, the men to furnish their own arms and equipment where possible. There was a general shortage of arms in the territory, so that some difficulty was experienced in obtaining rifles, and this was intensified by the commencement of hostilities by the indians in Southern Oregon and Northern California, so that, October 15, the governor called for nine additional companies for service in the Rogue River Valley. J. W. Nesmith was named colonel of the regiment first called for service against the indians in the North.

The Oregon volunteers were never mustered into the federal service. "It is wholly impracticable," wrote Governor Curry to Major Rains, "to induce the citizens of Oregon to enroll for service in the suppression of any indian hostilities under the organization prescribed by the rules and regulations of

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[16] Major Haller afterward served in the Civil war and was dismissed from the army without formality of court martial on charges of making disloyal utterances and of criticising President Lincoln's conception of the Fredericksburg campaign. He published a monograph in his own defense, in which he reviewed his service in the indian wars. His explanation of his retreat was as follows: "The warriors surrounded our position, but a few shots made them cautious, until they found our balls fell wide of their marks—we having only the old smooth bored muskets with spherical balls. In several instances war parties becoming more venturesome would crawl up very close to the knolls behind which our men awaited their approach and would with stones construct what are now called rifle pits to annoy our skirmishers, and these were driven off by bayonet charges. We did not have rations enough to hold out for help from Vancouver. Prudence therefore made it my duty to return if practicable to Fort Dalles, where a properly mounted party would be organized to assist our efforts. Hence at night we retraced our steps to the top of the mountain near us, and allowed the men rest, and the next morning fell back toward Fort Dalles, skirmishing with the indians until nearly sundown."—The Dismissal of Maj. Granville O. Haller * * * and a brief Memoir, printed at Paterson, N. J., in 1863, pages 38-9.

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the United States Army. I am therefore, constrained, in order to secure the enrolment of a sufficient force for the present critical emergency, to preserve a distinct military organization." Nesmith and four companies reached The Dalles within a few days after the issuance of the governor's proclamation, but here still another difficulty confronted them. Rains declared that he had no authority to furnish supplies unless the territorial troops were first mustered in as regulars. Curry and Nesmith persisted in their determination, however, and the volunteers continued to act as an independent unit, contriving as best they could, which was not very well, to obtain subsistence. Rains then took up the march for the Yakima Country, October 30, without waiting for the volunteers, and Nesmith with five companies followed, November 1, 1855. The forces cooperated in a spirit of individual loyalty, and Rains, finding himself in straits in a skirmish with a band of hostiles at a ford of the Yakima River, December 8, sent back to Nesmith for two companies, who with Rains' dragoons dashed into the rapid current of the river and put the enemy to flight. Two men of Rains' command were drowned while crossing the river and Nesmith's horse was struck by a bullet. The combined forces now swept the plains of the indians, killing a few but being unable to overtake and punish the remainder. Nesmith, at Rains' request, undertook an expedition toward Naches Pass, in the course of which he destroyed several caches of provisions but found no other trace of the enemy.[17] The troops burned the mission on the Yakima and a house owned by Kamiakin. It was then decided to return to The Dalles for recruits and reinforcements.

Two companies of volunteers commanded by Maj. Mark A. Chinn meanwhile made a foray into the Deschutes region, where they were told that Peupeu-mox-mox had gone on the warpath, robbed Fort Walla Walla of its store of ammunition, and destroyed the buildings there. Chinn then threw up a fortification near Wells' Springs, which he named Fort Henrietta, and awaited reinforcements. These, amounting to 170 men, in three companies, were sent him by Nesmith, accompanied by Lieut.-Col. James K. Kelly, who now took command. It was the fortune of this detachment to conduct the only subsequent military operations waged in this part of the territory during the winter. Rains after his march into the Yakima Country retired to winter quarters at The Dalles, and Nesmith, late in November, 1855, discharged 125 men whom he was unable to mount on horses suitable for a hard campaign, "deeming it worse than useless to retain a large unmounted force at this place to consume our scanty supplies." The volunteers were now suffering from intense cold, and from scarcity of tents and other ordinary requisites. The commissary, Nesmith informed the governor by letter, November 25, 1855, was almost destitute of every indispensable article, and particularly of flour and beef. The winter of 1855-6 set in early in Eastern Oregon.

Lieut.-Col. Kelly's command at Fort Henrietta now numbered about three hundred and fifty men; and Kelly formed a plan to march on the indians at Walla Walla and take them by surprise. Failing to find the enemy there, however, Kelly proceeded without baggage or rations to a point on the Touchet about twelve miles above its mouth, with 200 men, ordering Chinn to march to the mouth of the Touchet with the baggage train.

[17] Naches pass, spelled in various ways in early accounts, is in Cascade Mountains in Washington, and was used by emigrant trains as early as 1853. Various references are collected in Scott, The Oregon Country, Vol. II, p. 252.

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Peu-peu-mox-mox and six warriors rode out to meet Kelly's troops as the latter approached an indian encampment on the Touchet, and sought an interview. The Walla Walla chieftain began by asking why the soldiers were in his country. Kelly replied that they had come to chastise the indians for wrongs they had committed. Peu-peu-mox-mox asked for an armistice until the next day, when he promised that he would sign a treaty of peace. Kelly feared a ruse and refused to delay attacking the village unless the chief and five others would surrender themselves as hostages until all difficulties were settled. Peu-peu-mox-mox chose to remain, promising, according to Kelly's official report, to assemble his people on the following day, to require them to surrender all property stolen from the whites, and to furnish fresh horses to remount the entire command.

Kelly now refrained from pushing the attack, thinking he had Peu-peu-mox-mox in his power, but permitted the chief to send a messenger to his people to apprise them of the terms of the expected treaty. But Kelly was informed on the next day that Peu-peu-mox-mox's messenger had in reality carried a command to the warriors to remove their women and children and prepare for battle. In any event the village was immediately abandoned and no more indians appeared to treat for peace; so Kelly, holding fast to his hostages, retired to the mouth of the Touchet with the intention of establishing camp for the winter.

Shots were exchanged on the march between the troops and indians who were harrying their flanks, and a running engagement developed on the morning of December 7, 1855, the forces of the indians increasing with every mile. At a farm twelve miles from the mouth of the Touchet the Walla Wallas made a stand.[18] The position chosen by them was a rolling plain covered by clumps of sage brush and small sand knolls. Their left rested on the river bank, covered with trees and underbrush; their right was protected by a high range of hills. Here they awaited the approach of the troops. About fifty volunteers of the white men, who were mounted on the fleetest horses, arriving first, charged the indian front, losing a lieutenant killed and a captain and three enlisted men wounded. The attackers were now reinforced and drove the indians back two miles. In an attempt to force them from their second position, a captain and one private were killed. A howitzer was now brought to bear on the indians, who gave way. The volunteers removed the bodies of their dead and retired in good order to camp.

While the advance troops engaged the hostiles, those in the rear halted at a small cabin, where the surgeons attended the wounded and some of the dead were brought in. An effort was made here to bind the indian hostages as a precaution against treachery, which the proud chiefs resented as an indignity on no account to be suffered. There was a struggle, one of the hostages drew a knife, and in the ensuing melee Peu-peu-mox-mox and his companions were killed. In the bitterness following receipt of the news of the killing of others of the volunteers on the front line, the bodies of the indians were subjected to indignities, an unfortunate result of which was to involve the volunteer organization in a tedious controversy with officers of the regular army which

[18] This was the farm of the French-Canadian, La Roche, two miles below Waiilatpu. Victor (The Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 444) quotes from the diary of G. W. Miller, one of the participants in this encounter, giving particulars showing that the indians were the aggressors and greatly outnumbered the whites.

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gravely hampered cooperation between federal and local authorities in the subsequent conduct of the indian war.[19]

The indians were reinforced on the night of December 7, 1855, but on the following day the volunteers took the initiative, charging bands of the enemy wherever sighted, though the latter fought with skill and bravery. The battle continued four days, the indians withdrawing each night and the troops being too exhausted to pursue them farther. However, two fresh companies arrived from Fort Henrietta, December 10, when Colonel Kelly charged upon the indians with his entire command and forced an engagement which terminated the campaign. The indians fled across the Snake River and were seen no more. Losses of the volunteers in the four days of fighting were a captain, a lieutenant and a private soldier killed, four private soldiers mortally wounded, and three captains and ten men less seriously wounded. Colonel Kelly reported having found the bodies of thirty-nine indians on the field and estimated the indians' loss at seventy-five.

The volunteers now built another camp two miles above Waiilatpu, which they named Fort Bennett in memory of Capt. Charles Bennett, who had been killed December 7, and devoted most of the winter to scouring the country in search of provision caches made by the indians. Colonel Nesmith resigned in December to take a seat in the Territorial Legislature, and Col. Thomas R. Cornelius was elected in his place. Governor Stevens returned about this time from an expedition to treat with the Blackfeet indians, after a march through the hostile country on which he was escorted part of the way by a guard of sixty-nine friendly Nez Percés. The region in which the Oregon troops were now encamped was in Washington Territory, but Stevens agreed with the Oregon officers that they should hold their ground until the regulars were ready to take the field for a systematic campaign. An additional company was recruited in the vicinity of Walla Walla with indian agent B. F. Shaw as captain. The members of the Nez Percés escort were formally incorporated with the Washington volunteers as a stroke of policy, and then formally mus-

[19] "The chief and four of his men were put to death, all scalped, and the head of the chief entirely peeled," wrote Palmer to Commissioner Manypenny, (House Ex. Doc. No. 93, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session, p. 101), enclosing a copy of the Portland Oregonian for January 5, 1856, in which the following appeared: "Dr. Shaw, assistant surgeon O. M. V., and Mr. Story of Company A, arrived here on Tuesday evening last direct from Walla Walla country. * * * Dr. Shaw had in his possession the ears of the celebrated indian chief, Pee-pee-mox-mox, who was killed at the battle on the 9th of December. Mr. Story also brought down the scalp of the noted chief." Sober-minded citizens of the territory did not condone this phase of the occurrence, but it was strongly maintained that the proud and haughty chieftain was not slain in violation of an armistice. "Peu-peu-mox-mox," wrote Governor Stevens, March 20, 1856, "was slain fairly. I have investigated the matter on the ground and found—having not only the testimony of the officers of the volunteers and the eye-witnesses of his death, but the testimony of the friendly indians, both Cayuses and Nez Percés. He was not entrapped by a flag of truce. I, of course, reprobate the indignities subsequently committed upon his person." Letter, Stevens to Wool. Stevens' Message and Accompanying Documents, 1857, p. 144.) "It might be remembered," says Frances Fuller Victor, "in extentuation of the indignities perpetrated upon the body of Peu-peu-mox-mox, that the volunteers were almost upon the very ground where eight years before Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were, with the other American men, brutally murdered, and American women ravished; and also that the Walla Walla chief could have prevented it, had he chosen to do so. They were still smarting, too, under the recollection of more recent tragedies, and especially of the Ward massacre of the year before, at which demoniacal scene babes were roasted alive before their mothers' eyes." (Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 446.)

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tered out of service. They reciprocated by furnishing the volunteers with remounts from their own bands.

The winter of 1855-6 passed by the volunteers in the Walla Walla Valley was memorable in the history of indian warfare by reason of its deprivations rather than because of any fighting that occurred. There was heavy snow and the temperature frequently fell to ten or twenty degrees below zero. The men were poorly clad, the commissary and transport service from the Willamette Valley having been interrupted by ice in the Columbia River, and they subsisted on a few cattle which had been spared by the indians, on potatoes grown in the Walla Walla Valley, and on meager rations of flour and sugar, and sometimes they were reduced to eating young ponies, as the volunteers in the Cayuse campaign eight years previously had done. They were relieved in March, 1856, by five companies recruited in Western Oregon, who opened the campaign in April by scouring the plains between the Walla Walla and the Columbia, in which they were resisted by Kamiakin and some three hundred Yakimas and Klickitats. The indians were repulsed but not pursued. The volunteers by this time were reduced to the last extremity for want of equipment and forage, the territory having been well stripped of its resources, and the ice in the Columbia precluding transportation of such supplies as were available, so that the regiment was mustered out and returned home. Two companies, recruited chiefly from among the veterans, were raised, however, for the defense of the Walla Walla and Tygh valleys.

The campaign in the Walla Walla Valley added fuel to the flame of controversy between the territorial and the federal military authorities. Maj.-Gen. John E. Wool, commanding the department of the Pacific, who arrived at Fort Vancouver, November 17, 1855, and was there when tidings of the battle of Walla Walla were received, persisted in his determination not to enter on a winter compaign, and made no effort to go to the support of the territorials. He severely criticised Major Rains for having called on Governor Curry for four companies of volunteers, which he declared unnecessary, and questioned the wisdom of the volunteer expedition, the only result of which, he said, "will be to unite all the friendly tribes in that region against us, except the Nez Percés, who still remain friendly and will continue to do so." He also impugned the motives of the officials of the territory, and intimated that the volunteer service was grossly wasteful and absurdly expensive, that it was undertaking an unnecessary campaign in the east when the deep snows of the mountains would have afforded sufficient protection to the settlements against invasion, and that more harm than good would result from the volunteer policy. In the course of a long correspondence which ensued, Stevens retorted that but for the operations of the Oregon volunteers he and his followers would have been cut off on their return from the expedition to treat with the northeastern tribes, and that their massacre would have been followed by a "hurricane of war between the Cascades and the Bitterroot." Wool nevertheless declined to equip volunteers or receive them into the service of the United States.[20]

[20] The controversy between Wool on the one hand and Stevens and the local authorities on the other hand sometimes threatened to rival in bitterness the feeling engendered by the indian wars themselves. Volumes of official reports and correspondence relate to this incidental aspect of the wars. Wool consistently championed the cause of the indians and maintained that their hostility was largely due to excesses by the whites, and accused the

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It will have been noted that the operations of the Oregon volunteers were conducted largely within the boundaries of the neighboring territory of Washington, that had recently been created by act of Congress, a circumstance inseparable from the extensive character of the indian uprising, which now had spread to the Puget Sound region and to Southern Oregon and Northern California, and which made the interest of each locality the concern of all. Indeed, although the campaigns of Nesmith and Kelly with their volunteers and of Rains' regulars, east of the Cascades, possessed a certain strategic significance, since the larger and more warlike tribes dwelt in this region, two more destructive wars, in point of lives and property sacrificed, were being waged by the indians of the other localities. Near Puget Sound, for example, there was an unheralded and unprovoked massacre of settlers in the White River Valley, October 28, 1855. The indians waited until most of the regulars stationed at Fort Steilacoom had started to join Rains and Nesmith in the Yakima country, when they raided the settlers' farms, being prevented from killing the entire population only by a warning sent by a friendly chieftain, Kitsap the elder. Lieutenant Slaughter and a small detachment immediately took the field and engaged the hostiles, and Slaughter was killed, December 4, 1855, by a lurking savage while that officer was standing before an open fire in a cabin in conference with the brother officers. The incident illustrated the unfamiliarity of many of the regular officers, notwithstanding their unquestioned gallantry, with the methods of their crafty antagonists. Eight settlers were killed in the White River Valley raid and an infant child was either kidnapped or killed by the attackers. Slaughter's command lost one man in an engage-

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settlers of advocating extermination of the natives. His letters are replete with references to "private war," and with similar allusions. "I think I shall be able to bring the war to a close in a few months," he wrote in one of his letters to Stevens, "provided the extermination of the indians—which I do not approve of—is not determined on, and private war prevented, and the volunteers withdrawn from the Walla Walla country." (Wool to Stevens, February 12, 1856. Stevens' Message and Accompanying Documents, p. 140.) "It is to be regretted," Wool wrote to Gov. I. N. Johnson of California, January 21, 1856, "that there are too many white inhabitants, both in Oregon and Northern California, who go in for exterminating the indians, and consequently do not discriminate between friends and foes, the result of which has been the death of many innocent and worthy citizens. * * * Could the citizens be restrained from private war, I have no doubt peace and quiet would soon be restored to the people of that region of the country." (House Executive Document No. 93, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session, p. 35.) Wool charged that it was "generally asserted that the present war is a God-send to the people." (Letter to Adjt.-Gen. Thomas, U. S. A., Id., p. 34.)

The issue was also tinged with private rancor. Stevens and Wool had been fellow officers in the Mexican war and Stevens was said once to have administered a rebuke to Wool in language which, while technically permitting no exception, was never forgiven by Wool, the occasion being a gathering of officers and civilians in San Francisco, at which Wool was boastfully reminiscent concerning his role in the battle of Buena Vista. James G. Swan, giving Stevens himself as authority for the statement, says (Olympia Transcript, May 9, 1868): "At last Governor Stevens remarked: 'General Wool, you are aware that I was through the campaign in Mexico with General Scott. I was not, however, at the battle of Buena Vista, but I have taken great pains, by means of official reports, to inform myself about that battle, and from all that I can learn I am very certain that General Taylor was the commander-in-chief, and that he did his duty, and that General Wool was second in command, and that he did his duty.'" (For citations of numerous articles in the Oregonian bearing on this controversy see Leslie M. Scott, History of the Oregon Country, Vol. II, p. 330, Compiler's Appendix.)

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ment with hostiles in the Klickitat, Nisqually and Green River tribes. Presence of the Klickitats here was significant of the part played by their tribe in the general conspiracy. The Nisquallies had become disaffected by reason of discontent with the extent of the reservations allotted to them, and also as the result of fantastic rumors to which currency had been given by leaders of the conspiracy. One of these stories was that the Government proposed to transport all the indians to an island far out in the Pacific Ocean, where the sun never shone—a region of perpetual night.

Causes similar to those which generally prevailed elsewhere contributed to the unrest of the indians in the south, which culminated in the most sanguinary war in all the history of the Oregon Country, but they were complicated, too, by other occurrences and conditions which help to account for its peculiarly ferocious character. After having made a treaty with the Rogue River indians, the representatives of the Government had virtually left them to their own resources. Those on the reservation were not controlled, and when, in furtherance of a scheme to remove every cause that might lead to friction between the races, indian superintendent Palmer undertook to change them to another reservation, as technically the treaty permitted him to do, they demurred. But even before the plan to remove them was matured, there were numerous acts of mutual hostility, which, in the absence of a strong force to administer justice and to keep the peace, were certain to provoke trouble. As has been said, the trail from Oregon to the newly opened mines of California lay through this region, and there were hopeful mining prospects in Southern Oregon. The mines attracted a class of men more venturesome and less restrained by ties of kindred than were the permanent settlers, and they also invited theft and pillage because miners habitually traveled in small parties, or alone, and left portable property for long periods unguarded. Every misdemeanor committed by an irresponsible indian and not punished bred contempt for the authority of the whites, and every reprisal made without due examination into individual guilt became at once a grave reflection on white men's justice and a provocation for retaliation in kind.[21]

Raiding renegades killed three miners, stole a band of horses and committed other depredations early in June, 1855. A posse of citizens pursued them and killed three. Chief Sam, one of the signers of Lane's Table Rock treaty of 1853, repudiated the guilty men. A few weeks later, in July, 1855, a series of difficulties occurred, subsequently designated as the "Humbug war," having its origin in a dispute between a white man and three indians, all of whom had been drinking, and resulting in the death of the white man. A

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[21] Wrote Joel Palmer to Commissioner Manypenny on October 9, 1855: "I am by no means convinced that all the aggressions reputed to have been committed by indians are chargeable to them. There are in these mining districts murderers, robbers, horse thieves and vagabonds congregated from all parts of the world. Driven frequently from among the settlers and miners, they are compelled to take shelter among the indians, where the most unwarranted excesses are indulged in * * * and by combining with the most reckless of the indians they are enabled to carry out their plans of annoying the settlers. There is reason to believe that very many of the murders and robberies committed in the south of Oregon and northern California within the last three years have been instigated by these miscreants or actually perpetrated by them * * * Thus, whole communities are thrown into commotion, and the heavy hand of vengeance falls upon the natives frequently for wrongs they have never perpetrated." (House Executive Document, No. 93, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session, pp. 59-60.)

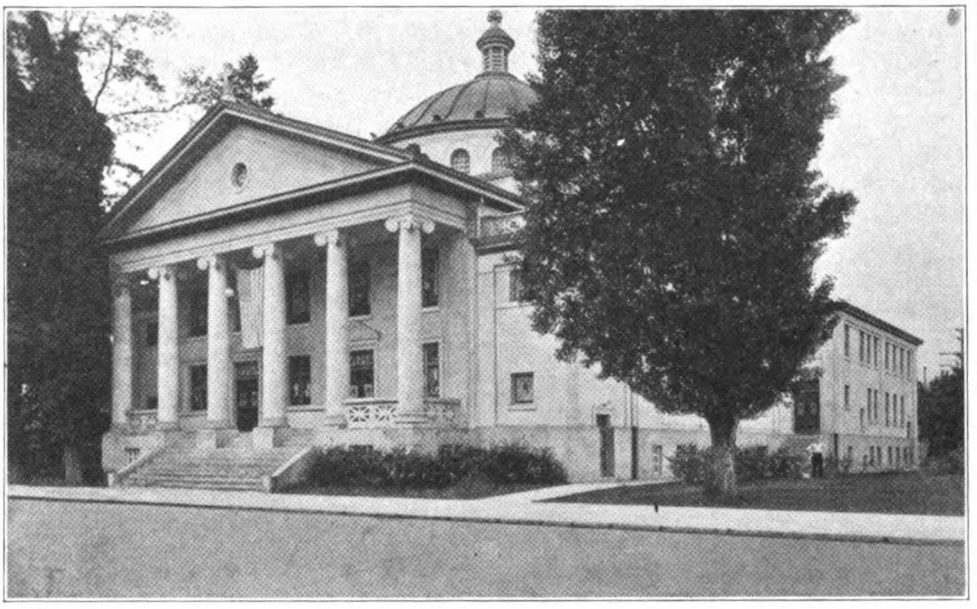
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civilian posse in quest of the slayer met a band of indians who refused to answer questions, and arrested several. Two escaped, returned to their camp and spread an alarming story that started a massacre of white miners along the Klamath River between Humbug and Horse creeks. Eleven were thus slain. The surviving whites, many of whom were newcomers to the district and unacquainted with the indians, included all natives in the reprisals that followed. Most of the twenty-five indians now indiscriminately shot, hanged, or thrown into abandoned prospect holes, had been friendly to the whites; the outlaws had promptly put a long distance between themselves and their pursuers. But the hostiles were equally indiscriminating, and other incidents occurring at about this time further tended to destroy the possibility of effective cooperation between the white inhabitants and the few regular troops stationed in the district. For example, some of the indians concerned in the Humbug affair surrendered to the military commander at Fort Lane, who refused to turn them over to a company of civilians, on the ground that the latter were not authorized officers of the law. The angry citizens laid siege to the fort but after a few days' consideration thought better of the plan. In August, 1855, an indian in the Port Orford district shot and wounded a white man and was arrested by Indian Agent Ben Wright, who gave him into the custody of the sheriff. The officer, having no place to keep him turned him over to the military to be taken to Port Orford. On the way to the latter place, the soldiers and their prisoner were fired on by the man who had been wounded and by two companions, who had decided to take the law into their own hands. The accused indian and another were killed by the first volley, whereupon the soldiers returned the fire, killing two of the attackers and mortally wounding the third.

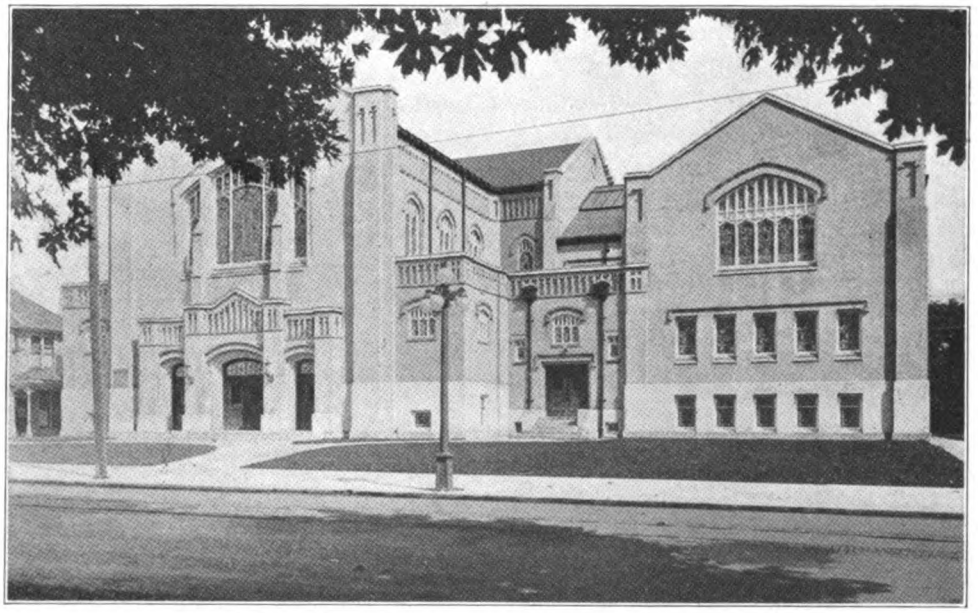
In the belief that a band of reservation indians encamped in a grove near the mouth of Butte Creek were bent on mischief, a volunteer company commanded by Maj. J. A. Lupton, a member-elect of the Territorial Legislature from Jackson County, surrounded the indian camp before daybreak, October 8, 1855, and inflicted summary chastisement, killing twenty-three or more and wounding nearly all the others.[22] Most of the dead proved to be old men, squaws and children, but they had made a spirited resistance, resulting in the death of Major Lupton from a poisoned arrow wound. The

[22] Indian Agent G. H. Ambrose wrote an account of the Lupton affair, which was published in the Oregon Weekly Times, October 27, 1855, in which he described a visit to the indian camp. He said: "We then proceeded to Jake's camp, where we found twenty-three dead bodies, and a boy who escaped said he saw two women floating down the river, and it is quite probable several more were killed whose bodies were not found. I had apprehended danger, and had so informed the indians several days previous, and Captain Smith had notified the indians that if they wanted protection they had to come on to the reserves or to Fort Lane. It seems, from their statements, that they had concluded to go on to the reserve, and had accordingly started on Sunday evening, leaving the old women and men to follow on Monday. In the meantime this attack was made quite early in the morning and the result was as above stated. There were found killed, eight men, four of whom were very aged, and fifteen women and children, all belonging to Jake's band. The attack was so early in the morning, it was more than probable that the women were undistinguishable from the men. * * * The whole populace of the country have become enraged, and intense excitement prevails everywhere; and I apprehend it will be useless to try to restrain these indians in any way, other than to kill them off. * * * Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I hardly think it possible to avert the most disastrous and terrible war that this country has ever been threatened with."

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CHRISTIAN CHURCH, EUGENE



METHODIST CHURCH, EUGENE

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war was now under way in earnest, although the record does not indicate that the indians had awaited the provocation of the Butte Creek massacre. When the hostiles sprang to arms, as they did on the day of the Lupton affair, they were already well provided with rifles and ammunition as if in anticipation of the event. By the morning of October 9, 1855, roving bands were attacking and murdering miners and settlers wherever found, sparing neither men, women nor children and desisting only after all the survivors in the outlying sections of the Rogue River Valley had found safety in the forts and settlements. Sixteen persons of all ages and both sexes were murdered. A deed of heroism conspicuous in the annals of the war was that of Mrs. George W. Harris, wife of a settler, who with her young daughter held the indians at bay after her husband had been killed, by firing her rifle at them through the chinks of the rude cabin in which she hastily fortified herself. Mrs. Harris was rescued on the following day.[23]

The alarm felt in the Rogue and Umpqua valleys was communicated to the Willamette Valley and it soon spread throughout Oregon, transcending in immediate importance the campaigns of Nesmith and Kelly in the east. Southern Oregon was prepared with men anxious to volunteer for the emergency, but arms were lacking. Notwithstanding this handicap, some fifteen companies were recruited by October 20, 1855, and were detailed by Col. John E. Ross to guard the settlements, as fast as they could be armed with such a heterogeneous collection of weapons as were then procurable. The rapidity with which events moved is shown by the circumstance that, October 17, 1855, only eight days after the date of the Rogue River massacre, volunteers met and engaged a greatly superior force of indians who surrounded and besieged them at Gallice Creek, a camp occupied by miners, including some Chinese. Here the indians varied their usual mode of attack by shooting lighted arrows into the cabins to which the soldiers had retired, and the entire camp, except the buildings held by the troops, was burned. Three of the defenders were killed and another received a wound from which he died a few weeks later. The volunteers so succeeded in strengthening their defenses in the night that the

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[23] The rescue was by regulars from Fort Lane, although it has been stated that it was effected by miners from Jacksonville. (Proc. Or. Pioneer Ass'n, 1916, p. 317.) Governor Curry's call for two southern battalions of volunteers was followed promptly, October 15, 1855, by issuance of a general order by Adjt.-Gen. E. M. Barnum, which recognized the general belief that indians throughout the northwest were acting in concert. "In view of the probable concert of action among the tribes upon both our northern and southern borders," the order read, "it is indispensably necessary that a free communication should be kept open between the Rogue river and Willamette valleys. * * * For the purpose of effectually chastising these savages who have perpetrated the merciless outrages in their midst, they will treat all indians as enemies who do not show unmistakable signs of friendship and they will also bear in mind, that so far as practicable a concert of action will be maintained with the United States forces that may be engaged in that section of the territory." (House Executive Document, No. 93, Thirty-fourth Congress, first session, p. 4.) As indicating also that the efforts of unauthorized citizens were regarded as a hindrance rather than a help, Barnum, October 20, issued an order forbidding partisan warfare, in which he said: "Information having been received that armed parties have taken the field in Southern Oregon, with the avowed purpose of waging a war of extermination against the indians in that section of the territory, and have slaughtered, without respect to age or sex, a friendly band of indians upon their reservation, * * * it is therefore ordered that the commanding officer * * * enforce the disbanding of all armed parties not duly enrolled in the service of the territory." (Id., p. 7.)

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enemy retired on the following day, concealing their losses by carrying their dead with them. The battle was stubbornly contested and the soldiers were confronted by enormous odds, again discovering that the indians possessed superior long-range rifles, which made it possible for them to inflict damage from a distance that rendered the fire of the troops quite ineffective.

The regular military forces in this district now consisted of ninety dragoons from Fort Lane, and these were reinforced late in October by about three hundred volunteers who had answered the first call in the Rogue River Valley, the combined forces being augmented on the night of October 30, 1855, by two companies recruited under the call issued by Governor Curry. The marauding indians having retired to the vicinity of Grave Creek, the soldiers pursued and divided with a view to catching the enemy on front and rear simultaneously; but here the officers of the regulars showed a lack of caution similar to the carelessness that cost Lieutenant Slaughter his life in the Puget Sound country at nearly the same time. Captain Smith gained a position in the rear of the indian stronghold, at which he arrived at daylight, October 31, before the division sent to occupy the front had reached its station, and, it being the dawn of an exceedingly inclement morning, built fires to warm and refresh his men. The campfires gave warning to the indians and destroyed every prospect of a surprise. In the engagement which followed, and which has been known variously as the battle of Hungry Hill, of Bloody Spring and of Grave Creek Hills, the volunteers lost six men killed and the regulars three; the volunteers fifteen wounded and the regulars seven. Another volunteer perished from exposure. The troops were now campaigning with insufficient food, clothing and blankets, and the rigors of an unusually severe season were intensified by the altitude of the Grave Creek Hills.

This was the last battle of the winter. Both regulars and volunteers retired after the Hungry Hill affair, which was a victory for the indians; and the volunteers proceeded to reorganize. This was done by superseding the local regiment, which had been hastily recruited in the first emergency, with the battalions called for under Governor Curry's formal proclamation, and by obtaining new supplies of the indispensables of war. There were a few skirmishes between patrols and detached bands of indians in December. The regulars went into winter quarters, and the volunteers who remained in the service passed the season in arduous and uninspiring guard duty in the vicinity of settlements, varied by occasional and usually futile pursuit of hostile natives, who had now dispersed in small parties intent on employing their superior arms and better knowledge of the country by inflicting as much damage over as wide an area as possible.

The indians of the whole country from British Columbia to the Shasta Mountains and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean were now organized and armed—and the settlers were thoroughly aroused, but not well armed. While the region east of the Cascades was practically abandoned to the natives, the whites in the Puget Sound country and in the Rogue River Valley built rude forts and strenghtened their blockhouses, and notwithstanding these precautions lived in a state of constant apprehension. From north to south the Willamette Valley shared the general feeling of insecurity. Palmer, absent from the indian superintendency at Dayton on another of his journeys of conciliation, was informed by his secretary that "there is much fear and quaking among our citizens * * * in consequence of the signal fires seen

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looming up on the heights of the Coast range, and which appear to be answered by similar lights upon the Cascade summits." Business was everywhere interrupted. A lurking savage seemed to be concealed in every roadside bush.

Palmer now sought to persuade his superiors in the indian bureau of the expediency of assembling the discontented natives of Western and Southern Oregon on a few reservations, where their material wants could be supplied at Government expense and their hostility curbed by satisfaction of their physical appetites. "Much of the present difficulty," he wrote to Commissioner Manypenny, October 9, 1855,—notwithstanding that only a few months previously his name had been subscribed to an advertisement proclaiming these lands open to immigrants—"is traceable to the mistaken policy of permitting the settlement of the indian lands prior to the extinguishment of the indian title and the designation of proper reservations. This mistake might now be partially remedied by the immediate gathering of the indian population on their several reservations, to do which, and make proper provision for their comfort, would involve an expense less than that of a six months' or a two years' war, which must inevitably follow, as I believe, their present situation and a failure to provide for their wants." Palmer estimated that an expenditure of $35,000 for buildings and roads, and for clothing the tribes south of Umpqua and providing them with food during the winter, would secure peace in that quarter; $25,000 for the Table Rock reserve, $25,000 at Umatilla and $20,000 on the Wasco reservation, he believed, would insure tranquillity in the Rogue River region and in middle Oregon. "The crisis of the destiny of the indian race in the Oregon and Washington Territories," wrote Palmer also, "is now upon us; and the result of the causes now operating, unless speedily arrested, will be disastrous to the whites, destructive to the indians, and a heavy reproach upon our national character."

The indian bureau was not, however, prepared to act in accordance with Palmer's advice. Nor was it needful to go as far as the national capital for an example of the policy of delay which was now defeating all attempts to prevent war. The voluminous official correspondence of the period contains much to illuminate this topic. For illustration, Capt. H. M. Judah, Fourth Infantry, acting in the capacity of indian agent at Fort Jones, wrote to Thomas J. Henley, superintendent of indian affairs at San Francisco, November 2, 1855, urging that provision be made for the subsistence of those peaceful indians who had had no opportunity to lay in food for the winter, and received a reply in which Henley stated that he conceived it to be his duty "to provide for the reception of suffering indians on the reservations," but expressed doubt that indians who declined to proceed at once to the reservations designated for them were entitled to relief in any measure. Captain Judah, January 21, 1856, retorted that he "*had* supposed that the necessary preliminaries to removal of the indians upon a reserve, including their preparation for the so serious a change to them, was one of the more delicate if not difficult portions of the duties appertaining to the indian department. How the indians are to be reconciled to the relinquishment of their homes, what inducements are to be legally offered them, how the expenses of their removal are to be provided for, Colonel Henley does not pretend to say or advise upon."

Palmer, nevertheless, proceeded to obtain by purchase a reservation of about six thousand acres at the headwaters of the Yamhill River to which as ex-

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peditiously as possible he removed certain bands of Calapooyas, Umpquas and Molallas, most of whom had been deprived of their customary supplies of roots, berries and fish and were nearly destitute of clothing and moccasins. This was not accomplished without some opposition among the indians themselves. The young men desired to go, but the old men were reluctant, saying that they had but a few years to live and wished to pass them in their familiar hunting grounds. These objections at length were overcome, so that by February, 1856, some three hundred indians were domiciled on the reserve, including a small band of the Rogue River tribe, under Chief Sam, who had held to the terms of the Table Rock treaty and had taken no part in the hostilities.

Now, however, still other obstacles were interposed to the success of Palmer's plan. Political partisanship was intense, and Palmer's foes in the Territorial Legislature seized upon the occasion for their advantage. The democrat members of the Legislature, thirty-five in number, January 8, 1856, addressed a protesting memorial to President Pierce asking Palmer's removal on various grounds—among them that he was "at this moment engaged in efforts to purchase the land claims of citizens residing on the west side of the Willamette valley, with the avowed intentions of bringing thousands of indians from remote parts of the country and colonizing them in the heart of this, the Willamette valley; and this despite the remonstrances of the legislative assembly, and of our constituents—the men, women and children of the territory." [24]

In consequence of failure to coordinate the labors of those who strove for a constructive peace, the causes of irritation were not removed, nor were they much abated. In the Puget Sound district the natives were still dissatisfied with their reservations, and all of their treaties but one still remained unconfirmed. In the country of the Yakimas and the Klickitats there was increasing evidence that Kamiakin, Owhi and Skloom had discovered that the treaty signed at Walla Walla was unpopular with their people. As to the Klickitats, who had declined to attend the Walla Walla council—these were enraged when they learned that their country had been sold without their consent, and openly declared that they would not abide by an agreement in which they had had no voice.[25] Palmer now ordered all the Klickitats resident in the Willamette and Umpqua valleys to return to their former homes. "Some left the country quietly," wrote Palmer, "and appeared satisfied; while others evinced a bad feeling; and, I am told, sought to produce a similar spirit among the indians throughout the country."

Hostilities were begun in Southern Oregon with raids by roving indians, as

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[24] House Executive Document, No. 93, p. 134. The memorialists gave a curiously partisan flavor to their protest by adding the following: "Second, we would further represent to your Excellency the fact that the said Palmer representing himself to be a sound national democrat, received, through the recommendation of such democrats, residents of this territory, his appointment from a democratic administration. But, through a spirit of political perfidy, ingratitude and meanness, he, the said Palmer, did, about one year since, join the Know Nothings; and, having bound himself with the perfidious oaths of that dark and hellish secret political order, has faithfully kept his oaths by neglecting to vote for the nominees of the democratic party, and by appointing incompetent Know-Nothing Whigs to office, in exclusion of sound, worthy and competent democrats." (Id., p. 134.)

[25] Palmer to Manypenny, October 9, 1855, House Executive Document No. 93, before cited, p. 58.

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a preliminary to which the warlike factions in the Rogue River and Umpqua valleys seemed to have reached an understanding, though not a perfect coalition. Governor Curry's two southern battalions had been organized as independent commands, neither recognizing the authority of the officers of the other, and these were now consolidated, the second regiment of Oregon mounted volunteers being created, with Robert L. Williams, colonel, W. J. Martin, lieutenant-colonel and James Bruce, major. Charges of intentional inactivity, preferred against Colonel Williams by a number of his subordinates in February, resulted in the election by the Legislature of John K. Lamerick as brigadier-general in supreme command, but the quarrel had an adverse effect on regimental morale. About two-thirds of the volunteers received their discharges, some of them reënlisting in two new companies that were then recruited and the regiment was further reorganized in March, 1856, by election of John Kelsay, colonel; W. W. Chapman, lieutenant-colonel, and W. L. Latshaw and James Bruce, majors. Even before these issues of regimental politics had been adjusted, the indians had taken the warpath again.

The last vestige of sympathy for the indians as a people was alienated by the murder, February 22, 1856, of Ben Wright, then stationed as an indian agent at Gold Beach, at the mouth of the Rogue River.[26] Wright, a fearless fighter, had been a persistent champion of the indians and was recognized as a prudent and a just administrator and an advocate of Palmer's plan of ending the war by conciliation. His slayer was a renegade named Enos, of an eastern tribe, who had been with Fremont as a guide, and who had so far won the confidence of Wright that he had unquestioned access to the agent's office. Enos himself killed Wright with an ax, following which he and his followers massacred twenty-five other settlers at Gold Beach. The survivors fled to a fort, where they were besieged for thirty-five days, until relieved by a detachment of regulars from Fort Humboldt, California. The military forces in the upper Rogue River Valley were informed of the plight of the beleaguered people, but feared to go to their rescue lest they should expose the settlements to greater danger. The coast region was laid waste by Enos' indians and several other residents were killed. Enos now joined the up-river hostiles, but the coast indians were pursued and subdued by regulars and volunteers in a campaign which continued into April, 1856, at the conclusion of which they begged to be taken under the protection of the Government.

The volunteers of the second regiment engaged in several minor skirmishes and fought two battles in March and April, 1856, operating throughout these months with the formal assistance of the regulars. Brigadier-General Lamerick wrote to the governor, April 15, 1856: "I have reason to believe that General Wool has issued orders to the United States troops not to cooperate with the volunteers. But the officers of Fort Lane told me they would, whenever they met me, most cordially coöperate with any volunteers under my command.[27]

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[26] When the perpetrators of the Gold Beach massacre were removed to the Siletz reservation after the war, they took with them Wright's scalp, over which they held nightly dances in the effort to suppress which another outbreak was nearly precipitated. R. B. Metcalfe, then indian agent, demanded the scalp and on their refusal to deliver it up dragged two of the murderers into his office in the face of 200 indians and told them that unless the scalp was delivered in fifteen minutes he would kill them both. Before the expiration of the allotted time the scalp was delivered and peace was restored.

[27] Oregon Weekly Times, April 26, 1856.

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The regulars, however, confined their activities in the beginning chiefly to the coast, while the volunteers sent scouting parties through the mountains with the design of driving the indians down the rivers toward the regulars. In the execution of the plan the volunteers gave the hostiles no rest. They engaged a superior force of mixed Rogue Rivers, Shastas and Umpquas late in March at the base of Eight Dollar Mountain, where there was sharp fighting which terminated in the escape of the indians in the heavy timber that covered the hills. Again, pursuant to the plan of campaign developed by Lamerick, the northern and southern battalions about the middle of April marched by two routes along the north and south sides of the valley, scouring the foothills until they discovered the hostiles concentrated in camp on a bar below the Little Meadows of the Rogue River, but difficulty in crossing the river in the two canvas boats, which constituted the soldiers' only means of water transport, somewhat qualified their victory. The indians were driven from the bar with loss, and again evaded capture by taking to the woods. They abandoned the locality and the volunteers established a permanent camp, which was named Fort Lamerick, at Big Meadows, near the scene of their late fighting. The result of the campaign was to clear the upper valley of indians and to incline many of them to accept the protection of the regulars, whose vengeance they feared less than they did that of the settlers and volunteers. Citizen companies from Coos Bay, Port Orford and Gold Beach during this period kept up an incessant campaign of scouting in the mountains, descending on the indians wherever they found an encampment, and usually giving no quarter.

The strategy of the regulars was similar to that of the volunteers. The dragoons from Fort Lane made a difficult march in rain, snow and fog across the Coast Range in May, clearing the country of the enemy as they proceeded, and at the mouth of the Illinois River joined with the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan. The base of supplies of the regulars was Crescent City, and the task of escorting the commissary trains was attended by incessant guerilla fighting. The Coquilles were particularly treacherous, repeatedly breaking their promises to return to the reservation and to remain there, so that it came to be the practice to shoot a Coquille indian on sight.

Palmer now redoubled his efforts to obtain peace by treaty. He sent messengers, chosen from among the accumulated prisoners, to the chiefs to tell them that unless they surrendered it would be impossible to prevent a war of extermination, and also to warn them that the conflict could terminate only to their disadvantage; and thus he gained their consent to a council, but only on condition that they should be free to accept or reject the terms offered them and that they should not be molested if the conference came to naught. Several of the chieftains of the warring tribes assembled with this understanding, May 21, 1856, at Colonel Buchanan's camp on Oak Flat on the right bank of the Illinois River, a short distance above its mouth. The council was effective only in extracting from some of the indians a promise to lay down their arms and permit themselves to be escorted to a new reservation—a promise which was subsequently broken. But Chief John refused even to give his pledge. He defied the councilors. "You are a great chief," he said, addressing Colonel Buchanan. "So am I. This is my country. I was in it when those large trees were very small, not higher than my head. My heart is sick with fighting, but I want to live in my own country. If the white people are willing, I will go back to Deer Creek and live among them as I used to do. They can visit my

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SURGEONS' QUARTERS, OLD FORT DALLAS, NOW PROPERTY OF OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY, USED AS A MUSEUM



GUARD HOUSE, OLD FORT DALLAS, ERECTED IN 1858

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camp, and I will visit theirs; but I will not lay down my arms and go with you on the reserve. I will fight. Goodby." The other chiefs, less candid, agreed to assemble with their bands May 26 to be conveyed under military guard to the reservations set apart for them, but all this was without the intention of keeping the agreement, as subsequent events were to prove.

The day came, but not the indians. Indeed, Captain Smith, who was waiting to receive them with infantry and dragoons, got word that Chief John was plotting an attack. Smith hastily moved camp and built rifle pits and breastworks, which were completed none too soon, for on the morning of May 27, 1856, the warriors surrounded him. Failing to gain admission by representing themselves as having come to surrender, they assaulted from all sides, charging on front and rear in force under the cover of the fire of their sharpshooters, while smaller bodies clambered up the steep declivities that flanked the camp. The soldiers had one howitzer, but their small arms were inferior to those of the natives and the garrison suffered heavily from long-range fire which they were unable to return effectively, so that by the afternoon of the second day they had lost nine killed and twelve wounded, or almost one-third of their number, while the indians had received fresh accessions. To the sufferings of the wounded were added the pangs of intense thirst. There was much fighting at close range—so close that the indians shouted epithets at their antagonists. During the previous negotiations Captain Smith had threatened them with hanging if they were caught committing depredations after having refused peace. Chief John now threw Smith's own words back at him. The savages derisively dangled ropes before the troopers, accompanying the action by appropriate taunts.

The battle, which had begun at eleven o'clock on the morning of May 27, 1856, continued without interruption until four o'clock on the afternoon of May 28, when a company of the fourth infantry sent by Buchanan arrived just as the indians were preparing to assault en masse. The indians fled, though they still largely outnumbered the combined forces of the whites; and thereafter surrendered in small bands, receiving the immunities of civilized warfare and the protection of the regulars on their journey to the reservations. Chief John persisted in his determination to return to Table Rock, and proved so troublesome an agitator that he was afterward confined in the military prison at Fort Alcatraz, California.

A few roving indians remained in the coast mountains for a time, to be treated as outlaws, hunted down a few at a time and shot, but the war in Southern Oregon was finished. The succeeding chapter of the history of these indians was written on the reservations to which the tribes were removed. Chief John and his Rogue River band, with Chiefs George and Sam, were first taken to Palmer's Grande Ronde reservation, where in November, 1856, a census showed the total number congregated there to be 1,925, of whom 909 were members of the Rogue River and Shasta tribes. In May, 1857, however, almost all of the latter were removed to the Siletz reservations of about one thousand square miles, lying along the Pacific coast between the Siletz and the Alsea rivers. Of the Rogue Rivers, only Chief Sam, who had remained neutral throughout the wars, with fifty-eight men and their families, stayed on the Grande Ronde. The confederated bands of Umpquas and Calapooyas on this reservation now numbered 262, and the Willamette Valley indians, including a few scattered bands of Calopooyas, 660, constituting the pathetic remnant

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of the numerous people among whom Jason Lee and his missionary associates had set out to labor some twenty years before. The indian population of the Siletz reservation in 1857 comprised 554 Rogue Rivers and Shastas with whom treaties had been made and ratified, and other coast indians to the number of 1495. The latter included the Ioshutz, Chec-coos, Too-too-ta-ays, Mac-ca-noo-tangs, Coquille, Port Orford, Sixes, Flores Creek, Shasta-Costas and Yukers, with whom treaties had been made but not ratified. A total of not many more than three thousand remained of all those who had overrun Western Oregon at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It cannot be said truthfully that the lot of the indians on the reservations was now particularly happy. Administrative difficulties arose as obstacles to their contentment, which were intensified by inequalities of treatment of the various tribes. For example, the Rogue Rivers and Shastas, whose treaties had been ratified, were entitled to receive certain benefits not bestowed upon other indians who had been driven from their homes under similar circumstances, with similar obligations toward them on the part of the Government. The latter indians were not provided with annuities or other advantages. Delivery of treaty goods to one tribe, and non-delivery to another, would have been the signal for an outbreak. "The whites," wrote J. Ross Browne, in a report on the condition of the reservations in 1857, "are unable to justify any favoritism, and the indians are fully aware of the fact, for they are sufficiently sagacious to understand the general principles of justice.[28] Consequently the agent found it necessary to resort to the unsatisfactory expedient of making presents to all the indians at the same time, in an effort to mollify them, a subterfuge which did not increase the reverence of the indians for the institutions of the whites. Other instances of inefficient administration arose, among which was delay in receipt of annuity funds. "The present year's annuities have not yet been received," wrote the special agent of the indian department, although it was then November. "Winter is approaching, and it is necessary the indians should be provided with blankets and clothing. The money that should have been paid last year for goods has to be paid this year; from which it will be seen that the ruinous system of credit is kept up even under the treaties, and that the indians receive but a fraction of what Congress provides for them."[29]

The southern indians were averse to labor and made no progress in civilization, except Chief Sam, who built himself a house, cultivated a patch of ground

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[28] J. Ross Browne's report to the Secretary of the Interior, November 17, 1857.

[29] Browne recounts several instances in which contractors extracted high prices for inferior food. A contract was made for flour at 10 cents a pound, when flour was selling in Portland at $8 a barrel. Mill sweepings were delivered, the quality of which was so low that it made many of the indians sick; "they got the idea that the whites had poisoned it, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the agent pacified them." He did this by eating a large quantity in their presence and by telling them that the white employees used the same article. Flour costing $5 per barrel at the mills was delivered at the reservations at a contract price of $17 per barrel. Yet one of the contractors told Browne that with the apparently enormous profit "he made nothing, as he had not yet received his pay and had to borrow money at 3 per cent per month to meet his liabilities for the original purchase." The result, from the point of view of the indians, who had no voice in the adjustment of their accounts was "tantamount to a breach of faith." (J. Ross Browne's report, House Executive Document No. 93, Thirty-fifth Congress, first session, p. 34.) As to the frauds in commissary supplies, see Victor, Early Indian Wars, p. 415.

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and sold apples and onions to his subjects, at 25 cents for an apple and 12½ cents for an onion. It was the especial grievance of the Rogue Rivers that they had been removed from a congenial reservation in their own country against their will, and only as a temporary expedient to preserve the general peace. Believing themselves unjustly treated, they made no effort to abandon their old ways. When the main body of the Rogue Rivers left the Grande Ronde, they burned all the houses in which they had lived, as had always been their custom when leaving a place. The Government, they said, which forced them to live in an insalubrious country, must be content to abide by their customs.

The grievances to which allusion has been made were communicated to the special agent of the Government at a "wa-wa," or talk, with the head chiefs at the Grande Ronde agency. Sam voiced the general feeling of the indians when he charged that the Government's promises had not been kept. He was puzzled by the removal of indian superintendent Palmer, who had now been superseded by J. W. Nesmith. "With us," said Sam, "we are born chiefs; once a chief we are a chief for life. But you are only common men and we never know how long you will hold your authority, or how soon the great chief may degrade you, or how soon he may be turned out himself. We want to know the true head, that we may state our condition to him. So many lies have been told him that we think he never hears the truth, or he would not compel us to suffer as we do." The indians were told in reply that they must work. "All white people had to work. The shirts and blankets they wore were made by white men's labor. Were they better than white men, that they should live without working?" Yet it is doubtful if they were as much impressed by this as by the agent's further warning: "If they undertook to go back to their homes they would be shot down, and then the President's heart would be sad, because he could no longer protect them."[30] These grievances were adjusted slowly, and for some years afterward two badly located military posts were maintained nominally for the preservation of the peace and protection of the people. One of these was situated six miles from the Siletz agency, where it would have afforded little or no protection to the employees in the event of an uprising, and the other in King's Valley, thirty miles from the reservation, in a direction nearly opposite to that which the indians would have taken in an attempt to escape.[31]

The campaign in the north in 1856 was involved more deeply in considerations of policy than of military strategy. The federal troops in the district were reinforced in January by eight companies of the ninth infantry commanded by Col. George Wright, who was ordered by General Wool to proceed up the Columbia and establish headquarters at The Dalles, and branch posts in the Walla Walla and Yakima valleys and also midway between Yakima and The Dalles. Wool, however, at the same time that he determined on a policy of preventing the indians from hunting or fishing at their accustomed places and so reducing them to subjection by degrees, was not favorably disposed toward settlement of the eastern district in advance of ratification of treaties. His campaign did not contemplate provision for the permanent protection of the white inhabitants. Kamiakin and his fellow hostiles were first to be persuaded

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[30] Browne's Report, previously cited, p. 47.

[31] A list of United States military posts, with the names of the commanders from 1855 to 1860 is given in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, p. 194.

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to enter into treaties if possible, so that Wright's mission was less than half that of a soldier bent on war; he was also an emissary sent to open negotiations with the disaffected tribes. The generalship of the hardy Kamiakin, now the recognized leader of all the northern disaffected indians, and an error of judgment committed by Wright in furtherance of Wool's orders, were responsible almost at the outset for a siege of the stations at Cascades by Yakima, Klickitat and Cascade indians. There is reason to believe that Kamiakin had long realized the tactical value of this point in his scheme to advance across the Columbia River and invade the Willamette Valley, so that when Wright sent his soldiers east to Walla Walla and north toward Yakima, and left only a sergeant and eight men to garrison the blockhouse at the middle Cascades, Kamiakin saw that his opportunity had come. The portages were guarded by only this meager military force. There were a number of civilian employees who were building a portage railroad to be used in transporting stores from the lower to the upper Columbia, a few men were at work unloading river steamers, and the other inhabitants were engaged in their usual vocations. Two steamers, the Mary and the Wasco, lay in the river. Most of the workmen were at the upper Cascades, where they made headquarters in the Bradford store, about a mile from the blockhouse.

The indians attacked without warning from ambush in the timber above the settlements simultaneously all along the line on the morning of March 26, 1856. At a saw mill on Rock Creek, at the upper end of the portage, a workman, his wife and her young brother fell at the first fire, and were scalped, their bodies being thrown into the river. The crews of the steamers were fired on, but defended themselves stoutly and succeeded in building fires under the boilers and getting away. This frustration of the indians' plans for a sudden and complete destruction of communications was disastrous to them, for the steamers took tidings of the attack to The Dalles, from where Colonel Wright had only recently marched toward Walla Walla. A courier speedily advised him of the situation at the Cascades and he returned with as little delay as possible. A friendly indian meanwhile carried the news to Fort Vancouver, and while Colonel Wright was descending the Columbia, Lieut. Philip Sheridan —the same Sheridan who subsequently distinguished himself in the war between the states—was on the way up-river, on the small steamer called the Belle, with forty regulars from the remnant that had been left at Vancouver when Wool projected the eastern campaign. About seventy volunteers, who furnished their own arms and accoutrements, followed in two detachments on the next day.

The indians meanwhile laid siege to the Bradford store, in which had congregated forty persons, comprising eighteen men and four women who could fight and eighteen wounded men and children, and also surrounded the blockhouse, where the soldiers and a smaller company of civilians had fortified themselves. One soldier failed to reach the blockhouse and was captured by the attackers and cruelly slain. At the upper Cascades a teamster who was wounded while trying to reach the store took refuge behind a rock, where he was protected by a hot gun-fire from the store, but it was impossible to succor him. During the two nights that the siege continued the indians burned buildings to light the scene and prevent his rescue. The store was a two-story log structure, strongly built. It well served the purposes of a fort and fortunately contained a quantity of military stores. The indians kept up an incessant fire

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at this point, giving variety to the attack by shooting lighted arrows and throwing burning faggots on the roof of the store from the overhanging bluffs. Here the civilian garrison by constant vigilance for two days and two nights maintained its position until relief arrived. The survivors of the first attack on the lower Cascades escaped down the river in open boats. Fourteen persons in all, including one woman, were killed and twelve wounded. The survivors met Sheridan, and the men volunteered to return with him and fight.

Colonel Wright arrived at the upper Cascades early on the morning of March 28, 1856, and Sheridan reached the lower Cascades only a few hours later, landed on the Oregon side, and after reconnoitering on foot ascertained from friendly Cascade indians the state of the siege both at the blockhouse and the upper town. Wright's men, numbering 250, speedily dispersed the enemy at the latter place, and Sheridan's smaller force which was then landed on the Washington side, met sharp resistance and was compelled to drop down the river and entrench. With the help, however, of Willamette Valley volunteers, who arrived in the steamer Fashion, and who divided the attention of the enemy, Sheridan had just reached a point near the blockhouse and located a howitzer in a favorable position and was engaging the full attention of the Yakimas when a cavalry bugle call signalled the approach of a troop from Wright's camp. The possible surprise and victory faded away. The sound of the bugle ended any hope there might have been and the indians fled, as always had been their practice when the battle turned against them.

No Yakima indians were punished for the raid, but Chenoweth, a renegade chief of the Cascade tribe, and eight others were caught, tried by summary court martial and hanged. Wright then ordered that all members of the Cascade tribe found away from an island reservation which he set apart for them be shot wherever found.[32] He ordered a blockhouse to be erected on the bluff back of Bradford's store, and another at the lower Cascades. Both of these were garrisoned with troops.

The Oregon Territorial Assembly, January 30, 1856, had adopted a memorial asking that General Wool be removed from command of the department of the Pacific. "He has remained inactive and refused to send troops to the relief of the volunteers," said the memorialists, "or to supply them with arms and ammunition in time of need. He has gone into winter quarters and left our settlements exposed to the ravages of our enemies. * * * Not content with the inactive and inefficient course which he has thought proper to pursue in this war, * * * he has departed from this inactive policy only to censure the governor and people of this territory for their commendable zeal in de-

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[32] A generally regretted incident growing out of the excitement engendered by the Cascade massacre was the murder by unknown whites of the family of Chief Spencer, a friendly Chinook, consisting of his wife, two youths, three girls and a baby. Spencer, who was an influential chief, had been sent for by Colonel Wright to act as interpreter in negotiations with the hostile tribes, and had taken his family with him to remain with relatives in Eastern Oregon. When Wright went to the relief of the Cascades, Spencer sent his family down river to Vancouver, and they disappeared. Lieutenant Sheridan at the request of Joseph L. Meek deployed a detachment as skirmishers across the valley and found the bodies of the entire family. All had been strangled with strands of rope tied around their necks. "The offenders," said Sheridan in his Memoirs, "were citizens living near the middle blockhouse, whose wives and children had been killed a few days before by the hostiles, but who well knew that these unoffending creatures had nothing to do with those murders."

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fending their country."[33] Governor Stevens reposed no greater confidence in Wool than did the Oregon Legislature, and February 25, 1856, ordered the organization of three battalions of volunteers, one of which, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, was directed to march to the Walla Walla Valley, it being Stevens' plan to drive the hostile indians from the vicinity of Puget Sound toward the interior plains. No attention was paid in high official quarters to the protest against Wool, and Wright was left free to pursue his original course, as soon as he had recovered from the setback caused by the occurrence at the Cascades. So, while Shaw was preparing to cross the mountains by way of Naches Pass, which he did in June, Colonel Wright in May resumed his march north in quest of indians with whom to negotiate, engaging in a few skirmishes with irreconcilables who set fire to his grass and otherwise committed petty annoyances. Finally obtaining interviews with Kamiakin, Skloom, Owhi, Leschi and a young son of Peu-peu-mox-mox who had succeeded his father in command of the Walla Walla war party, he was completely deceived by a policy which the chiefs now craftily developed, of contending for delay by representing that they themselves were in favor of peace but required time in which to bring their associates to their way of thinking. They told Wright that the whole trouble was due to the circumstance that the treaties of Walla Walla had been forced upon them. Wright answered with threats, which were tempered with expressions of sympathy and which did not much impress the hostiles. Nothing definite was accomplished at Wright's conferences and the United States forces devoted the remainder of the summer to destroying indian food caches, to driving the natives from their fishing places, and to collecting non-combatants, who were sent to Oregon to be cared for on reservations but not closely guarded, so that they were free to come and go as they wished, and to act as spies. The last of the Oregon volunteers were disbanded in August, 1856, largely for lack of equipment and because of the refusal of the regular army authorities to supply them with arms, but their service in keeping indians on the move had not been without value. So, too, Colonel Shaw's Washington volunteers contributed to the final suppression of the hostiles by fighting two battles on Burnt River and in the Grande Ronde Valley in Eastern Oregon, which battles, although inconclusive, were notice to the indians that they were dealing with a persevering foe. Notwithstanding the general absence of coöperation which will have been noted, the cumulative effect of this incessant harrying of the savages, by regulars and Oregon and Washington volunteers, began to be observed late in the summer, when eight or nine hundred wavering Wascoes, John Days, Tyghes and Des Chutes surrendered in small groups and were sent to the Warm Springs reservation.

Efforts were made independently by Stevens, acting as superintendent of indian affairs in Washington Territory, and by Col. E. J. Steptoe, of the regular army, in the autumn of 1856, to make peace by treaty. Steptoe was sent in August to establish a military post in the Walla Walla Valley, and anticipated his departure from The Dalles for that locality by issuing a proclamation ordering all settlers out of the region the indian title to which had not been extinguished by confirmation of treaties with them. "No emigrant or other person, except the Hudson's Bay Company or persons having ceded rights from the indians," said Steptoe in a proclamation August 20, 1856, "will be

[33] Oregon Weekly Times, February 2, 1856.

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PORTAGE RAILROAD AT THE CASCADES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

This was the first railroad in Oregon used to transport passengers and freight around the swift waters of the Cascades in connection with steamboats above and below. The building in the distance is the blockhouse or fort erected in 1855 and which figured in the war with the Yakimas in 1856.

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permitted to settle or remain in the indian country, or on land not settled, or not confirmed by the senate and approved by the president of the United States."

Stevens about this time, in view of Wright's plans for the occupation of the Walla Walla Country, went to Shaw's camp, on the present site of the City of Walla Walla, for the purpose of mustering out the volunteers, and also to attempt to hold a council with the tribes. The war faction of the Nez Percés was now thought to be in the ascendancy, the attitude of the Cayuses was dubious, and the Walla Wallas and the Yakimas were openly hostile, and these considerations moved Stevens to request Steptoe to furnish him while holding the proposed council the protection of two companies, with mountain howitzers. Steptoe refused, giving as reasons that is was unnecessary, that it would have an unfavorable effect on the indians, and that it would be a violation of the instructions of General Wool.[34] The council opened on September 11 and lasted a week. The indians were surly and uncompromising from the beginning. Stevens, therefore, September 13, 1856, addressed to Steptoe another appeal for a guard, "as essential to the security of my camp." Steptoe replied by suggesting that Stevens move instead. The governor reluctantly took the hint and on the way to Steptoe's camp encountered a band of warriors commanded by Kamiakin, whose design to attack the volunteers, Stevens was informed, had been frustrated by this unexpected move.

The council accomplished nothing. Stevens submitted his terms, which were unconditional submission to the justice and mercy of the Government and the surrender of all indian murderers for trial. Steptoe informed the indians that he had come to the country to establish a post, not to fight them; and that he "trusted they should get along as friends," and he appointed the following day for another council which the indians ignored. Instead they set fire to the prairie around Steptoe's camp as a further act of defiance and started in pursuit of Stevens and the volunteers, now returning to The Dalles. Fighting between Stevens' party and the hostiles of all tribes continued through the afternoon of September 19, and was resumed on September 20. Colonel Steptoe meanwhile, however, sent detachments of dragoons and artillery to Stevens' aid and the enemy were repulsed. Colonel Shaw of the volunteers distinguished himself in the first day's fighting by leading a charge with twenty-four men, in the course of which he was cut off by a band of 150 warriors, through whom the volunteers cut their way back to the main column. The principal casualties of the battle occurred here. Stevens' loss was one killed and one gravely and one slightly wounded. The indian losses were officially reported as thirteen killed and wounded. Attended by the escort from Steptoe's camp Stevens and the volunteers proceeded out of the region and the governor returned to Olympia.

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[34] Steptoe wrote: "I don't think it advisable to move down my command, or the part of it you request, at this hour. The effect of it upon the indians could not fail to be startling, I am induced to believe. More than that, I have not the shadow of a doubt that the Cayuses are decided to conduct themselves properly at the council. * * * My advice (if you will permit the liberty) is that the council business be adjourned so far as possible to some more convenient time. * * * And permit me to say that my instructions from General Wool do not authorize me to make any arrangement, whatever, of the kind you wish. * * * If I thought you were in the least danger, I would not hesitate to move down with the whole of my force; as it is, I cannot accede to your request."—Steptoe to Stevens, Message of Governor Stevens, etc., 1857, p. 177.

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General Wool did not lose hope of concluding peace by convincing the indians that the regulars were their friends and that settlers would be excluded from their country. Under orders from Wool,[35] Colonel Wright called another council of Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Nez Percés, which about forty of the chiefs attended. The indians reiterated their dissatisfaction with the Walla Walla treaties, declared that Lawyer had sold them out and that they wanted peace. Wright in return promised them immunity for their past conduct and assured them that no white man would be permitted to settle among them without their permission until the treaties had been acted on or new ones made. Wright was so impressed by the results of this council that he reported officially that in his opinion the treaties should not be ratified and that peace and quiet could easily be maintained. Stevens took issue with Wright, who, he said in a letter of protest to the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, had made unauthorized concessions calculated to embarrass the indian service in its dealings with the tribes.

General Wool nevertheless accepted the view of his subordinate, which coincided with his own predilections, and on December 18, 1856, officially declared that peace had been restored. "Under present arrangements," he wrote, "I don't believe that the war can be renewed by the whites. The posts are well arranged to preserve peace and to protect the inhabitants from any hostility on the part of the indians residing in the territories." [36]

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[35] Wool's letter to Wright, dated October 19, 1856. It read in part: "Warned by what has occurred, the general trusts you will be on your guard against the whites and adopt the most prompt and vigorous measures to crush the enemy before they have time to combine for resistance; also check the war, and prevent further trouble by keeping the whites out of the indian country."

[36] While these events were occurring east of the Cascade Mountains, the people around Puget Sound had at least two noteworthy conflicts with the western tribes.

On January 25, 1856, a considerable force of hostiles, led by Leschi of the Nisquallies and Owhi of the Upper Yakimas, attacked Seattle and poured a hot fire into the town all day, but were repulsed by home guards, aided by men from the sloop-of-war Decatur then in harbor. The indians had planned to destroy Seattle and march on Fort Steilacoom, capture the ammunition there and open a war of extermination. Early in March, 1856, a band of fifty warriors committed several murders south of Steilacoom, and March 8 a battle was fought by local volunteers and indians at Connell's prairie, which resulted in a victory for the numerically inferior force of whites. Two companies of United States infantry and four companies of volunteers were busily employed in patrolling the region, with occasional skirmishes, throughout the summer.

Indians from British Columbia in this year invaded Washington Territory in war canoes, and when they interpreted as a sign of weakness a missive sent to them under a flag of truce with a friendly warning to leave the country, they were engaged in battle at Port Gamble by the crew of the United States steamer Massachusetts, who killed twenty-seven and wounded twenty-one of a total force of 117. This put an end to apprehension of invasion by the northern tribes.

For a short time during this period Pierce County was placed under martial law by proclamation of Governor Stevens, in consequence of Stevens' disagreement with the civil courts over the treatment of prisoners, squawmen and others, suspected of being spies for the indians. Stevens' militia arrested Judge Edward Lander as the latter was attempting to open court to hear applications for writs of habeas corpus in defiance of the military proclamation, and the judge retaliated by ordering the governor's arrest for contempt of court. The judge was held in nominal custody for a time, and when the war on the Sound had ended fined Governor Stevens $50 for contempt of court. The incident not only provoked an acrimonious political controversy, but illustrated another phase of the want of unity in dealing with the indian question, which was an outstanding feature of the history of this period.

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A semblance of peace existed under the policy now dictated by the regular army, a policy which conceded the indian title to the country east of the Cascade Mountains, ignored the Stevens-Palmer treaties and closed the region to settlement, but pacification was incomplete for various reasons. First, the indians were ethically not able to comprehend the sentiment of benevolence, and saw in every concession an indication of weakness and nothing else. Second, they were still uneasy in view of their experience with a vacillating government, lest at some time in the future the struggle should be renewed. Third, they objected that the chiefs who had signed the treaties of 1855 lacked authority to do so, and that their acts were not approved by the tribes. Also, the partisans of the murderers of Bolon were constantly apprehensive lest their punishment should be insisted on. Still further, there dwelt in the northeastern section of the territory a pugnacious tribe which had obstinately refused from the time of first contact with the whites to permit new-comers to obtain a foothold within their boundaries. These were the Coeur d'Alenes, who had said even to the early Hudson's Bay traders: "We are willing to barter our furs and peltries for your powder and ball and such things as you bring for traffic, but we can make the exchange only at certain points, [named by themselves]; within the limits of our land you cannot enter; but on the banks of yonder river, which marks our border, we will meet you at stated times and there, and there only, can we trade and traffic."[37] A few Jesuit missionaries alone had succeeded in penetrating the barrier of their distrust. They had declined to treat with Stevens in 1855 and had then made it known again that they would resist every effort to build roads through the country they called their own. Closely allied with the Coeur d'Alenes, although somewhat more corrigible, were the Spokanes, who also had rejected Stevens' advances, and who demanded only that they be let alone, but whose chieftain, Garry, had gone to school in the Red River settlement, had acquired a certain knowledge of civilization, and had protected the missionaries, Walker and Eells, in the troubled months immediately following the massacre at Whitman Mission. Between the Spokanes and the Coeur d'Alenes in the North and the Walla Wallas and the Cayuses farther south roamed the Palouses, of all the tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascades the most treacherous. They were a thieving lot, and were held in low esteem, even by those of their own race. The way to the recently opened mines of the Colville District lay through the country of the Palouses and Spokanes, and a misguided traveler strayed occasionally across the boundaries of the Coeur d'Alenes.

A consequence of these circumstances was that by June, 1857, when Brigadier-General N. S. Clarke, who succeeded Major-General Wool in command of the military department of the Pacific, visited Oregon, the nominal peace which Wright had made and Wool had proclaimed was at the point of breaking. The Palouses, misinterpreting the self-restraint of the military, grew bolder, and on one occasion even drove off a band of horses from the military post in the Walla Walla Valley at Wright's very door. Two prospectors on the way to the Colville mines were robbed and murdered, and other miners disappeared. People living near Colville reported the indians of the vicinity hostile, and petitioned the military forces for protection.

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[37] Lieut. John Mullan, U. S. A., Topographical Memoir of Col. George E. Wright's Campaign, p. 37.

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General Clarke arrived in Oregon holding some of the views of his predecessor, Wool, and began by attempting to carry out Wool's policies. Stevens was elected delegate to Congress from Washington Territory in July, 1857, and Joel Palmer was succeeded as superintendent of indian affairs for Oregon by J. W. Nesmith, whose authority was now extended over the indians of both Territories, and Clarke held a conference with Nesmith at The Dalles, at which the causes of the now apparent revival of unrest among the eastern indians were discussed. Nesmith, who agreed with Clarke that uneasiness for the future disposition of Bolon's murderers and fear that the Walla Walla treaties would be enforced were the two prime sources of irritation, expressed the view that it would be impolitic to confirm the treaties, and said that he would use his influence to prevent their ratification.[38] Colonel Steptoe, in command of Fort Walla Walla, reported in October, 1857, that in his opinion any attempt to enforce the treaties would be followed by immediate hostilities with most of the tribes. Steptoe, in a spirit of friendship for the indians, recommended that another treaty commission be appointed and a new treaty made, "thoroughly digested and accepted by both sides."[39] Clarke determined, inasmuch as the indians had been led to believe, however mistakenly, that the past would be forgiven, that he would not destroy the future influence of the Government by an appearance of bad faith, and he instructed his officers so to inform them. Clarke also directed a continuance of the policy of Wool, and issued a formal order forbidding settlement east of the Salmon River in Washington and the Deschutes River in Oregon. In compliance with the order, military force was used to expel settlers who persisted in coming to the Walla Walla Valley. Reports of disaffection among the tribes, together with rumors, which now reached Clarke through official channels, to the effect that Mormons in Utah were supplying indians with ammunition and fomenting disorder among them, caused Clarke, early in January, 1858, to direct Steptoe to place his command in a state of full efficiency at the earliest possible date, for the purpose of going on an expedition to obtain information in relation to the eastern tribes.

Steptoe reported, January 29, 1858, that he doubted that the indians in the immediate vicinity of Walla Walla were disposed to involve themselves in war at present, but that he believed that the Palouse, Yakima and Spokane tribes awaited only slight encouragement to revive hostilities. Only a day later Maj. R. S. Garnett, commanding the military post at Fort Simcoe, advised that he had received word for the second time from Skloom, brother of Kamiakin, that Mormon emissaries had been among the Yakimas, seeking to incite them to hostility toward the United States. As a result of this condition, and in obedience to the order of General Clarke, Colonel Steptoe left Fort Walla Walla May 6, 1858, with three companies of dragoons and a detachment of mounted infantry, 158 men in all. Two of the dragoon companies were armed with the musketoon, a short gun of musket pattern but incapable of efficient execution at any great range. At the last moment of loading the pack train it was found that the baggage exceeded the carrying capacity of the train, and a large part of the ammunition was left behind. Steptoe's mission being peaceful, rather than punitive, this omission did not then attract attention.

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[38] General Clarke's official report, House Executive Document No. 112, Thirty-fifth Congress, first session, p. 3.

[39] Id., p. 5.

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The route of Steptoe's march also was fateful. Leaving Walla Walla, he traveled northeast to the Snake River, which he reached at the mouth of Alpowa Creek, where the friendly Nez Percés' chief named Timothy had a fleet of large canoes likely to be useful in making the crossing, and also where, he had been informed, a large party of Palouses were gathering. He then followed a succession of indian trails which led him close to the present Washington-Idaho boundary line, and in so doing he approached near to the country of the Coeur d'Alenes, whereas a direct route from Walla Walla to Colville by the then traveled trails would have led him thirty miles or more to the westward. On reaching the Palouse River and being about to attempt a crossing, Steptoe was informed that the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes would oppose his entrance to the country. He continued his march, however, meeting occasional parties of indians, probably spies, who professed friendship and had ample opportunity to obtain information concerning the strength of his command.

On Sunday, May 15, 1858, while the column was encamped on Pine Creek, a tributary of the Palouse, a band of mounted warriors variously estimated at from a thousand to fifteen hundred, Spokanes, Yakimas, Palouses and Coeur d'Alenes, appeared suddenly from the hills. Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, acting as spokesmen, told Steptoe they had been informed that he had come to annihilate them, and said that if this were so they were ready to fight. In reply to Steptoe's explanation that he was merely on his way to Colville on a friendly mission, the indians retorted that he had not come by the most direct route to Colville, and pointed to his howitzers as confirmation of their belief in his warlike purpose. Observing that he was outnumbered seven to one, and that the indians carried rifles of longer range than the musketoons of his own dragoons, Steptoe resolved to retrace his steps. The indians, who had not forgotten their early religious training, told Steptoe that they would not fight on Sunday; but they opened the attack as soon as the retrograde movement was begun, on the morning of May 18, and surrounded the troops, who took refuge on a hill near the present site of Rosalia, Wash., where the battle continued into the night. Reduced to three rounds of ammunition for each man, Steptoe then abandoned his howitzers and pack train and retreated under cover of darkness by a forced march of eighty miles to the Snake River crossing. He had suffered the loss of a captain and a lieutenant and six enlisted men killed, and eleven wounded, and left his dead hastily buried in shallow graves on the battlefield.

Steptoe's defeat, however, hastened the conclusion of hostilities in that region by putting the whole army on its mettle, and by convincing General Clarke that the hostiles could be brought to terms only by punishing them. The expedition which Clarke now organized omitted no detail of equipment that would make fulfillment of its purpose certain. He obtained as reinforcements three companies of artillery from San Francisco, one company of the Fourth Infantry from Fort Jones and another from the Umpqua District, and concentrated nearly two thousand men of all arms at Fort Walla Walla, where they were diligently drilled in the tactics of indian warfare. Command of the expedition was committed to Colonel Wright, who sent three companies in charge of Major Garnett to the Yakima Country to drive the indians east toward the main column, which meanwhile proceeded north.

Wright took the precaution before starting out, however, to make a formal treaty of friendship with the Nez Percés with a view to protecting his rear,

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and this curious compact was signed August 6, 1858, by Wright for the Government of the United States and by thirty-eight chiefs and sub-chiefs of the Nez Percés. It was subsequently countersigned by General Clarke at Fort Vancouver, but it never received the consideration of the Senate. However, it was faithfully kept by the tribe until in 1877, when its first article was violated by Chief Joseph, who was pursued by Gen. O. O. Howard across the present State of Idaho and Western Montana and who finally surrendered to Gen. Nelson A. Miles. The Nez Percés' treaty was the cause of much agitation in Oregon, based on the ground that Wright had promised more than he could perform, that the indians did not understand that Wright had no authority to make treaties, and that failure to supply the Nez Percés with arms as the treaty provided would result in dissatisfaction and in alienation of the friendship of the tribe. Wright maintained, however, that the treaty was justified as an act of military necessity, and that by placing hors de combat some seventeen hundred Hudson's Bay muskets alone it accomplished the purpose for which it was intended.[40]

Wright's division consisted of four companies of dragoons, five companies of artillery, two companies of infantry and a company of Nez Percés allies in United States Army uniforms. There were long range rifles for the entire force and ammunition for a protracted campaign. But even this formidable army found the indians insolent and willing to take the initiative. The two culminating battles of the campaign were fought at Four Lakes, September 1, 1858, where the brother and brother-in-law of Chief Garry were killed, and on the Spokane plains, where Kamiakin was wounded by a tree top which had been blown off by a cannon and which struck him on the head. Wright had no losses, either in killed or wounded, and on the entire campaign reported as casualties only two who died from non-military causes. The losses of the indians were concealed by them. In addition to their dead and wounded, however, they suffered heavily in loss of property. The troops captured several hundred head of cattle and a larger number of horses, the surplus of which, after remounting the command, were shot. The entire Spokane nation was practically unhorsed in two days.[41] The indians were taken wholly unaware by Wright's

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[40] This treaty with the Nez Percés provided:

Article 1. It is agreed that there shall be permanent peace between the United States and the Nez Percés tribe.

Art. 2. In the event of war between the United States and any other people whatever, the Nez Percés agree to aid the United States with men to the extent of their ability.

Art. 3. In the event of war between the Nez Percés and any other tribe, the United States agrees to aid the Nez Percés with troops.

Art. 4. When the Nez Percés take part with the United States in war, they shall be furnished with arms, ammunition, provisions, etc., as may be necessary.

Art. 5. When the United States shall take part with the Nez Percés in war, they (the United States) will not require the Nez Percés to furnish anything to the troops unless paid for at a fair price.

Art. 6. Should any misunderstanding arise hereafter between the troops and the Nez Percés, it shall be settled by their respective chiefs in friendly council.—Oregon Statesman, November 9, 1858. "Half of the indian wars on our frontier," said the editor of the Statesman in an article accompanying the text of the treaty, "grow out of violated treaties."

[41] The completeness of the victory of the whites and their immunity from counter injury was attributed by Lieut. Lawrence Kip to the long range rifles employed on the expedition for the first time by the troops in Oregon. "Had the men been armed with those formerly used," says Kip, "the result of the fight, as to the loss on our side, would have

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well trained forces, and particularly by the new long-range rifles, now used for the first time, while the artillery overwhelmed them and gave them no opportunity to employ their usual tactics of sniping the troops from every convenient cover. But a natural phenomenon at this time gave a peculiar and picturesque turn to the event. Donati's comet became visible for the first time as the army under Wright drew near. "Night after night," wrote Lieutenant Kip, who accompanied the expedition as artillery adjutant, "it had been streaming above us in all its glory. Strange as it may seem, it has exerted a powerful influence with the indians in our behalf. Appearing just as we entered the country, it seemed to them like some huge besom to sweep them from the earth. The effect was probably much increased by the fact that it disappeared about the time our campaign ended and the treaties were formed. They must have imagined that it had been sent home to the Great Father in Washington, to be put away until required the next time.[42]

The indians now approached Wright as suppliants. Garry pleaded that he had been opposed to fighting, but that his young men and many of the other chiefs had overruled him. Wright's attitude was that of conqueror. His reply to Garry embodied his policy in dealing with most of the other tribes. Wright said: "I have met you in two battles; you have been badly whipped; you have had several chiefs and many warriors killed or wounded; I have not lost a man or animal. I have a large force, and you, Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Palouses and Pend d'Oreilles may unite, and I can defeat you as badly as before. I did not come to the country to make peace; I came here to fight. Now, when you are tired of war and ask for peace you must come to me with your arms, with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them at my feet. You must trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then give you the terms upon which I will give you peace. If you do not do this, war will be made on you this year and the next, and until your nations shall be exterminated."[43] Of the now terrified Coeur d'Alenes, Wright demanded that they surrender for execution the man who struck the first blow at Colonel Steptoe, give one chief and four warriors and their families to be held as hostages, and restore all property taken from Steptoe's command.

Owhi, brother-in-law of Kamiakin, entered camp seeking peace for the Yakimas and was detained as hostage for the appearance of his son, Qual-chan, the murderer of Indian Agent Bolon. Qual-chan came unsuspectingly into camp without having met the messenger sent after him, and was recognized, seized and bound. Colonel Wright's official report reads: "Qual-chan came to me at nine o'clock this morning, and at 9¼ a. m. he was hung."[44] Owhi was shot

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been far different, for the enemy outnumbered us, and had all the courage which we are accustomed to ascribe to indian warriors. But they were panic-struck by the effect of our fire at such great distance, and the steady advance of the troops, unchecked by constant fire kept up by them." Army Life on the Pacific, p. 59.

[42] Id., p. 87.

[43] Id., p. 68.

[44] Wright's Memoir, p. 69. Qual-chan, who had been the terror of the plains, cut a pitiful figure at the end. "During his life he enjoyed the reputation of bravery and enterprise," wrote Capt. E. D. Keyes, one of his captors, "but at last, when the rope was around his neck he begged for mercy in tones that were abject. He promised Captain Dent, who was charged with his execution, horses and ictas (things) of all kinds if he would spare his life. Many persons who witnessed his conduct charged him with cowardice and poltroonery, but for myself I took a different view of it. As soon as his hands and feet were bound and the

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a few days later while trying to escape. Seven Palouse indians who sued for peace were tried by summary court, convicted of various atrocities and six were hanged. Other Palouses followed, and were told by Wright that he would make no treaty with them until their good faith had been tested by probation. One of the murderers of two Colville miners and three other notorious marauders were surrendered by their fellows and also summarily executed. Returning to the country of the Walla Wallas, Wright called a council, at which he commanded all who had taken part in the recent battles to stand up. Thirty-five stood up, of whom Wright selected four at random, who were hanged on the spot. Sixteen indians were thus executed by Wright's orders, Major Garnett in the same period captured and executed eight indians, all of whom were shot.

The indian war in the North was now over. The hostile chieftains were either dead or in flight. Leschi, of the Nisquallies, had been betrayed for a reward, arrested and hanged by the civil authorities of Washington Territory, February 19, 1858, after a memorable legal struggle to save his life, in which he was befriended by influential citizens who believed that he had been made a scapegoat and that he had not signed the Medicine Creek Treaty, or if he had done so had but imperfectly understood its terms. Kamiakin, instigator of the effort to unite all the tribes in a war of extermination of the whites, and Skloom, of the Yakimas, found safety in prudent flight. The treaties made by Wright were treaties of friendship only and left the land issue precisely as it was before. General Clarke, however, now withdrew his opposition to the Walla Walla treaties and they, and also Palmer's treaty with the indians of Central Oregon, were ratified by the Senate, March 8, 1859. The eastern country was formally thrown open to settlement, October 31, 1858, by order of Gen. William S. Harney, who became commander of the military department of Oregon upon the creation of the department, September 13, 1858.

Throughout the indian war period the inhabitants of the territory bore a heavy burden, the great weight of which it is not easy to appraise by present standards, and which cannot be fairly estimated at all without taking into account certain local conditions. The isolation of the pioneer colony was never more keenly felt perhaps than in that time when the very existence of the people was threatened, and when no aid, or aid only that was inadequate, was forthcoming from the mother government. In the crisis which confronted these settlers in a remote section, when it became apparent that the Federal Government could not well furnish a sufficient military force for their protection, as for example when it was preoccupied with the Mexican war, the people showed their self-reliance. When the Government could not see their pressing need, as in the period of clashing policies due to the obstinacy of Wool and the self-assertiveness of Curry and Stevens, the people measured up to the responsibilities imposed upon them. Motives of patriotism and self-interest, of protection of homes and preservation of the state, alike operated as incentives. While the early volunteers were in the field, women and children were left to manage affairs at home as best they could alone. Although

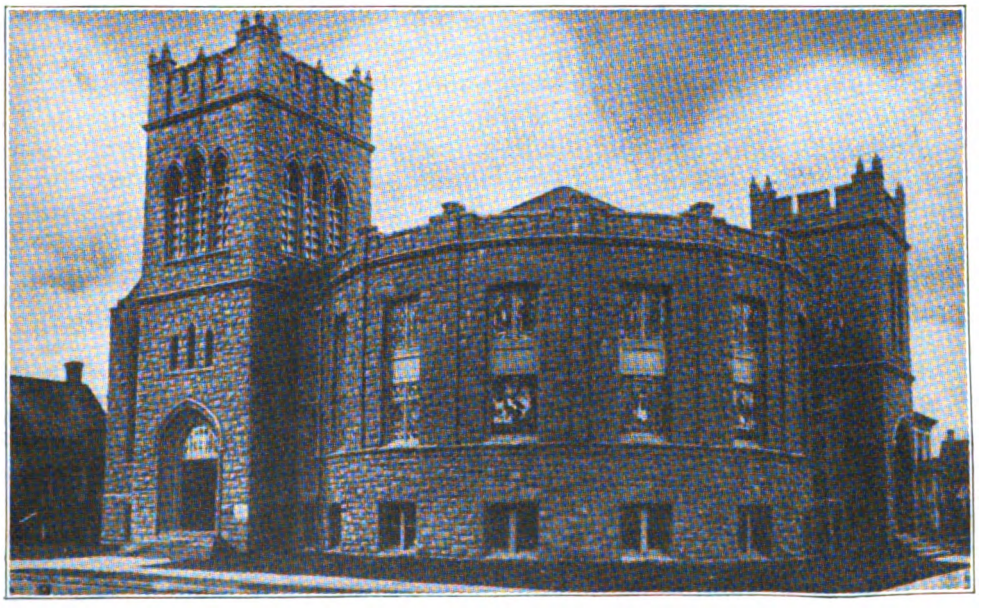
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preparations for his death concluded, resistance was out of the question, and love of life was the sole motive of his conduct. He was still young, not over twenty-five years of age, and his physical condition was apparently perfect—that and his renown as a prince and warrior gave to his life a charm and value which he was unwilling to surrender." Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events, p. 279.

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CATHOLIC CHURCH, ALBANY



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ALBANY

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the economic load was heavy, a heavier burden was the constant sense of insecurity and danger. This anxiety was peculiarly distressing in Southern Oregon. Throughout the distant settlements where no life was safe, the highest sacrifice made by the volunteers was not in facing the danger to which they themselves were subjected, but rather in being compelled to leave the women and younger children while husbands and fathers and in many instances half-grown sons were away from home fighting the war.

The cost in human life was heavy, while loss in property as the result of indian depredations was enormous in proportion to the means of the settlers. The casualties were relatively higher among civilians than among soldiers, so that it was literally true in many localities that it was safer to be in the service than out of it. Many murders were committed by the indians of which no record was ever made, but the number of those which are known is large. Frances Fuller Victor, who in the course of her research into the history of the Northwest formed the habit of setting down names and numbers of white people killed by indians in the Oregon Country, estimated the total killed and wounded between the years 1828 and 1878, as 1896, an average of more than thirty-seven annually, of which unprovoked murders constituted more than half, the remainder being those wounded in attacks equally unprovoked or killed or wounded in warfare. But as a matter of fact, as these records also show, the greater proportion of the victims fell between the years 1850 and 1862, a loss during the period of more than one hundred and sixty annually.[45] Most of the men thus slain were in the prime of life. In addition many families were wholly destroyed and the indians added to the horrors of war every form of torture and outrage that it was possible for them to devise.

After Congress had reimbursed the territory for its claims growing out of the Cayuse War of 1847-8 and the first Rogue River War of 1853, and had assumed the cost of the Walker Expedition of 1854—which was not paid, however, until after the close of the war between the states—it engaged in bickering over the merits and demerits of the claims growing out of the later Rogue River and Yakima wars, which ultimately became inextricably tangled in official reports and correspondence. Congress, August 18, 1856, passed an act authorizing an inquiry into these claims and a commission composed of Capt. Andrew J. Smith, Capt. Rufus Ingalls and Lafayette Grover was appointed, and it ascertained that Oregon's share of the cost of the war amounted to a total of $4,449,949.33, of which $1,409,644.53 was represented by the muster rolls of the volunteers and $3,840,344.80 by scrip issued in payment for supplies, and the total expended by both Oregon and Washington territories was $6,011,457.36. Congress, February 8, 1859, directed the third auditor of the United States treasury to examine all vouchers, which that official, R. J. Atkinson, did by estimating the value of supplies on the basis of their cost in the eastern states. He cut the total for both states to $2,714,808.55, a reduction of fifty-five per cent, and this was ultimately paid. The heavy loss which was thus entailed upon the people of the sparsely settled territory was responsible for a number of business failures, and the inability to realize expectations assumed the proportions of a commercial and financial tragedy.

The veterans of these wars were even less successful in obtaining their dues. Long after laws had been enacted for the relief of the soldiers of the

[45] Frances Fuller Victor, Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 499.

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Civil war, the men who had fought the indians on the frontier remained wholly unregarded. By an act of the Territorial Legislature of 1855-6,[46] it was required that volunteers should so far as practicable furnish their own arms, clothing, horses and equipment, each noncommissioned officer and private to receive $2.00 per diem and rations, besides $2.00 per diem for the use and risk of each privately owned horse. But no appropriation was made in fulfillment of this implied pledge until 1903, almost half a century later, when the state Legislature authorized an appropriation of $100,000 to pay each surviving veteran $2.00 for each day of actual service.[47] Ten years later, in 1913, an appropriation of $50,000 was made to compensate each veteran at the rate of $2.00 for each day he had furnished a horse.[48] A further measure was enacted requiring county courts to levy a tax of not less than one-thirtieth of one mill nor more than one-tenth of one mill for the relief of indigent soldiers and sailors and their widows generally, including those who had served not less than ten days in the indian wars.[49]

The Federal Government made no provision for pensions for any of the veterans of our many frontier indian wars until July 27, 1892, when Congress granted pensions of $8.00 a month to the survivors and widows of survivors of the Black Hawk, Creek, Cherokee and Seminole wars of 1832 to 1842, but made no provision for any others. On April 22, 1896, Senator John H. Mitchell[50] of Oregon, presented a bill proposing to include in the benefits of the already existing law the survivors of the Cayuse, Yakima and Rogue River wars, but nothing was done until June 27, 1902, when by an act of Congress the provisions of the law of July 27, 1892, were extended to Oregon veterans of 1847 to 1856. A prolonged and determined effort to obtain an increase of pensions for the soldiers of the various indian campaigns resulted in the passage by the lower house of Congress on August 5, 1912, of a bill increasing the rate of pension for surviving veterans from $8.00 to $30.00 a month, and the Senate, thereupon, January 21, 1913, passed the bill after reducing the pension to $12.00 a month. While the measure was pending in conference the

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[46] General Laws of Oregon, 1855-6, p. 25.

[47] General Laws of Oregon, 1903, pp. 228-9.

[48] General Laws of Oregon, 1913, Chap. 322.

[49] Olson's Oregon Laws, Sec. 3355.

[50] In support of his bill, Mitchell presented figures prepared by the war department, showing that in the indian wars of Oregon from 1847 to 1856 there had been engaged 850 regulars, of whom 75 per cent. had served in the Mexican war and consequently would receive their benefits under the Mexican war pension act, and 6,379 militia, of whom 20 per cent., or 1,276, had rendered more than one service, leaving net 5,103, a total for both militia and volunteers of 5,316, from which 6 per cent. was deducted for desertions and casualties, leaving 4,997 survivors at the close of the latter war.

The number of survivors of the Cayuse war was estimated by the war department on February 7, 1895, at 144, and their surviving widows at 82, a total of 226. Survivors of the wars of 1851-6 were estimated as 2,399 and widows 1,340, a total of 3,739. Senator Mitchell said he regarded these estimates as excessive, and as probably representing more than treble the total number of survivors at that time. The average age of the survivors of the Cayuse war was then (in 1895) 68 years, and they had an average expectancy of 9.47 years; the average of the survivors of the wars of 1851-6 was 65 years, with an average expectancy of 11.10 years.

The further interesting fact was disclosed that the average age of all the volunteers in each war was 22 years at the dates of their enlistment.—Congressional Record, Vol. XXVIII, Part 5, pp. 4,252-4.

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Oregon Legislature adopted a memorial, which was telegraphed to the committee of the two legislative bodies, urging passage of the bill in the form in which the House had passed it. A compromise on $20.00 a month was effected and the bill as amended became a law, February 19, 1913,[51] fifty-seven years after the close of the volunteers' service in the Yakima and Rogue River wars and sixty-five years after the conclusion of the Cayuse war. As a final act of grace, Congress, March 4, 1917, extended the provisions of the amended act to veterans of the Shoshone War of 1865-8 in Oregon and Idaho and of the Modoc War of 1872-3 in Oregon, Nevada and California. There seems to be no reason for discrimination against the few venerable survivors of the Oregon indian wars, and yet they are not given as much under these laws as is given to the veterans of the Civil war. The Grand Encampment of the Indian War Veterans which meets annually is diminishing in numbers year by year, and those who are still alive are few in number and gray with age, but the state and nation owe these sterling Americans a debt of gratitude for their stanch defense of the Oregon Country, and while any of them survive a generous provision should insure their comfort and protection from want.

[51] Statutes-at-large, Vol. 37, p. 679.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE FIRST DECADE OF STATEHOOD

The opening years of the young commonwealth, now an equal among equals in the Union, cover a noteworthy chapter in the history, not only of Oregon, but of the nation. New political alignments, springing from broad issues that divided the country as a whole, were now formed in Oregon. Politically, the Territory of Oregon had been so overwhelmingly democratic that pre-election canvass by the party nominees had always been more or less perfunctory. As for the whigs, they had made little headway during the short life of that party in Oregon; and as yet the policy of the republican party had hardly crystalized. So far as the heritage of tradition might sway political predilections, the democrats had everything in their favor, for many of the Willamette Valley settlers came from Missouri and Tennessee. Yet Oregon would not follow the national democracy into the slavery camp, whither the efforts of Lane, who now aspired to the presidency, would have led it. While it inclined a receptive ear to the doctrine of popular sovereignty as enunciated by Stephen A. Douglas, it did so with such reservations as might have been expected from a people determined not to tolerate slavery on their own soil. The dominant note in the new political life was loyalty to the Union. This was manifest in the promptitude with which it rejected overtures looking toward the formation of a new republic on the Pacific coast, and with which it repudiated Lane for the views that he proclaimed in the Senate in support of the cause of secession. On the issues of slavery and of the integrity of the Union the Oregon democracy divided almost as soon as statehood was gained, and on this division the newly formed republican party built its hopes of success in the state.

Hostility to the negro, whether as slave or freedman, had been clearly voiced in the formative period of the Provisional Government, as has been shown, as well as in the popular vote on the separate issues of slavery and free negroes when the constitution was adopted. It was still dominant in 1859, but nevertheless the people were not willing to accept slavery as an institution in their own state. Some allusion has already been made to this subject in an earlier chapter where the decision by Judge George H. Williams in 1853 establishing the principle of free soil in Oregon was referred to.[1] This decision had gone unchallenged, although undoubtedly distasteful to the minority of violently pro-slavery citizens. Williams' continued popularity in the face of this decision and in view of his active canvass against slavery in the pre-constitution campaign was indicative of the temper of the majority when the secession movement in the South began to gain headway soon afterwards.

In consequence of these conditions, complicated by Lane's personal ambitions, and stimulated by a falling out between Lane and the leaders of the Salem clique, there was a sharp division within the democrat party when its

[1] Chapter XXXII supra.

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first state convention was held at Salem, April 20, 1859, to nominate a candidate for Congress to succeed Lafayette Grover. The latter, although supported by the clique, was defeated by Lansing Stout by a vote of 43 to 33. Stout was a recent arrival from California, and had the backing of the Lane faction. This result was received with jubilation by the latter's followers and Lane himself was emboldened to further manifestations of zeal for the pro-slavery cause which further widened the breach in his party.

The organization of the national republican party in Oregon meanwhile received encouragement from the obvious disturbance in the democratic ranks, so that a representative and enthusiastic convention of the party was possible by April 21, 1859, although the party as such had had no existence even as recently as the preceding February. This convention was held at Salem the next day after the democrats met there, and it proceeded in all seriousness not only to choose a candidate to oppose Stout for Congress, but, what was more important to its future, to adopt resolutions calculated to interpret the spirit of the people of the period, however cautious they may now seem. In temper they were conciliatory, in purpose conservative. They opposed the extension of slavery but disclaimed intent to interfere with the institution where it already existed. Intervention by Congress to protect slavery in the territories was denounced. A welcome was extended to white aliens who should come into the United States to enjoy the benefit of free institutions, and it was asserted that the enforcement of existing naturalization laws was sufficient as a regulation of foreign immigration. The resolutions also declared in favor of a homestead bill, which Lane had opposed in the preceding session of Congress, and they also demanded the construction of a Pacific railroad. This convention nominated for Congress, David Logan, a Portland lawyer of considerable attainments, recently from California, and reputed there to have been allied with the Know-Nothing party, and who was a former resident of Springfield, Illinois.[2] The sequel, surprising to republicans and democrats alike, was that Logan in the election which followed, June 27, 1859, came within sixteen votes of election. The political upset was complete. Marion, a stronghold of democracy, went for Logan by 782, and Clatsop, Multnomah, Tillamook, Washington and Yamhill also gave republican majorities. Only the southern counties saved Stout, and these had been held in line by strong personal devotion to Lane, founded on his record in the indian wars.

In another respect the opening year of statehood was momentous for the republican party as well as for the state in national affairs. The republican state convention that nominated Logan also chose delegates to the national republican convention to be held in 1860, acting far in advance of the event because of the difficulties and uncertainties of transcontinental travel; and thus it set in motion a series of circumstances which were influential in bring-

[2] David Logan was the son of Samuel Trigg Logan, an eminent lawyer and judge, a friend of Lincoln, and a delegate to the republican national convention at Chicago that nominated Lincoln for President. Lincoln also had a staunch supporter in David Logan, in whose political success he expressed personal interest. In a letter to Amory Holbrook, written at Springfield, Ill., August 20, 1860, after Logan had been defeated a second time for Congress, Lincoln wrote: "It is a matter of much regret here that Logan failed to his election. He grew up and studied law in this place, and his parents and sisters still reside here. We are also anxious for the result of your U. S. Senatorial election." (Mss. letter, Or. Hist. Soc.) See his professional card, with that of Lincoln and Senator E. B. Baker in the illustration, page 641, infra.

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ing about the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for president.[3] The delegates selected were A. G. Hovey, Dr. W. Warren and Leander Holmes, and they were instructed to use their influence to procure the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York, then an idol of the opponents of slavery in the nation, and who had not yet alienated his supporters by the temporizing attitude which he some time later assumed. It was asserted afterward that the Seward resolution was passed surreptitiously, after the main business of the convention had been transacted and many of the delegates had left.[4] However, there were then sound reasons for Oregon's support of Seward, who had stoutly championed her promotion to statehood and had been one of the eleven republican senators who voted for the statehood bill when it passed the Senate in May, 1858. Seward's speech on this occasion had been well calculated to endear him

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[3] Lincoln was first suggested to the voters of Oregon as a candidate for President by Simeon Francis, who arrived in Oregon in 1859. Previously he had been editor of the Illinois State Journal at Springfield, which he founded. His plea for consideration of Lincoln was in the form of a lengthy contributed article in the Argus in February, 1860. Francis subsequently became editor of the Oregonian in the absence of Thomas J. Dryer, who carried the electoral vote for Lincoln to Washington. See Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 458; also W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 75. When Zachary Taylor was elected president, Lincoln, who was then a member of Congress from Springfield, was disappointed in not receiving appointment as Commissioner of the General Land Office to which he aspired. Instead, a letter was written to him by Secretary of State John M. Clayton, dated August 10, 1849, notifying him that the president had appointed him secretary of Oregon Territory. At the same time a letter was written to James G. Marshall, advising him that he had been appointed governor of that territory. Neither of these appointments was accepted, but there is reason to believe that before these vacancies were filled (by the appointment of Edward Hamilton, as secretary, and John P. Gaines, as governor), Lincoln's name was presented by some of his friends to the president for appointment to the governorship, and that they had the belief that the latter place would be offered if Lincoln would accept it. On October 6, 1885, the following letter was printed in the Oregonian:

"Springfield, Illinois, Sept. 27, 1849.

"John Addison, Esq.,

My Dear Sir:

Your letter is received. I cannot but be grateful to you and all other friends who have interested themselves in having the governorship of Oregon offered to me, but on as much reflection as I have had time to give the subject, I cannot consent to accept it.

I have an ever abiding wish to serve you, but as to the secretaryship I have already recommended our friend Simeon Francis, of the Journal. Please present my respects to G. T. M. Davis generally, and my thanks especially, for his kindness in the Oregon matter.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln."

In commenting upon this letter Mr. H. W. Scott, who was the editor, referring to the fact that friends of Lincoln claimed that they had it fully arranged with President Taylor that Mr. Lincoln would be appointed to the governorship of Oregon, says that perhaps he might have accepted "had he not been desirous of the appointment of his friend Simeon Francis to the secretaryship, whom he had already recommended for the position." But in this Mr. Scott is probably mistaken, for Lincoln seems to have declined for other reasons. The editorial added this information about Francis:

"For a time he was editor of the Oregonian, and put in good work through its columns for the republican party and the Union cause. Subsequently, Mr. Lincoln appointed him paymaster in the army with the rank of major. This position he held until his death some years ago. He died at Portland and was buried at Vancouver."

(Copies of the official letters of August 10, 1849, are in Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Dom. Let. 37, Dept. of State. See generally as to Lincoln's declination of the governorship note 8 of this chapter, infra.)

[4] Argus, October 29, 1859.

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to the people of the new state. "For one, sir," Seward had said, "I think that the sooner a territory emerges from its provincial condition, the better; the sooner the people are left to manage their own affairs, and admitted to participation in the responsibilities of the Government, the more vigorous the states which these people form will be."[5] This accorded fully with local opinion on the subject. A saving clause in the resolution of instructions empowered the Oregon delegates to act in their own discretion if they could not secure Seward's nomination. This convention also created a state central committee, consisting of Henry W. Corbett, W. Carey Johnson and E. D. Shattuck.

The state Legislature was convened in special session by Governor Whiteaker in May, 1859, because of confusion caused by the premature or the attempted legislative session held before Congress had passed the admission bill. The growing opposition to Lane, due to his pro-slavery proclivities, and the factional bitterness consequent on the defeat of the Salem organization in the nomination of Stout, resulted in failure by the legislative assembly to elect a senator to succeed Delazon Smith, who had drawn the short term, expiring in March, 1859. His term had ended a little over two weeks after taking his seat. Smith became a candidate for reelection but neither faction of the democrats could muster a working majority, so nothing was done about it and the seat in the Senate was left vacant. The Legislature accepted the conditions imposed by Congress on admission to statehood, passed an act providing for a state seal and another calling the special election for representative in Congress, and enacted some general legislation of minor importance. Political affairs now engaged the attention of lawmakers and people to the exclusion of almost every other subject and no one was in a mood for the minor details of legislation.

At the election Stout was successful over Logan, as stated, but the strength shown by the new republican organization gave the leaders of that party strong hopes for future success, and many former democrats followed such men as Williams and Shattuck. Backed by the vigorous Oregonian, therefore, the republicans were enabled to complete their party machinery in the various counties. With Lane's adherent, Stout, elected to the lower house of Congress, while Lane's colleague and supporter, Delazon Smith, was retired from the Senate, the situation was more than ever complicated; nor was it simplified in any degree when it was reported that the ambition of Lane was to become the pro-slavery nominee of the democrats for president. The democrat state convention at which Stout had been nominated in April had named a state central committee favorable to Lane's plans, but this committee, meeting at Eugene, September 24, 1859, increased the breach between the factions by determining that the basis of representation in the state convention, called for November 16, following, should be the vote cast for Stout in the June election. This was strictly according to precedent, but it was clearly favorable to Lane, since it increased the proportion of delegates from the Southern Oregon counties in which his personal following was large and it correspondingly curtailed the influence of the large counties in the North. The anti-Lane forces thereupon declared that by this course the democracy of the Willamette Valley was virtually disfranchised, and claimed that a one-man rule was established as the result of the objectionable acts of Lane, and they vociferously demanded that in the interests of party union the vote for Whiteaker in 1857, before the

[5] Congressional Globe, Thirty-fifth Congress, first session, Part III, p. 2209.

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split, be made the basis of representation in the convention. Their protest going unheeded, they withdrew from the committee's sessions, and issued a separate call to the democracy of the state to send delegates to Eugene according to the Whiteaker basis of apportionment.

The consequences that might have been expected then happened. The anti-Lane delegations went to the convention but were excluded, or reduced. The Lane faction controlling the credentials committee at the convention, restricted the number of delegates to those authorized under the original call. Ill-feeling was intensified. Marion County, cut down from ten delegates to four, led a bolt. The delegates from Clatsop, Coos, Curry, Polk, Wasco, Washington and Umpqua counties also withdrew. These organized another state convention but refrained from nominating delegates to the national democrat convention, on the ground that they did not constitute a majority of the counties. The remaining delegates in the original convention proceeded to organize without the insurgents, and elected Joseph Lane, Judge Matthew P. Deady and Lansing Stout as delegates to the national convention, and G. F. Miller, John Adair and G. K. Lamerick as alternates, and also adopted a resolution recommending Lane to the consideration of the party for the office of president or vice-president, while pledging the party in the state to support the nominee of the national convention, "whoever he may be."[6] Lane thus succeeded in getting his own selections as delegates and obtained the fruits of the plan which had been laid in the spring convention, and which resulted in his nomination by the pro-slavery democrats, in the year following, for vice-president of the United States as the running mate of John C. Breckenridge, nominated for president.

Among republicans, several changes of particular interest were meanwhile taking place in the development of the national programme. The popularity of Seward had been dimmed since the Oregon delegates had been chosen, more than a year in advance of the Chicago convention, and two new figures were looming on the political horizon. One was Edward Bates of Missouri, who attracted a considerable following among Oregon republicans because of the large number of former residents of Missouri then living in the state, and who had won the admiration of others by his leadership in the anti-slavery movement.[7] Another was Abraham Lincoln, whose debates with Douglas in 1858 had marked him for a national career. It has already been shown in these pages that Lincoln had at one time had under consideration the secretaryship, and then the governorship of Oregon Territory and that he instead of Gaines would have

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[6] Of the eleven counties remaining after the bolt, Josephine and Clackamas had instructed for Douglas for President, Yamhill for Daniel S. Dickinson, and Benton had voted down a Lane resolution—Walter C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 164. Only Lane, Douglas and Jackson had instructed for Lane.

[7] Bates was proposed for president for the first time in Oregon by W. L. Adams, in the Argus in October, 1859. Adams had come to Oregon from Illinois. Bates was a warm friend of Jesse Applegate, and he and Applegate were in constant correspondence. In the early stages of the "Oregon movement" when Hall J. Kelley was bombarding Congress with petitions and Dr. John Floyd had reported a bill for the military occupation of the country, with grants of land to settlers, Bates had been one of the ablest opponents of the bill. He was careful to explain, however, that he believed in the justice of the claims of the early Oregonians, but opposed the measure on the ground that it violated the spirit of the treaty of joint occupancy and consequently was inexpedient at that time. There was no disposition in Oregon to discredit Bates on this account, and his following in the state was loyal and sincere.

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been appointed to succeed Lane if he had not declined the place.[8] Oregon's part in deciding the nomination of Lincoln in the famous Chicago convention of 1860 gives an especial interest to this period of the political history of the state.

The republican national convention was first planned to meet in Chicago, June 13, 1860, but afterward the proposed date was changed to May 16 in the official call. The second notification was not received in Oregon until late in March, and thus caught unprepared the Oregon delegates who had been chosen almost a year previously. The journey to Chicago was no slight undertaking, and the time was short. Moreover, Oregon's allotment of delegates was designated in the call as six instead of three, and inasmuch as there would be no state convention in time to elect the additional delegates authorized, or to allow such new selections to reach Chicago for the convention, the state central committee was hastily summoned and it appointed as additional delegates Henry W. Corbett, Joel Burlingame and Frank Johnson, the last-named a young Oregonian then attending theological seminary at Hamilton, N. Y. As a further measure of precaution, the delegates were empowered to appoint proxies in the event that they were unable to be present in person. Few of the citizens of the young commonwealth could afford the expense of going so far. The journey involved continuous traveling for five or six weeks in each direction. Of the entire delegation originally appointed from the state, therefore, only one traveled from Oregon in time for the convention—Joel Burlingame. Frank Johnson, chosen partly because he was already in the East and could reach Chicago at relatively small expense, was the only other one of the regularly appointed delegates to attend and serve. Leander Holmes sent his proxy to Horace Greeley, the veteran editor of the New York Tribune, who had broken with Seward, the candidate in whose favor the Oregon state convention had instructed the party representatives. Mr. Corbett sent his proxy to Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, who had endeared himself to Oregonians by leading a bolt of eleven republicans in the national House of Representatives against the action of the republican caucus in opposing the statehood bill. Corbett and Holmes afterward left Oregon for the eastern states but they did not arrive at Chicago in time to take part in the convention proceedings, and

[8] See note 3 supra. "According to the custom of the time," says Arthur Brooks Lapsley (Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII, pp. 114-5), "all the democrats were to be turned out of office and their places given to whigs who had done service in the campaign. Lincoln, with plenty of ideas concerning public improvements and with some experience as a surveyor of lands, thought he would like to be commissioner of the general land office, a place in which he would have charge of the sale and distribution of lands belonging to the United States. To the surprise of his friends and his own great disappointment, which he did not attempt to conceal, Lincoln was refused the office he sought, but was offered that of governor of the territory of Oregon. This place, however, he declined. It was not to his taste, and, most likely, he was beginning to see that he had a great work on this side of the Rocky Mountains. Moreover, Mrs. Lincoln was decidedly opposed to his going to the Pacific Coast. She had had enough of frontier life. Years afterward, when her husband had become president, she did not fail to remind him that her advice, when he was wavering, had restrained him from throwing himself away on a distant territorial governship. The bait held out to Lincoln at that time was that Oregon would soon come in to the Union as a state and that he could probably return as a United States senator. This glittering prospect made him pause until his wife's opposition determined him. It is a curious coincidence that when Lincoln was president, Edward D. Baker, who was Lincoln's friend, and his successor in congress, went to Oregon from California and was elected United States senator from that State." See also Tarbell, Life of Lincoln, Vol. I, p. 232, and Nicolay and Hay, Life of Lincoln, Vol. I, p. 296.

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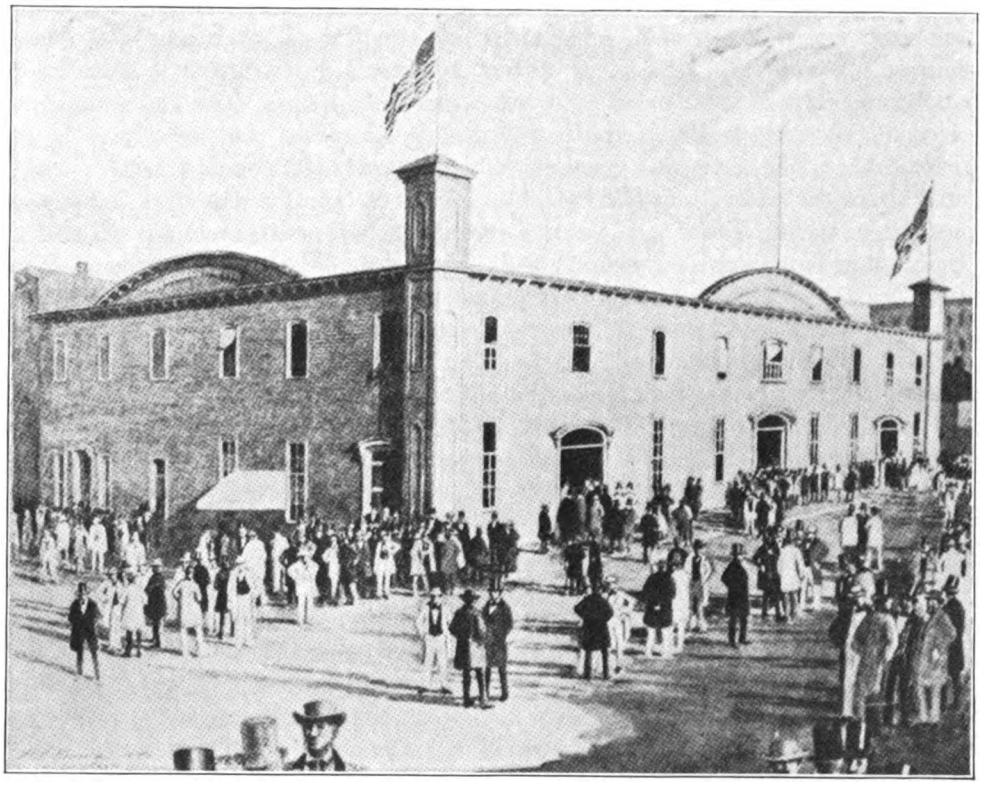
both their proxies, Greeley and Thayer, acted for them through the convention. The proxy of either Hovey or Warren was given to Henry Buckingham of Oregon, who attended the convention, and the sixth place on the delegation remained vacant. Thus Oregon was represented at the great convention by Burlingame, Johnson, Greeley, Thayer and Buckingham. And Seward who might have counted upon an instructed delegation for six votes found Greeley in a position to make his opposition effective. Such is the uncertainty of politics.

The convention was held in the Wigwam, with an assemblage of not less than ten thousand persons present. Greeley first favored the nomination of Bates, but subsequently he exercised his great influence in directing the tide toward Lincoln on the memorable preliminary third ballot, when the choice of Lincoln was made practically certain by the casting of four of Oregon's five votes for him. It is unnecessary to assume that Greeley would have had no place in the convention if he had not held an Oregon proxy, but it is known that he had previously resolved not to attend. It is plain that the outcome of the convention was largely determined by Oregon, whose votes on the preliminary ballot mentioned gave Lincoln within one and a half votes of the number required for a choice. Before that Greeley had voted with the other Oregon delegates for Bates, and against Seward, for whom the delegation had been instructed. On each of the first two ballots, Oregon cast five votes for Bates; on the third preliminary ballot four were for Lincoln and one for Seward (the latter the only vote for Seward ever cast by an Oregon delegate); and on the third formal ballot the five votes were for Lincoln, who was then nominated. Greeley, with his Oregon proxy, served in this convention as a member of the committee on resolutions which drafted the historic republican national platform of 1860.[9]

The national democrat convention, which met at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860, was attended by a delegation from Oregon in complete accord with Lane's ambition, although Lane himself was committed to the cause of the slave states and was drifting rapidly toward secession. Even now it was beginning to be rumored that a movement for the establishment of a new republic on the Pacific coast was under way, and the atmosphere of plot and counter-

[9] Greeley's motive in opposing Seward has been the subject of wide difference in opinion. Seward's reputed perfidy in his political dealings with his former associate and supporter would ordinarily furnish a sufficient explanation in view of the temper of the time, but Greeley's own version is entitled to consideration. He said afterward (Parton's Life of Horace Greeley, cited by Leslie M. Scott in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVII, p. 205) that he had at first resolved to avoid the convention after having concluded that the nomination of Seward was both undesirable and unsafe, but that on receiving a request from Leander Holmes to act in the latter's stead he did not feel at liberty to refuse the duty imposed on him. Concerning the attitude of the people of Oregon toward the rival candidates he wrote: "Of the four letters that simultaneously reached me—one from Mr. Holmes, another from Mr. Corbett, chairman of the Republican State Committee, a third from the editor of a leading Republican journal [Dryer of The Oregonian or Adams of the Argus] and a fourth from an eminent ex-editor [Simeon Francis]—at least three indicated Bates as the decided choice of Oregon for president, and the man who would be most likely to carry it—a very natural preference, since a large proportion of the people of Oregon emigrated from Missouri. One of them suggested Mr. Lincoln as also a favorite, many Illinoisans being now settled in Oregon." "If ever in my life I discharged a public duty in utter disregard of my personal considerations," wrote Greeley a month after the convention, "I did so at Chicago last month * * * I did not and do not believe it advisable that he [Seward] should be the republican candidate for President." (Quoted by Scott in the Or. Hist. Quar., supra.)

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THE WIGWAM, CHICAGO, WHERE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1860 NOMINATED LINCOLN, THIS BEING MADE POSSIBLE BY REASON OF THE PROXY OF AN OREGON DELEGATE GIVEN TO HORACE GREELEY WHO WAS A POTENT FACTOR IN THE CONVENTION

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plot pervaded the politics of the entire Pacific coast—of California as well as Oregon. Six delegates were allotted to Oregon in the national democrat convention, just as had been done at Chicago; but of those regularly chosen by the state convention in the preceding November, only Stout and Lamerick appeared in person. Lane remained in Washington, D. C., from which place he kept in touch with the delegation by the telegraph during the convention, and when appealed to for advice counselled the members to withdraw with the pro-slavery wing. Oregon was represented also by ex-Governor Isaac I. Stevens of Washington Territory, then delegate in Congress from that territory; A. P. Dennison, an indian agent in Oregon; Justus Steinberger, agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; and R. B. Metcalf, of Texas, at one time an indian agent in Oregon. The latter was superseded later in the proceedings by H. R. Crosbie, who had perhaps once visited Oregon Territory with Governor Davis. It will be recalled that when the northern democrats in the convention succeeded in having a Douglas platform adopted the southerners withdrew, and afterward the two factions called separate conventions of their delegates to meet at Baltimore and at Richmond, in June. The Oregon delegates acted in harmony with the Breckenridge or southern faction but did not at first withdraw from the party, remaining with the tacit understanding that they would join the bolt only in the event that the nomination of Douglas became probable. Stevens did in fact put in an appearance at the adjourned convention of the northern or Douglas democrats at Baltimore, June 18, 1860, where a little later he announced the withdrawal of the Oregon members, who then joined the seceders at their convention held a few days afterward, and participated in the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane for president and vice-president. Stevens subsequently directed the Breckenridge-Lane national campaign as chairman of the central committee, but on the secession of the southern states he had a change of heart and allied himself with the federal cause, became a major-general of volunteers and fell in gallant combat at Chantilly on September 1, 1862, fighting for the preservation of the Union. Steinberger also joined the federal army. Lamerick and Metcalf cast their fortunes with the Confederacy, Lamerick becoming commissary of a Louisiana regiment and Metcalf a lieutenant in the Confederate Army. The divided sympathies of these delegates thus indicated the width of the schism in the democrat party in Oregon. While the party contained a numerous and influential element of secessionist sympathizers, it became impotent as an instrument of disunion by reason of the division of its voting strength, and the loyalty of the minority, those who had favored Douglas. In the campaign that followed, there was a political alliance of all Union sympathizers of all shades of political opinion and of all kinds of previous political affiliations.

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln was wholly satisfactory to Oregon republicans, whom it inspired with a new fervor. Examination of the vote in the Chicago convention moreover revealed that Bates had never had a real chance of nomination there. Much of the popular esteem in which Seward had been held in Oregon, due to his famous speech at Rochester, N. Y., October 25, 1858, in which the "irrepressible conflict" phrase was coined, had been forfeited by his change of front when the Kansas bill was under consideration in the United States Senate.[10] On the other hand it was now remembered that

[10] February 29, 1860.

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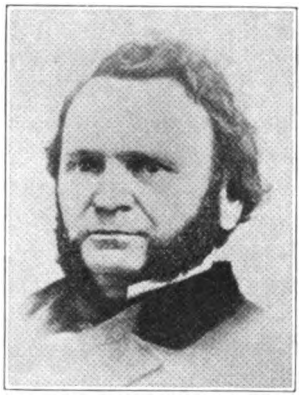
Lincoln's position upon the all-absorbing question was quite as clear as Seward's had ever been. "A house divided against itself cannot stand" also translated the spirit of Oregon republicanism. The enthusiasm with which Lincoln had been put forward at Chicago communicated itself to the party in Oregon and hope ran high.

Preceding the national conventions of 1860, the citizens pursued their usual custom of holding the general state election in June. The political parties held their conventions in April for the selection of state candidates. The democrats met first, at Eugene, April 17, when they nominated George K. Sheil of Marion County for representative in Congress to succeed Lansing Stout, and adopted resolutions which declared the Cincinnati Platform of 1856 to be a satisfactory statement of the principles of the democrat party, refusing by a vote of 60 to 4 to consider an amendment which would have added the words, "as advocated and enunciated by Stephen A. Douglas." Other candidates for Congress before the convention were James K. Kelly, Stephen F. Chadwick, John Adair and J. H. Reed, but the incumbent, Stout, was not even considered, he having broken with Lane and Smith. Six counties, still imbued with the rebellious spirit of the preceding November, were not represented. They were Clatsop, Curry, Marion, Polk, Tillamook and Washington.

The republicans, April 19, 1860, again nominated David Logan for representative in Congress, chose T. J. Dryer, B. J. Pengra and W. H. Watkins for presidential electors, and adopted in substance the platform of 1859, except that the Seward instructions were omitted and a strong protest against the Dred Scott decision was added. A noteworthy occurrence, which served to introduce a new and striking personality to the political life of the state, was the appearance before this convention of Col. Edward Dickinson Baker, whose name had been closely associated with Lincoln's and whose fame as an orator had preceded him to Oregon. Colonel Baker had defeated Lincoln for the nomination for Congress in 1844, yet had remained on terms of cordial intimacy with him. The nomination had resulted in his election to the national House of Representatives as a whig. Resigning his seat in 1846 to serve with distinction in the Mexican war, he had canvassed the Middle West with Lincoln for Zachary Taylor in 1848, and had then emigrated to California in 1852 in furtherance of his political ambitions, which were temporarily thwarted when he failed of election as the whig nominee for representative in Congress from that state in 1859. Although thus disappointed his speeches in the California campaign were remarkable for their stirring eloquence. It having occurred to certain Oregon republicans that the party needed a spokesman of Baker's type, he was informally invited to assist in the canvass of the state for the Lincoln ticket. It was thought that the young republican party was wanting in leaders possessing the gift of eloquence, a deficiency which Baker was peculiary able to supply.[11] He promptly accepted, and did most effective campaign work, bringing a needed antidote for the new scheme of disruption which

[11] Perhaps Baker's removal to Oregon was due to David Logan, who was a son of Judge Logan of Springfield, Illinois. The eloquent eulogy delivered by Colonel Baker before a multitude assembled in the Plaza, at San Francisco, in September, 1859, in the presence of the mortal remains of Senator David C. Broderick, killed in a political duel by Judge Terry, was considered as a masterpiece of oratory. His brilliant campaign speeches in the California campaign established his already well earned reputation as a public speaker and an opponent of secession.

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SENATOR JAMES W.
NESMITH

(From Oregon Pioneer
Transactions, 1887)

S. T. LOGAN & E. D. BAKER,

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW.

WILL practice, in conjunction, in the Circuit Courts of this Judicial District, and in the Circuit Courts of the Counties of Pike, Schuyler and Peoria.

Springfield, march, 1837. 81-t

J. T. STUART AND A. LINCOLN.

ATTORNEYS and Counsellors at Law, will practice, conjointly, in the Courts of this Judicial Circuit.—Office No. 4 Hoffman's Row, up stairs.

Springfield, april 12, 1837. 4

THE partnership heretofore existing between the undersigned, has been dissolved by mutual consent.—The business will be found in the hands of John T. Stuart.

JOHN T. STUART,
April 12, 1837. 84 HENRY E. DUMMER.

PROFESSIONAL CARDS OF E. D. BAKER AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Published at Springfield, Ill., when these men were practitioners at the bar of that state in 1837. Baker moved to Oregon and was elected senator during the Civil war. Lincoln declined appointment as secretary of Oregon and was elected president.

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now threatened the nation. This was a scheme to set up a new republic consisting of the states and territories of the Pacific coast, to which allusion has been made, a plan that was said to have already gained some headway in California. General Lane was reputed to be in sympathy, if not in active cooperation with those who originated the proposal.

Sheil, as the representative of the Lane-Smith faction of the state democracy, was openly opposed in the ensuing campaign by Nesmith, and other union democrats, but on the other hand was supported by Kelly and many others, who returned to the fold rather than risk further disorganization of the party. In the June election, therefore, Sheil defeated Logan by a small margin, notwithstanding the fact that Asahel Bush in that organ of the divided party, the Statesman, loudly contended that the constitution made no provision for any election of a member of Congress at this time, and that therefore the election was a mere trick of the friends of Lane and Smith to "debauch and distract the Democratic party, and defy the popular will."[12] The Legislature chosen in this June election was again overwhelmingly democratic, but upon analysis it appeared that the two factions of the democrats in the joint assembly were divided nearly evenly, there being eighteen supporters of Douglas and seventeen adherents of Breckenridge, or Lane. The republicans, numbering thirteen, thus had the balance of power in the event the warring democratic factions should be unable to unite, which was precisely what did come to pass. Indeed, the result presaged the fusion of republicans and loyal or Union democrats which was to follow. While there was no formal alliance between republicans and Douglas democrats, there was at least general agreement as to method.[13] The logic of this informal political compact was unassailable, for notwithstanding existing differences of opinion between the abolitionists and the champions of squatter sovereignty, both groups constituting a majority of the whole people of the state realized the perils of secession. Baker indeed refrained from committing himself to the extreme abolition view, making it easy for Douglas democrats to support him, and throughout the campaign he pursued a policy of persuasion rather than of invective.

When the Legislature met September 10, 1860, at Salem, the prospect that the republicans and Douglas democrats would carry out their pre-election understanding was so imminent that six of the senators representing the Breckenridge faction absented themselves in a futile attempt to prevent organization of the senate,[14] leaving that body without a quorum. They went into conceal-

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[12] Oregon Statesman, April 24, 1860.

[13] In Marion County, for example, both the Douglas and Lane forces nominated candidates for the legislature and the republicans, on the advice of Baker, supported the Douglas ticket, with the understanding that the nominees if elected would support Baker for senator. Consult T. W. Davenport, Slavery Question in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IX, p. 347, et seq. "And this in the face of the fact that the republicans were probably strong enough in Marion County to have elected their ticket. On the other hand in Washington and Yamhill counties, the anti-Lane democrats did not nominate candidates, but supported for the most part those of the republicans. A similar understanding, for the most part unconfessed, seemed to exist over the State." W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 171.

Judge Williams broke with the Lane-Smith faction, and traveling to Linn County, Smith's home, challenged Smith to a joint canvass. Smith accepted and the two covered the county on horseback, speaking every day, and generally, as accommodations were limited, occupying the same bed at night.—George H. Williams, Political History of Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, p. 23.

[14] The recalcitrants were A. B. Florence and James Monroe, of Lane County, A. M.

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ment, while the sergeant-at-arms sought for them in vain. Two rival conventions of the factions of the democrat party were then in session in Eugene, and these adopted resolutions respectively denouncing and upholding the conduct of the absconders. Governor Whiteaker, although allied with the Breckenridge faction, published an appeal to them to return for patriotic reasons, and they did so, September 24, 1860. The Douglas democrats meanwhile organized the assembly, electing Benjamin F. Harding of Marion, speaker. Luther Elkins of Linn was made president of the senate on its organization without a quorum. The joint assembly while waiting for the absentee members to return made several unsuccessful efforts to elect a senator, the Douglas men voting for Nesmith and Williams and the republicans for Baker and Holbrook. Being unable to proceed without the absconders, however, the two houses adjourned sine die. Governor Whiteaker then called an extra session, at which both houses had a quorum, and balloting was resumed ineffectually, October first.[15] Ten ballots were taken, and there was an adjournment to October 2, at which time Nesmith and Baker were duly elected on the fourth ballot of the day, carrying the fusion of republicans and Douglas democrats into effect. Twenty-six votes were necessary for a choice; Nesmith received twenty-seven votes for the long term and Baker twenty-six votes for the short term. The pro-slavery democrats, the opponents of Nesmith, concentrated on Judge Deady, who received twenty-two votes. In opposition to Baker, Judge George H. Williams received twenty votes and Ex-Governor Curry two. The result had not been attained, however, without a bitter struggle in which the Douglas democrats made several efforts to find a basis of reunion with the Breckenridge faction which should include Nesmith and exclude Smith. So closely did the factions approach agreement that on the ballot preceding the final one Nesmith had twenty-four votes and Curry twenty-five, within two and one, respectively, of enough to elect.[16] The fifteen democrats who voted for Baker joined in issuing a statement in justification of their act. They declared the "proscriptive and intolerant course pursued by General Lane and his office-holding minions toward non-intervention democrats * * * and the corruption and treachery of Delazon Smith"

Berry, of Jackson; H. L. Brown, of Linn; Solomon Fitzhugh, of Douglas; G. S. McIteeney, of Benton, all supporters of Lane.

[15] On the first ballot the vote stood: Long term—Delazon Smith, 19; J. W. Nesmith, 16; E. D. Baker, 12; George H. Williams, 2; George L. Curry, 1. Short term—Lafayette Grover, 17; George H. Williams, 11; Amory Holbrook, 11; George L. Curry, 7; Joseph W. Drew, 2.

[16] "Harding turned to the Breckenridge side of the House and said that if any two of their number would change to Nesmith he would vote for Curry and elect Nesmith and Curry; they refused to do it. Norton, of Coos, made the same proposition to an especial friend of Governor Curry's on the floor. It was also rejected. Every Douglas man on the floor would have done the same thing, had it been possible. * * * The Douglas members would not vote for Delusion [a derisive political nickname for Delazon Smith], and the Breckenridgers refused to support Nesmith with anybody else. Not only would they not take Williams or Curry, with Nesmith, but they refused to take Stout, Reed or any Breckenridge man with Nesmith except Delusion. If Delusion was dropped they required that Nesmith should be. * * * Baker has been politically committed to the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of the territory, and Squatter Sovereignty, before and since his residence in Oregon. As the case was presented by the Lane and Delusion members, there were but three alternatives,—the election of Delusion, no election at all, or the dernier resort adopted." Oregon Statesman, October 8, 1860.

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to have been the direct causes of the party division, and contended that the election of a majority of non-intervention democrats to the Legislature had finally disposed of Lane and Smith. The Breckenridge forces, and Lane by implication, were branded as party-wreckers, and those who persisted in voting for Smith were charged with seeking to create a deadlock with a view to preserving a vacancy to be filled in 1862 by "a rejected aspirant for vice-presidential honors." In specific defense of their votes for Baker, the fifteen explained that they were influenced "by his well known position upon the question of slavery in the territories—a position differing but little from that of our party."[17] On the final ballot Holbrook declined to vote, although he subsequently expressed hope that "the people may never have cause to regret the action which has secured senators who will never submit to southern dictation."[18] "The faltering," wrote John R. McBride, "was in our ranks entirely." Nevertheless, dissension among republicans was inconsequential in comparison with the wide breach of the democrats, the bitterness of which was shown in the hanging in effigy of Luther Elkins and the burning of his image at Albany by Lane supporters. The outstanding facts which gave national significance to the political situation in Oregon at this time were this election of two non-secessionist senators and the disruption of the democracy. Only by the latter fact could the casting of the electoral vote of the state for Abraham Lincoln have been made possible, and this consequence soon followed.

With the senatorial contest disposed of, the way was cleared for the autumn political campaign of 1860. Presidential elections then as now were held in November, while in that period state elections were in June. The democrat conventions which met while the Legislature was jockeying over the senatorship, put two tickets for presidential electors in the field. The Breckenridge-Lane nominees were Delazon Smith, James O'Meara and D. W. Douthitt. The Douglas electors were W. H. Farrar, Benjamin Hayden and William Hoffman. The republican electors, Dryer, Pengra and Watkins, had been chosen April nineteenth. In addition to these, the Constitutional Union party, with John Bell as its candidate for president, had an electoral ticket in Oregon, the nominees for electors being Stukeley Elsworth, G. W. Greer and John Ross.

An added complication arose in the nomination of A. J. Thayer for representative in Congress by the Douglas state central committee, October 17, 1860, pursuant to the contention of this faction that Sheil had been illegally nominated and elected in the spring. The real issue however was the extension or non-extension of slavery. Thus it came about that with the democrats divided the electoral vote of the state was given Lincoln by a plurality of 270, on the crucial election day, November 6, 1860. The vote was: Lincoln, 5,344; Breckenridge, 5,074; Douglas, 4,131; Bell, 212.[19] Thayer received 4,099 votes to 131 for Sheil, having practically no opposition, as both republicans and Breckenridge democrats abstained from voting for that office. The incident obtains some significance from the circumstance that although Thayer was at first seated when both he and Sheil presented their credentials to the House, that body afterward reversed its action and recognized as superior the claims

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[17] Oregon Statesman, October 8, 1860.

[18] Mss. letter, McBride to D. W. Craig, October 2, 1860 (Or. Hist. Soc.) McBride accused Holbrook of perfidy in failing to do his part in carrying out the agreement.

[19] Oregon Statesman, December 3, 1860.

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of Sheil. The House committee on elections of the thirty-seventh Congress, although overwhelmingly republican, reported unanimously in favor of restoring the seat to Sheil, who was well known to be a sympathizer with secession, and the House itself rejected an amendment offered by Thaddeus Stevens declaring that neither was entitled to the place, and that the seat should be declared vacant.[20]

The election of 1860 ended the memorable, and in many respects spectacular, career of Lane, and at the same time put an end to the Pacific republic movement, which had spread to Oregon and in connection with which it was freely charged during the summer and autumn of 1860 that Lane, with Senator Gwin of California, had conspired with southern secessionists to complete the destruction of the union. Three governments, declared the Statesman, July 17, 1860, were planned—two in the East, one free and one slave-holding, the third to consist of the states and territories on the Pacific coast, which were to decide the issue of slavery for themselves. Later it was charged that senators and representatives from Oregon and California had held a caucus in Washington at which the feasibility of the creation of three separate republics had been considered. A form of government was said to have been agreed on. The particulars were transmitted from California and widely circulated in Oregon, although this was after the election of November, 1860, had rendered the success of the enterprise improbable. The details were nevertheless interesting. "On certain essentials they (the conspirators) are unanimous," said a newspaper authority on the subject. "In the first place they discard universal suffrage and repudiate the people as a basis of power. Secondly, labor must be performed by a servile class, and therefore the immigration of coolies, South Sea Islanders and negroes is to be encouraged, who are to be reduced to slavery immediately upon their arrival. If, in the expected secession of the South from the American Union, a line of slave territory from Texas to the Pacific can be kept open, a majority of the conspirators favor an immediate combination with the Southern Confederacy. But another faction, in view of the probable wars in which the aggressive portion of these states will involve all their allies and confederates, favor the establishment of an empire at once, or an autocratic system on the Venetian plan, which, while providing for an elective executive, deposits all power in the hands of the hereditary nobles."[21] Nesmith, visiting San Francisco in the winter of 1860, ascertained that "the programme is for Texas to withdraw and unite with Arizona, capture some of the Mexican states and force the Pacific states into the confederacy as a matter of course, though little is said of the scheme."[22]

Lane gave color to charges that he was a participant in these councils by his open opposition to coercive measures for the preservation of the union, not only in his association with the Breckenridge faction, but in speeches in Congress and in his private writings. "Tomorrow," he wrote, on the eve of the reassembling of the Thirty-seventh Congress for its final session, "Congress

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[20] Stevens argued that the constitution of a state might fix the time for the congressional election first held, but that all subsequent elections should be regulated by legislative enactment, a point upon which he held the provision of the United States constitution to be clear and mandatory.—See Lester Burrell Shippee, An Echo of the Campaign of Sixty, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 359.

[21] Oregon Statesman, December 10, 1860, quoting San Francisco Times.

[22] J. W. Nesmith to Asahel Bush, December 31, 1860. Mss., Or. Hist. Soc.

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will assemble for the last time that a national congress will assemble under the constitution as it is now."[23] "Consequently," he added, "look upon the union as broken up." Almost on the last day of his senatorship, he predicted that the slave states would "go out of the union into one of their own; forming a great, homogeneous and glorious southern confederacy," and he urged peace, if not in union, then by cultivating friendly relations with the states which had established a separate government. "I know long, well and intimately," he said also, "the gallant men of Oregon—that they will not be found ready, or inclined to imbrue their hands, for a godless cause, in fraternal gore."[24]

News of the firing on Fort Sumter was received in Oregon late in April, 1861. The homecoming of Lane at this time furnished opportunity for certain unionists to manifest a noisy patriotism by hanging the now discredited senator in effigy, as was done at Dallas, and by various other spectacular acts, but the ominous fact of war brought the serious-minded opponents of secession once more into accord in an endeavor to formulate a constructive programme. Enthusiastic Union meetings were held all over the state, which Governor Whiteaker proceeded to deprecate as unnecessary and as provocative of the disunion which they professed to oppose. Whiteaker disapproved the war. Democrats denied that they were disloyal. Republican leadership in most of the Union meetings gave a partisan flavor to the Union movement in the beginning, and created opposition which can be interpreted with understanding by considering the political conditions of the period. Oregon was divided less between union and disunion than over issues of expediency. Not all were persuaded that it was yet too late for settlement by compromise.

Senator Baker served for a brief but eloquent period in Congress. He volunteered for military service at the outbreak of the rebellion, recruited a regiment in Pennsylvania which was credited to the quota of California, but declined a commission as brigadier-general offered by President Lincoln. He was killed in battle while leading a charge at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, October 21, 1861.[25]

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[23] Lane to Deady, December 2, 1860. Mss., Or. Hist. Soc.

[24] Congressional Globe, Thirty-sixth Congress, second session, Part II, p. 1344. March 2, 1861. Lane was quoted in a letter to a southern friend, dated January 6, 1860, printed in the Georgia Constitutionalist, and reprinted in the Oregon Statesman on February 25, 1861, as saying: "I am glad the majority of the people of Oregon have determined to leave a union that refuses you equality and protection." Cited by W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 193, note.

Judge George H. Williams' estimate of Lane was: "I have never known a man in Oregon to whom the Latin maxim, Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re, could with more propriety be applied. He had all the essential qualifications of a successful politician, and if he had not been so imbued with a desire to extend slavery, might in all human probability have represented Oregon in the Senate as long as he lived. He was intensely southern in all his feelings and sympathies, a devoted friend of Jefferson Davis, and opposed to coercive measures to preserve the union. It is due to his memory to say that he had, what many shifty politicians have not, the courage of his convictions, and he stood by them to the bitter end." Political History of Oregon, 1853-65. Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, pp. 27-8.

[25] During Baker's time in the Senate he delivered several remarkable speeches. He was for the Union. His first speech, delivered January 2 and January 3, 1861, which was in reply to Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, began with these striking words: "Mr. President: The adventurous traveller, who wanders on the slopes of the Pacific and on the very verge of civilization, stands awestruck and astonished in that great chasm formed by the torrent of the Columbia, as, rushing between Mount Hood and Mount St. Helens, it breaks through the ridges of the Cascade Mountains to find the sea. Nor is this wonder lessened

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Governor Whiteaker appointed to the vacancy thus created in the Senate Benjamin Stark, a man of no preeminent qualifications, but who had become one of the founders of Portland,—thereby precipitating an acrimonious controversy, since Whiteaker still sympathized with the secessionist cause and Stark was widely believed to hold similar opinions. It was charged at a mass meeting of citizens held at Salem, November 21, 1861, that Stark was "opposed to the vigorous prosecution of the war against the insurgent and revolted states, and in favor of the recognition of the so-called Confederate states, and also in favor of establishing on this coast a separate government, and therefore an enemy of the United States, to whose councils he is appointed." [26] The seating

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when he hears his slightest tones repeated and reechoed with a larger utterance in the reverberations which lose themselves at last amid the surrounding and distant hills. So I, standing on this spot, and speaking for the first time in this Chamber, reflect with astonishment that my feeblest word is reechoed, even while I speak, to the confines of the Republic. I trust, sir, that in so speaking in the midst of such an auditory, and in the presence of great events, I may remember all the responsibility these impose upon me, to perform my duty to the Constitution of the United States, and to be in nowise forgetful of my obligations to the whole country, of which I am a devoted and affectionate son." In the speech he took a strong stand against the right of secession, but in a later speech, March 1, 1861, on resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution, known as the Peace Conference Propositions, he offended some of his republican associates by temporizing, or as they thought, encouraging the threatening states in the hope that some compromise might be effected. However, immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter he delivered one of the greatest of all of his impassioned and thrilling speeches, pledging himself to the support of the flag. This was at Union Park, New York City, before an audience described as "one of the largest assemblages ever enchained by the eloquence of a single man." (Sketch of E. D. Baker, Joseph Wallace, Springfield, Illinois, 1870.) After raising his regiment at Philadelphia, he attended the special session of Congress, beginning July 4, 1861, and there he delivered his impromptu speech, a reply to Senator John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. In this speech he pledged the loyalty of Oregon and California, although he admitted that there were "a few men there who have left the South for the good of the South, who are perverse, violent, destructive, revolutionary and who are opposed to social order."

[26] Oregonian, November 26, 1861. The draft of a letter in the handwriting of Henry Failing, of Portland, now in the possession of Oregon Historical Society, and which presumably was signed by citizens of Oregon and sent to Washington, reads as follows:

"Portland Ogn. 20 Nov. 1861.

"Hon. W. H. Seward

"Secy. of State,

"Sir, The undersigned beg leave to make the following representations to you concerning Mr. Benj Stark recently appointed U. S. Senator from Oregon by Governor Whiteaker to fill the seat vacated by the decease of Col E. D. Baker.

"Being loyal citizens and heartily sympathizing with the government in its present efforts to maintain its authority, we are impelled by a sense of duty to acquaint you with the position of Mr. Stark upon the present state of affairs, and the circumstances attending his appointment as Senator.

"Gov. Whiteaker to whom Mr. Stark is indebted for his commission is reputed to be a Secessionist, and his acts and sayings, together with the language of his address to the people of Oregon upon the present state of the Country, has confirmed the suspicion in the public mind here, that he is in sympathy with the rebellion.

"Mr. Stark who is a resident here and personally known to us all, has been for the past twelve months an ardent advocate of the cause of the rebellious States. He has openly avowed his sympathies with the South, declaring the government disrupted and openly expressing his admiration for the Confederate Constitution and advocating the absorption of the loyal states of the Union in the Southern Confederacy under that constitution, as the only means of restoring peace, thus advocating the surrender of our government to the so called Confederated States.

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of Stark in the Senate was delayed but not prevented by these protests, and with the assent of Nesmith, the other senator from Oregon, he was sworn in three months after his appointment. The charges against him were subsequently sustained by the Senate judiciary committee, to which they had been referred, but Congress was too busy with the larger concerns of war to consider them more fully and Stark's case was not reopened. Stark was a nonentity and he cut no figure at Washington. He soon left Oregon, where his influence upon political affairs was never important.

Oregon was profoundly stirred by the victories of the Confederate arms which signalized the first months of hostilities. By January, 1862, party feeling had abated in favor of the greater necessity of cooperation among all Unionists. A Union party was brought into being to meet local necessity. The call, addressed to all who favored vigorous suppression of the rebellion, was signed by H. W. Corbett, E. D. Shattuck and W. C. Johnson, who then constituted the republican state central committee, and by other members of both parties, and resulted in the holding of a state convention in Eugene, April 9, 1862. The county conventions which chose delegates to the state convention were organized in harmony with the general plan, according to calls issued by representatives of both parties. The state ticket chosen at Eugene also gave representation to both parties. Addison C. Gibbs, a northern democrat, law partner of George H. Williams, and as a pioneer supremely devoted to the interests of Oregon, was nominated for governor, and John R. McBride, who had figured from the first in the councils of the republican party, for representative in Congress.[27] The platform demanded the vigorous prosecution of the war.

A convention of democrats held at Eugene, April 15, 1862, in answer to a call addressed to all "who are opposed to the political policy of the present administration and are in favor of the preservation of the Union as it was," nominated John F. Miller, who had been named as an alternate to the Charleston convention in 1860, for governor, and Judge Aaron E. Wait for representative in Congress.[28] Wait had been classified as a Douglas democrat. The

"Mr. Stark has thus expressed himself publicly and has in consequence been recognized as the most prominent and bold of the advocates of secession here in this state. He has been selected by Gov. Whiteaker doubtless in consequence of his secession proclivities, thus outraging sentiment of the people of Oregon, a large majority of whom are loyal to the Union.

"Accompanying this communication will be found affidavits from reliable citizen's, in confirmation of the statements herein made concerning Mr. Stark. Deprived of our rightful representation as loyal citizens in the appointment of Mr. Stark, we feel it to be a duty to call your attention to these facts, in order that he may not succeed by professions in favor of the Union, in deluding the officers of the government, and thus be enabled to give substantial aid to our enemies. The acts and expressions of Mr. Stark fully warrant the belief that he would render the cause of the South all the assistance in his power consistent with his personal safety. We believe that Mr. Stark as U. S. Senator may prove to be a dangerous person, and therefore respectfully urge that his actions may be closely scrutinized, and that you will take such measures as the public interest may require to dispossess him of all power for harm."

[27] Other nominees were: For secretary of state, Samuel May; state printer, Harvey Gordon; state treasurer, Edwin N. Cooke; judge, fourth district, E. D. Shattuck, prosecuting attorney, first district, James F. Gazley; second district, A. J. Thayer; third district, J. G. Williams; fourth district, W. C. Johnson.

[28] Other nominees were: For secretary of state, George T. Vining; state treasurer, J. B. Green; state printer, A. Noltner; judge, fourth district, W. W. Page.

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platform declared for suppression of the rebellion by "constitutional" means, accused the republicans of conducting the war for the chief purpose of emancipating and enfranchising the negroes, and denounced the coalition of abolitionists with so-called democrats. The democrat ticket thus nominated received the support of all the Breckenridge or secession democrats and of a considerable number of former partisans of Douglas.

The Union ticket, however, won by majorities ranging from 3,177 for McBride to 3,590 for Gordon, and Gibbs received a majority of 3,589. The total vote polled was about 10,400. Only one county, Josephine, gave a majority for a democrat candidate, Miller receiving ten more votes than Gibbs there.[29] The Legislature was almost solidly Union, and September 12 following chose Benjamin F. Harding, of Marion (who though rated as a Douglas democrat was regarded as a supporter of Lincoln), for United States senator for the seat to which Colonel Baker had originally been elected and which Stark was temporarily occupying by interim appointment. The other leading candidates were Judge George H. Williams, who had received twenty votes for senator in 1860; Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, editor of the Pacific Christian Advocate, Elisha L. Applegate, Orange Jacobs, H. W. Corbett and John Whiteaker. Three votes cast for the last-named candidate represented the full strength of the secessionist sympathizers in the joint convention. Thirty ballots were taken. Orange Jacobs of Jacksonville, who was a republican of pronounced type, was within three votes of election on the sixteenth ballot, after which the republican vote veered to Corbett.[30] The Legislature, without audible dissent, adopted a set of resolutions introduced by McBride, which declared the rebellion an "unjustifiable, inexcusable and wicked attempt" to overthrow the Union and demanded that the President be supported to the utmost in his endeavors to "subdue the present revolt against the best and wisest government ever devised by man."[31] Loyalty and Union were the watchwords of the hour. Governor Gibbs' inaugural message rang with patriotism. "The absorbing question of the day," he said, "is how to put down the rebellion and pay the expenses of the war." "Those who are not for us are against us," he said also.[32] The Legislature passed as a war measure an act making United States notes legal tender for the payment of debts and taxes, a proceeding calculated to put patriotism to the test in view of the difficult condition of state and national finances, since new purchases could be made only at prices specified by the seller, and based on the value of the medium in which they were paid for, while creditors were compelled to accept payment of old debts in fluctuating currency. A partial remedy was found in 1864, when the Legislature enacted a law which permitted specification by contract of the kind of money in which the obligation should be payable, and required that judgments be discharged in the specified medium.[33]

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[29] Official returns, Oregon Argus, June 28, 1862.

[30] "However, Harding received some republican votes, including that of John R. McBride." (W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 213.)

[31] Oregon Argus, September 13, 1862.

[32] Oregon Argus, September 20, 1862. "It has been often and truthfully said," added the governor, "that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty! Mark its frequent truth at this time, and watch those who carp at every real or imaginary error of the administration, and are complaining of the 'tax bill' because a small portion of their fortunes is required to preserve civil and religious liberty in America."

[33] Act of October 13, 1864, Hill's Annotated Codes of Oregon, Section 3211, p. 1421.

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Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did not meet with universal favor in Oregon, only the radical republicans defending it, for as has heretofore appeared, the temper of the community was about as hostile to the negro as it was to the extension of slavery. There was division of opinion, therefore, in 1864, when the Union party held its convention at Albany, March 30, and the anomaly was presented of a party convention electing delegates to the national convention of a party bearing a different designation from its own. The Union party of Oregon chose Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, J. W. Souther, Frederick Charman, Meyer Hirsch, Josiah Failing and Hiram Smith to represent it in the councils of the national republican party, but technically evaded the issue by referring to the "national convention" only, and omitting the qualifying "republican." The delegates to Baltimore were instructed to support Lincoln for renomination, which they did, and the platform warmly indorsed the national administration. John R. McBride was defeated for renomination on local issues,[34] and Rev. J. H. D. Henderson was nominated for Congress. Harvey Gordon, state printer, having died, H. L. Pittock, publisher of the Oregonian was named to succeed him, removing this office from the control of the Oregon Statesman for the first time since its creation. The nominees for presidential electors were H. N. George, George L. Woods and J. F. Gazley.

Secessionist sentiment was strong in the democrat convention, which met at Albany, April 13, 1864, and over which ex-Governor Whiteaker presided. Col. James K. Kelly was nominated for representative in Congress; no candidate for state printer was presented; the nominees for presidential electors were Aaron E. Wait, Benjamin F. Hayden and Stephen F. Chadwick. Delegates to the national democrat convention were Benjamin Stark, L. P. Higbee, William McMillan, Jefferson Howell, John Whiteaker and N. T. Caton. The platform both reasserted the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-9 and condemned the rebellion, and it directed a particular attack at the abolition of slavery. Its inconsistency was no doubt due to the divergent views of the members of the convention. The succeeding campaign was spirited, and at times violent, and the democrats held hope, which, however, proved groundless, of controlling the Legislature and electing a United States senator to succeed Harding. The result of the election in June was a sweeping victory for the Union ticket, Henderson winning by a majority of 2,763 [35] over Kelly, and the democrats obtaining only two members of the Senate and five members of the House. One of the latter was Lafayette Lane, son of Joseph Lane. The elder Lane had emerged from political seclusion and with a little of his old time fire had led the democrat canvass of the state. The Legislature chosen at this time met in September and elected as senator George H. Williams, who was now regarded as a republican, although he had not formally announced his conversion. His leading opponent was Rev. Thomas H. Pearne. The secessionist vote was given to John F. Miller. The same session at which Judge Williams realized his twice-frustrated ambition and made another step forward in the illustrious political career which culminated in his selection as attorney-

[34] Oregon was at this time asking for a branch United States mint and McBride's disposition toward having it located at The Dalles raised a strong feeling against him in the western and more populous part of the state. (Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, pp. 228-9.)

[35] Official returns in Portland Oregonian, July 23, 1864. Henderson received 8,759 votes and Kelly 5,996.

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general in the cabinet of Grant, also brought into prominence John H. Mitchell, who was president of the State Senate, and now also embarked upon a noteworthy political career, in the course of which he represented Oregon in the United States Senate for twenty-two years out of the thirty-two years from 1873 to 1905.

The spirit of the Legislature of 1864 was revealed in the names chosen for two new counties which were created east of the Cascade Mountains—Union and Grant. Nevertheless a change in the political character of the population was taking place, which was exhibited in the vote for President in November. Lincoln carried Oregon by 1,431 over McClellan, which was satisfactory enough to the supporters of the Union cause, but Henderson's majority over Kelly in June had been almost double that number. Analysis of the returns indicates that the difference was due largely to immigration, which consisted principally of settlers from the border states who were weary of the war and who were referred to by the newspapers of the period as the "left wing of Price's army," —there being a flavor of sardonic humor in the designation, "left wing," in allusion to its having "left" Missouri, the scene of trouble.[36] It was a population largely secessionist in sympathy, or at least opposed to continuance of the war; and this sentiment was reflected in the vote in Eastern Oregon. The total number of ballots cast east of the Cascades in June, 1864, was 3,291; in November the total was 4,560, an increase of 1,269, of which increase precisely 900 were accounted for in the increased vote for the democratic nominee for President. In the state at large, Lincoln received 9,888 votes, or 1,129 more than had been cast for Henderson; McClellan, however, received 8,457, or 2,461 more than had been received by Kelly in June. The new arrivals, registering democratic sympathies, were already contributing to the restoration of the political status of ante-bellum times.

The Legislature convened in special session December 5, 1865, by the call of Governor Gibbs, and voted for ratification of the thirteenth amendment to the federal constitution, abolishing slavery, forty-three ayes, seven noes, the negative vote being wholly those of democrats. A year later, in September, 1866, the succeeding Legislature ratified the fourteenth amendment, also by a large majority, although the political complexion of that body had changed somewhat. The spring campaign of 1866 in fact marked the beginning of the end of the Union party and the return of the democrats. The Unionists nominated Rufus Mallory of Marion County, for Congress, it having by this time become a custom that the congressional plum should be passed around; and for governor they chose George L. Woods of The Dalles. S. E. May was nominated for secretary of state, E. N. Cooke for treasurer and W. A. McPherson of the Albany Journal for state printer. The platform, which attempted to avoid definiteness, was evidence of the increasing difficulty of meeting the views of both republicans and democrats upon issues as complex as these now arising out of reconstruction. The democrats named James K. Kelly for governor this time, and James D. Fay of Jackson County for Congress and in their platform warmly indorsed President Johnson in his controversy with Congress over reconstruction policies. The Union party leaders were largely on the side of Congress as against the President, but there was

[36] General Sterling Price was a noted Confederate general, operating principally in Missouri.

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NORTHWESTERN NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, PORTLAND



WILCOX BUILDING, PORTLAND

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confusion of opinion among the voters. The Union ticket won in the June election, but by conspicuously reduced majorities, that for Mallory being 553 and Woods 277. Woods had been among the organizers of the republican party in the Territory in 1857 and a Lincoln elector in 1864. Mallory was a republican. He was an able young lawyer of Salem, although practically unknown outside of Marion, Douglas and Umpqua counties. The geographical distribution of the republican nominees was shrewdly calculated to give strength to the ticket, and the practical politics exhibited in its construction was significant of the domination of local factors now that the issue of the preservation of the Union was no longer uppermost. Mallory's nomination was a bid for the strongly republican vote of Marion; McPherson was named as a favor to Linn; May was popular in Jackson County and the rest of Southern Oregon; and Woods' selection was obviously in recognition of the increasing influence of Eastern Oregon in the political councils of the state. The democratic leaders, however, misjudged their public and missed a possible chance for success by the inclusion in particular of Fay and O'Meara on their ticket; both were avowed secessionists, and their selection so affronted republicans who otherwise were disaffected that these again voted the ticket straight, as they had been wont to do during the war. The democrats made gains notwithstanding their mistakes, and elected seven senators and twenty-one representatives to the Legislature, the total membership of that body being sixty-nine.[37]

Senator Nesmith was shelved in the realignment now taking place. Having voted with the war party in Congress, he was viewed by democrats as a republican; but he was not accepted by the latter.[38] A Union party caucus agreed on Governor Gibbs for senator and he would have been elected if three members had not refused to be bound by its decision. John H. Mitchell received fifteen votes on the first ballot to Gibbs' twenty-one, after which Henry W. Corbett, a pioneer in the organization of the republican and Union parties and Harding's leading opponent of 1862, gained steadily and was elected on the sixteenth ballot, when he received thirty-eight votes, to fourteen for Joseph Shoalwater Smith, his nearest opponent. Nesmith's highest vote had been nine, and he received but four votes on the last ballot.

The negro question, which would never subside in Oregon, the hostility between President Johnson and Congress and the continued arrival of new settlers with democratic predilections restored the local democrat party to favor

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[37] It was thought afterward by close political observers that with a candidate against Mallory who was not tainted with "copperheadism" the democrats probably would have carried the day in 1866. Joseph Shoalwater Smith instead of Fay, who was unpopular and whose character was said to be not above reproach, would have had a good prospect of beating Mallory, in the opinion of David W. Craig. (Mss. letter Craig to H. M. Himes, December 27, 1909, Or. Hist. Soc.) It was alleged afterward that Mallory's nomination was procured by the device of getting votes for him on the first ballot in the guise of "complimentary votes"—a trick of which it is not charged that Mallory himself was cognizant. Ivan Applegate was one of those who cast a "complimentary" ballot for Mallory, and when Mallory was declared nominated, according to Craig, Applegate said he would have given $50 to get his vote back. (Mss. letter, cited above.)

[38] See W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 257, citing letter from Nesmith to Deady, dated November 13, 1866: "Some republicans commended my course during the war, but denounced me fully because I was not in favor of its prosecution after the rebels had ceased to resist. Besides I was not up to their standard with respect to the superiority of the negro over the white man. On the other hand a portion of the democracy could not forgive me for having supported the war and because I did not support the rebellion."

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in 1868. In the impeachment proceedings against Johnson in that year the entire Oregon delegation in Congress was against the President. Mallory, in the House, voted for the resolution presenting the articles of impeachment; both Williams and Corbett voted "Guilty" in the Senate. The Union party convention at Salem this year adopted the name "Union-republican," and nominated for Congress David Logan. He was defeated, however, in the June election by Joseph Shoalwater Smith, who had a majority of more than 1,200, a clear reversal of political form, while the democrats elected forty-three of the sixty-nine members of the Legislature. The Union-republican nominees for electors were Orange Jacobs, A. B. Meacham and Josiah Bowlby and the convention sent delegates to the national convention of the republican party which nominated Ulysses S. Grant. The democratic electors, Stephen F. Chadwick, John Burnett and J. H. Slater, however, received the majority of the votes in November, when Oregon rejected Grant and Colfax and gave Seymour and Blair a plurality of 165.

Another incident reflecting the change in political opinion in the state occurred in 1868. A resolution originating in the House was adopted by the Legislature calling on both of Oregon's senators, Williams and Corbett, to resign, on the ground that they had misrepresented their constituents by voting for measures "which were in plain and palpable violation of the constitution of the United States, among which measures are those known as the reconstruction acts of congress, which acts in their enforcement have overthrown and subverted civil liberty in eleven states of this Union, and consigned the citizens thereof to odious and despotic military dictatorship."[39] The Legislature at about the same time adopted a resolution which had been introduced in the Senate, withdrawing the assent of the state to the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, which had been given by the Legislature of 1866. The rescinding resolutions, which were introduced in the Senate by Victor Trevitt of Wasco County, set forth that the three-fourths majority of the states by which the amendment had been declared adopted had included Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina, the Legislatures of which "were created by a military despotism against the will of the legal voters of said states, under the reconstruction acts (so-called) of congress, which are usurpatious, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."[40] The resolutions demanding the resignations of the senators were forwarded to the United States Senate, which returned them to their source. The curious effort to repeal the state's ratification of the fourteenth amendment was based on the ground that a state might withdraw its assent at any time prior to final ratification by three-fourths of all the states, and that, excluding those in which so-called "carpet-bag" Legislatures had voted, consent of the necessary three-fourths had not been obtained. The Senate resolutions seemed never to have reached their destination,[41] but they are interesting and significant exhibits of the political temper of the day.

The seat of government question, a by-product of the first decade of statehood, was disposed of in two elections, held in 1862 and 1864, by which Salem was made the capital. In the election of June, 1862, Salem received 3,417

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[39] House Journal, Sess. 1868, p. 123.

[40] Senate Journal, 1868, p. 35.

[41] See Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 668, note.

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votes to 1,921 for Eugene City, 1,787 for Portland and 1,026 for Corvallis. In the election of 1864 Salem received 6,108 votes, a clear majority of seventy-nine over all other aspirants.[42] Marion County, of which Salem was the county-seat, was then the most populous county in Oregon, as indicated by the vote cast for representative in Congress—the totals being 1,435 for Marion and 1,242 for Multnomah, the next most populous county. A change in relative positions was even then taking place, however. In the November following, Multnomah cast 1,995 votes for presidential electors and Marion 1,901. Growth of Portland, which was stimulated by the opening of river transportation to the new mining districts of Eastern Oregon, Idaho and Montana and by trade with California and the growing territory of Washington, was now a factor in political and commercial life.

[42] The vote was: Salem, 6,108; Portland, 3,864; Eugene City, 1,588; Corvallis, 576. Salem had majorities in the counties of Baker, Clatsop, Columbia, Douglas, Josephine, Linn, Marion, Polk, Tillamook, Umatilla and Wasco. Portland carried the counties of Clackamas, Multnomah, Washington and Yamhill. Eugene carried Coos, Jackson and Lane. Only Benton gave a majority for Corvallis. Curry did not vote on the question.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

CIVIL WAR AND FRONTIER FIGHTING

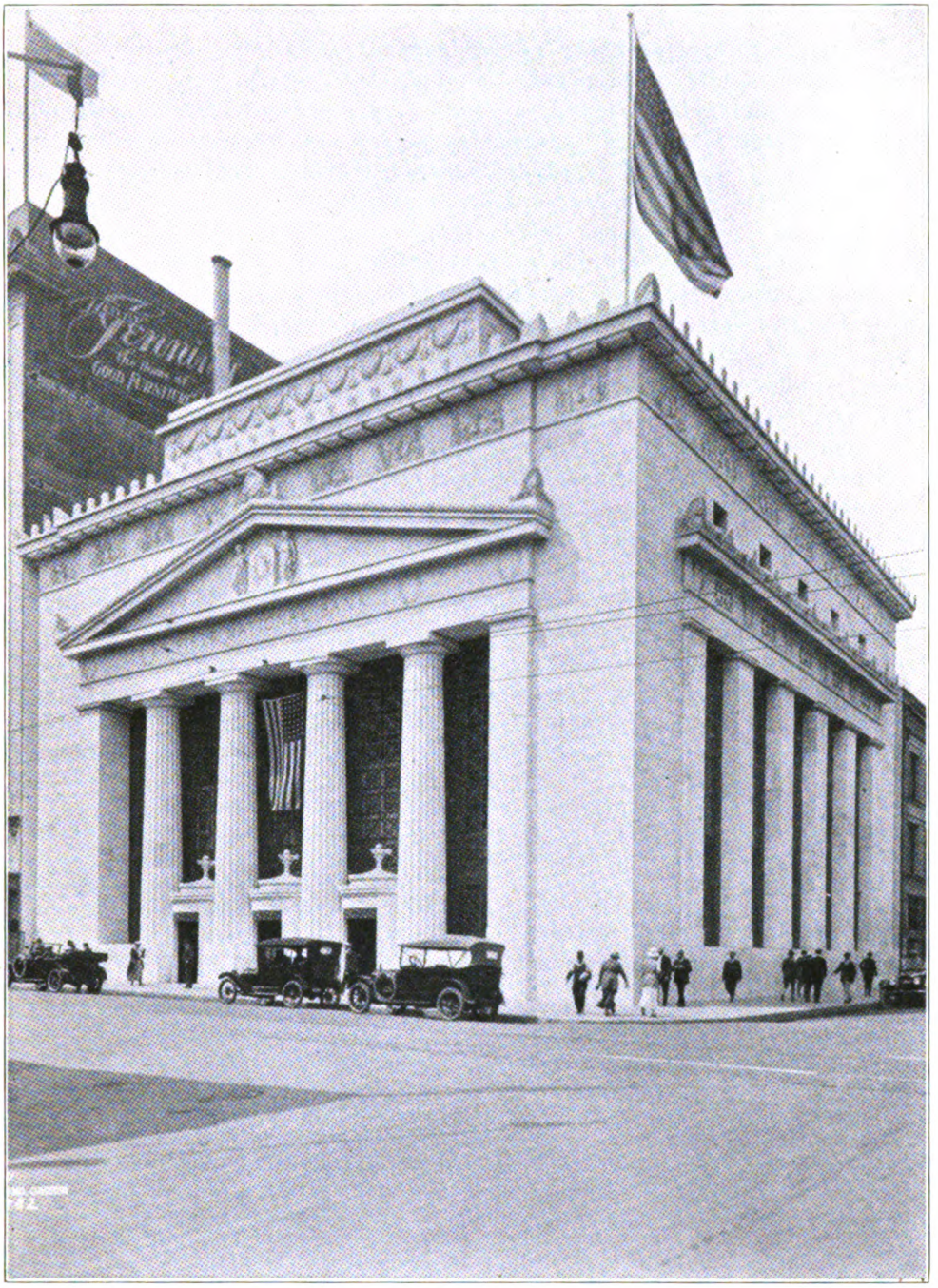
Oregon's principal share in the Civil war consisted in protecting the frontier against marauding indians and the interior from rebel sympathizers, while the troops of other states were engaged in more conspicuous and apparently more glorious, but no more essential or arduous, service on the actual field of combat. John Whiteaker, who was governor when the war began, opposed suppression of the rebellion by force, in contrast with patriotic war governors in other northern states, and his attitude caused delay in obtaining volunteers for service of any sort. Col. George Wright, who had brought the indian wars to a close in 1858, again became commander of the federal military district of Oregon and Washington when, on the outbreak of the Civil war, the whole region was practically stripped of regulars, leaving less than a full regiment in the entire Northwest. Not even a gunboat remained for patrol duty on the coast at a time when it was locally believed that a movement for separate secession of the Pacific states was under way.

In the interval between Wright's pacification of the tribes of the inter-mountain region and his return at the beginning of the Civil war, those disaffected indians who refused to be bound by the terms of the peace became infected with the spirit of unrest. This period will first require attention.

The military department of the Pacific had been divided into two districts, September 13, 1855, the department of California and the department of Oregon, and Maj.-Gen. William S. Harney was assigned to the command of the latter, in June, 1858. One of his first orders was to revoke General Wool's prohibition of white settlement in the Walla Walla country. But the Oregon Legislature adopted a joint resolution urging adequate protection of immigrants upon the overland routes, and the establishing of a military post at Fort Boise. General Harney gave orders early in the spring of 1859 to Capt. Henry D. Wallen, of the Fourth Infantry, designed to accomplish the purpose of affording a sufficient escort for the wagon trains during the immigration season, and also to search out a new route for a wagon road "up the John Day river and thence over the headwaters of the Malheur, following down that route to the Snake river." Captain Wallen was given an ample force of dragoons, infantry and engineers, and succeeded in making the roving indian bands understand that his force was to be feared, for they kept out of his way and during the summer of 1859 no overland travelers were attacked. He reported to General Harney, however, that the Bannock Snakes, or Southern Shoshones, were growing bolder and that they were constantly annoying small parties of whites passing through their country.[1] He was confirmed by the experiences of those who succeeded to the command the following year. Wallen explored the Blue, Owyhee and Goose Creek mountains and the country on both sides of these mountains. He reported that some of the families among the immigrants were in destitute condition and without the help he was able to give

[1] House Ex. Doc. Thirty-sixth Congress, first session, Vol. IX, p. 209.

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them from the military stores would inevitably have starved on the way. His assignment was completed October 17, 1859, when he returned finally to Fort Dalles.

In the next year, 1860, General Harney sent two expeditions into the same region. Maj. Enoch Steen had the command and was to march East from Crooked River, but Capt. A. J. Smith, a veteran of the indian wars was to take a different route, with a smaller detachment. Smith was openly attacked near the Owyhee River; Steen had several brushes with the natives, which, however, came to nothing; the Warm Springs reservation was twice raided by hostiles, and in September there occurred another massacre of immigrants about thirty miles east of Fort Boise, more atrocious than any that had preceded it.[2] These circumstances indicated that the indians were again to be seriously reckoned with by the people of the West. The tragedy, coming on the heels of almost weekly reports of isolated outrages, moved the Legislature, then in session at Salem, to address a memorial to Congress asking for additional military posts at Grande Ronde, Burnt River, Boise, Warm Springs and Klamath Lake, and for the removal of all indians by treaty to reservations where they might be held in check by a sufficient military force. Meantime Colonel Wright returned to Oregon, succeeding General Harney, who went to active duty in the South.

But the exigencies of Civil war interfered with any plans the Federal Government may have had for policing the hostile indian country. Instead, troops were rapidly withdrawn for more pressing service elsewhere, and in the spring of 1861, not more than 700 remained in the Northwest. The opening gun of the Civil war was fired at Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861; the proclamation of President Lincoln calling for 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion was published in Oregon May 11, but Governor Whiteaker did not respond to the appeal of the proclamation.[3] Colonel Wright, after waiting until Sep-

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[2] This was subsequently known as the Salmon Falls massacre, or the Myers massacre, after the name of a family consisting of husband, wife and five children who were among the survivors. The party, numbering forty-four, were convoyed by United States cavalry to a point a short distance west of Fort Hall, where the troops left them in supposed security. They were surrounded September 13, 1860, by a band of 100 Bannocks, who first exacted presents of food, then drove off the immigrants' cattle and finally attacked them, killing eleven, including one woman and two children. Abandoning their train, the immigrants fled and were pursued, six being killed near Burnt River and one near the Owyhee. Four children, two boys and two girls, whose fate has never been determined, are presumed to have been taken captive by the indians and held in slavery. Five starved to death. Four discharged soldiers from Fort Hall deserted the company, taking arms with them on the pretense of going ahead on scout duty, and two of these were reported by their companions as having been killed on the road mapped by Captain Wallen in the preceding year. The survivors were succored by troops of the Ninth Infantry in command of Capt. Frederick T. Dent, brother-in-law of Ulysses S. Grant, October 25, after forty-two days of almost incredible hardship and deprivation. Of the entire party of forty-four immigrants only fifteen were accounted for as living. In their extremity the survivors were reduced to devouring the bodies of their dead, four children being thus disposed of.

[3] In a long address to the people of Oregon, issued from his home at Pleasant Hill, Lane County, May 28, 1861, Governor Whiteaker argued that the South could never be conquered, that Oregon's geographical situation would exempt it from demand for troops to put down the rebellion and that since the people of the state had come from every section of the union, "it would certainly be impolitic in us, however keenly we may sympathize with other sections, to subject ourselves to the calamities which afflict them." He favored a military policy of defense only, and urged the Government to "beware of making a war for the ultimate or immediate extinction of slavery." "Have a care," he added, "that in freeing the negro you do not enslave the white man." Oregon Sentinel, June 15, 1861.

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tember 12, 1861, for the state to take action, then made a requisition on the governor for one company of volunteer cavalry for three years' service, for the purpose of checking the depredations of the indians east of the Cascades.[4] Under this plan each recruit was required to furnish his own horse. To this Governor Whiteaker responded, September 16, by issuing a call for eighty-eight men, rank and file, and by appointing A. P. Dennison, former indian agent, recruiting officer. But nothing came of this. It was suspected that Dennison was no more enthusiastic than the governor was,[5] so Wright revoked his requisition, October 23, 1861, on the authority of the War Department, which had seen the futility of waiting on Whiteaker and had appointed Thomas R. Cornelius, colonel; Reuben F. Maury, lieutenant-colonel; Benjamin F. Harding, quartermaster; C. S. Drew, major; and J. S. Rinearson, junior major, with directions to recruit a regiment of cavalry. These were the first appointees for volunteer service in an Oregon regiment in the Civil war and were men of whose loyalty to the Union cause there was no question. The terms of the call, however, were not of a nature to stimulate enlistment.[6] The young men of Oregon could see no allurement in serving in the home district, with the prospect of frontier patrol duty and border indian fighting; nor were pecuniary inducements—$31 a month for each man and his horse, a bounty of $100 at the expiration of his term of service and a land warrant for 160 acres—enticing in a period of plenty of work at good wages, with the new mines of Idaho attractive to every fortune hunter. So the ranks filled slowly. It was well toward the spring of 1862 before six companies were ready for duty, and these completed their quotas in some instances with details from other companies, recruiting for which had progressed even less favorably. Only a few more than forty men enlisted east of the Cascade Mountains, but this company, mustered in at The Dalles, in command of Capt. George B. Currey, was first to be called on for service. The murder of a party of prospectors on the John Day River and rumors that a considerable body of Simcoe indians had been seen north of the Columbia with property known to have belonged to the victims caused the commanding officer at The Dalles to order Currey with all the men he had to proceed against the suspects. The expedition consisted of only twelve enlisted men, although it was then March, 1862, nearly four months after recruiting had been begun. It distinguished itself for the promptness and the excellent strategy with which it executed its mission, but the effort was otherwise bootless. A number of indian villages were raided by Currey's troopers, several old indians were taken as hostages for the future good behavior of their tribes, and a good deal of ground was covered by forced marches, but the murderers of the prospectors were not found, and the soldiers treated the indians on the whole with leniency and moderation.

An incident of the service which the volunteers were called on to perform, even before the organization of the regiment was completed, throws some

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[4] Oregon House Journal, 1862, appendix, p. 21.

[5] Dennison appointed four assistant recruiting officers, at a cost of $225 in all, and rendered a bill of $365 for his own services. His total bill for compensation and expenses was $1,985.25. He and his assistants enrolled only twelve men. See Oregon House Journal, 1862, Appendix, p. 25.

[6] "The War Department having authorized Colonel Cornelius of Oregon to raise a regiment of cavalry for service in that district," were Wright's words.—Oregon House Journal, 1862, Appendix, p. 23.

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light on the practical necessity for maintaining a military force as a check on disloyalty within the community. While the recruits who were mustered in at Oregon City were stationed at Camp Barlow, early in April, 1862, two men stole horses and deserted. They were pursued up the Willamette Valley by Lieut. John T. Apperson of E Company, with a detachment. The chase led through Salem, Albany and Corvallis to the crossing of the Long Tom at Richards' Ferry, and it is significant that the pursuers found it expedient to conceal the fact that they were Union soldiers, and represented themselves as civilians in quest of horse thieves, lest the sympathy of the countryside be aroused in behalf of the deserters.[7]

As an especial inducement to recruiting, the War Department, in the order by which the field officers of the First Oregon Volunteers were appointed, had invoked the name of Senator Baker, on whose strong recommendation, said the official communication, the department "relies upon the prudence, patriotism and economy with which you will execute this trust." Baker's death, occurring before the order was received in Oregon, discouraged enlistments, but the members of the six companies which were at length assembled at Vancouver in May, 1862, believed that after they had been seasoned by a suitable period of frontier service they would have a part in the war itself and would receive the assignment they coveted. The feeling of the men of the First Oregon was expressed by Lieut. J. A. Waymire, in his report to Adj.-Gen. Cyrus A. Reed, in April, 1866. Lieutenant Waymire wrote: "I will here say that from my personal knowledge I know that a great majority of the men who composed the First Oregon Company were young men acting solely from a conviction of patriotic duty. They left pleasant homes and profitable occupations to take up arms, not only in defense of our frontiers against the indians, but also to assist in preventing or counteracting any movement on the Pacific coast in favor of the attempt to dissolve the Union; they also hoped that, should the war prove a long one, and there should be no serious difficulty here, they would, after becoming drilled and disciplined, be ordered East to engage in active battles there. That they have fought no great battles, or won no important victories, is the misfortune and not the fault of the Oregon volunteers."[8]

The six companies, in the organization of which it became necessary to consolidate some companies and to accept the resignations of certain surplus officers, were dispatched from Fort Vancouver to Fort Walla Walla in June, 1862, but were not fully equipped until July or August. Colonel Cornelius resigned July 15, for reasons which showed his impatience at the tardy response with which his efforts to raise a full regiment had been met, and at the same time attested his unselfishness and his patriotism.[9] No colonel was

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[7] Reminiscences of Lieut. John T. Apperson, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc. "The people living in this part of the country," says Apperson, "would not be disposed to aid us in capturing a deserter from the Union army, as they were known to be sympathizers with the South. * * * In some way it leaked out that we and the men we were after were in the Union army, and then it was all off, so far as getting assistance from the citizens who lived in that part of the country."

[8] Report of the Adjutant-General of Oregon, 1866, p. 65.

[9] "A correspondent in the Argus, speaking of the resignation of Colonel Cornelius, said: 'I suppose the truth in regard to his resignation is that he had the full number of field officers for a regiment—that his regiment, having been reduced to six companies, he considered that he had an unnecessary number of field officers—and that rather than require any of his subalterns to resign, he resigned himself. His whole course in the raising of the regiment,

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formally appointed in his place, however, until April 4, 1865, when Lieutenant Colonel Maury, who meanwhile held command, received a commission as colonel in recognition of faithful service.

The military district of Oregon was for a time in command of Col. Justus Steinberger, who had represented Oregon as a proxy delegate in the national convention which nominated Breckenridge and Lane in 1860—a circumstance that provoked much local political controversy in the closing months of the war. Steinberger as colonel of the First Washington Infantry raised his regiment to full strength by going to California and recruiting four companies there, so that when Brig.-Gen. Benjamin Alvord of the regular army arrived and Steinberger was sent to Walla Walla, the latter outranked Lieutenant-Colonel Maury, and the Oregon cavalry during most of its term of service was under command of an infantry officer from a neighboring territory. This was another fact that had a tendency to discourage recruiting in Oregon.[10] The Oregon men nevertheless were kept busy with scouting and escort duty all summer. The aggregate distance covered by the various detachments of E Company alone during 1862 amounted to more than three thousand miles. Companies A, B and D patrolled the overland trail in the summer and autumn of the same year to protect the immigrants of that season, who arrived in considerable numbers but were largely of a different class from the home-seekers of the two preceding decades. Of about ten thousand who took the road toward Oregon, a very large proportion sought the newly prospected mining regions of Idaho and Eastern Oregon, a few settled as farmers in the Walla Walla Valley and a still smaller number reached Western Oregon. The immigrants received further protection from a volunteer company raised in the eastern states and commanded by Capt. Medorem Crawford. In several instances the inhabitants of the mining camps hired and equipped detachments of frontiersmen at their own expense to pursue and punish murderous bands of indians, and these expeditions served as outlets for the spirits of venturesome young men.

The election of Governor A. C. Gibbs and a pro-Union Legislature in 1862 gave encouragement to the friends of the Union and promise of a full participation in the war. With the support of loyal citizens a number of newspapers were suppressed at various times for treasonable proclivities, among them being the Albany Democrat, Jacksonville Gazette, Democratic Review of Eugene, Albany Inquirer, Portland Advertiser and Corvallis Union. Several leading supporters of the rebellion left the state to enter the service of the Confederacy. John Lane, son of the ex-governor and ex-senator, became a colonel of Confederate cavalry. Adolphus B. Hanna, who had been United States marshal in Buchanan's administration, and John K. Lamerick, formerly brigadier-general of Oregon militia and a conspicuous figure in the early indian wars in Southern Oregon, offered their services to the Confederacy. John Adair, son of the first collector of customs at Astoria and a graduate of West Point in 1861, being ordered to join a regiment of the United States dragoons, declined duty and

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organizing it, and putting it into service has done him distinguished credit. He will return to his ample estate in Washington county with the good wishes of all the officers and men composing the regiment.' ''—Oregon Argus, August 9, 1862.

[10] As early as January 15, 1862, a stirring appeal to arms was made by proclamation at Olympia, Washington Territory, signed by J. W. Johnston, Assistant Adjutant-General, giving names of enrolling officers in the various counties. Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 176.

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was dropped from the army rolls.[11] At the same time a number of Oregonians went East to seek service in the Union cause. Col. Joseph ("Fighting Joe") Hooker, a resident of Marion County when the war began, distinguished himself as a major-general. John L. Boon, son of J. D. Boon, for several terms territorial treasurer, participated in the battles of Shiloh and Corinth. Maj. George Williams of Salem; Volney Smith, son of Delazon Smith; Frank W. Thompson of Linn County; Henry Butler of Oakland, and John W. Lingenfelter of Jacksonville, a veteran of the Cayuse war, served with credit in various eastern regiments. Lingenfelter was killed at Fortress Monroe in 1861. Capt. Roswell H. Lamson[12] of Yamhill County, who was the first cadet appointed to the United States Naval Academy from Oregon, became famous as the "hero of Fort Fisher," from a daring exploit conducted under his leadership, and Capt. W. L. Dall, who had commanded the steamship Columbia, which began running into the Columbia River in 1851, and who after the war was again to serve as a steamship captain, became a lieutenant in the navy.

The Legislature in 1862 passed a comprehensive act to organize the militia,[13] and with the purpose of making disloyalty hateful in every possible way also passed a bill to require every person having a financial claim against the state to subscribe to an oath of fealty to the Union. The secretary of state, at discretion, was empowered to require of the claimant such further proof of his loyalty as he might deem requisite, and to withhold payment if not satisfied with the sufficiency of proof. The bill was vetoed by Governor Gibbs, but came very near to being passed over the veto.[14]

The militia act, however, was accepted throughout the state as a military necessity. It required the assessor of each county to enroll all citizens liable for military duty and granted exemption only to ministers of the gospel, judges of the Supreme Court, county judges, county clerks, sheriffs, members of the Legislature, the secretary of state, state treasurer and clerks in telegraph offices while so employed. The military population was divided into three brigades, the whole in command of a major-general. The Legislature put teeth in the law by providing for a draft if, in response to a call for volunteers, an insufficient number should present themselves. The draft was not resorted to, however, and subsequent legislatures adopted persuasive, rather than coercive, measures. For example, there was passed October 24, 1864, an act granting a bounty of $150 to each recruit who should enlist for three years or for the war, to meet the requirements of which an appropriation of $200,000 and a bond issue of $100,000 were authorized.[15] At the same time another law was passed

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[11] Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 456. (Note.)

[12] Afterward clerk of the United States Court at Portland.

[13] Act of October 16, 1862, General Laws of Oregon, 1862, pp. 15 et seq.

[14] The Senate voted, 12 to 4, and the House, 22 to 12, to override the veto, the bill failing by one vote to obtain the two-thirds majority necessary in the House. Gibbs in his veto message said that he had no objection to the main provision of the bill, but that he objected to the power given to the Secretary of State to act as a judicial officer, and both to require proof and pass upon its sufficiency, without provision for appeal. "It is a disgrace," said the governor, "to be suspected of disloyalty, and the suspicion resting upon any man of whom the secretary had required additional proof would degrade him in the estimation of loyal men not having full knowledge of the facts." Oregon Argus, October 4, 1862.

[15] Unpublished Laws, third regular session, 1864, and special session, 1865. Supplement to General Laws of 1866, pp. 98 et seq.

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granting additional compensation of $5 per month to those who had previously enlisted, payment to be made to the soldier in interest-bearing bonds of the state.[16] By still another law, the Legislature in special session in December, 1865, extended the bounty provision to volunteers who enlisted for one year only, granting $50 each to these.[17]

The active existence in Oregon of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret organization formed to oppose the suppression of the rebellion, became known as early as the winter of 1861-2, and by 1863 it had created widespread uneasiness, although this was due to the mystery in which all its movements were shrouded, rather than to particular acts of violence. Other names by which the order was known were "Golden Circle," "Old Guard," and "Friends of the Union," the last being the one generally adopted in Oregon, where, according to the information obtained through spies in the service of the adjutant-general of the Oregon militia, there were about two thousand five hundred members in 1863 and 1864. There were at least ten Circles, including two in Portland, two at Salem, and one each in Scio, Albany, Jacksonville and in Yamhill County. The Knights planned to resist the draft if an attempt should be made to enforce it, and they planned to improve the first favorable opportunity of erecting a Pacific republic in the western states. Arms were imported, all the money in the treasuries of local Circles being expended for this purpose, and the members were drilled in the manual of arms in their lodges, stealthily, by night.[18] A plot to assassinate Adjutant-General Reed was discovered and frustrated. Campaigns for membership were conducted more or less openly, representatives of the order even carrying on the propaganda at the state fair at Salem, where a number of members were initiated. These activities behind the lines kept the people, particularly those of the Willamette Valley, in a constant state of apprehension. In an effort to offset the machinations of the "Knights," an organization, also secret, calling itself the Union League of America for the State of Oregon, but later known as the Loyal League, was formed, its first president being Governor Gibbs and its membership including many of the prominent and loyal citizens, but it lacked purposeful direction, and it had no appeal for those who abhorred secret political methods in general, so that it accomplished little. Gibbs and his adjutant-general, Reed, received the support of the Unionists in other and more effective ways, and the work of holding Oregon in line for the Union cause was carried on behind the scenes.

There was open complaint from official quarters in 1863 that Oregon had not raised its share of troops. General Alvord, in command of the military district, called for six additional companies to increase the First Oregon Cavalry to full strength; but he was not able to give assurance of any kind

[16] Id., p. 104.

[17] Act approved December 19, 1865. Id., p. 110.

[18] Report of John O. Shelton to Adjt.-Gen. Cyrus A. Reed, dated Portland, February 10, 1865, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc. Shelton was one of the loyal agents of the state, assigned to procure information concerning the activities of the order, and in a report gave the following names of members said to be prominent in the councils:——Caton——Curl, John F. Miller (nominee of the democrats for governor in 1862), James O'Meara, James D. Fay (afterward the democrat nominee for Congress in 1866),——Holbrook of Idaho, La Fayette Lane (son of Joseph Lane), and the following from Polk County: Judge Hayden, Doctor Sites, Dr. T. V. Embree, John Jeffrey, Matthew Brown, Joseph Segell, George Russell, "Squire" Hale.

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of service other than such as the regiment was then experiencing. Governor Gibbs, January 10, 1863, issued a proclamation in accordance with General Alvord's requisition, and supported his appeal for men. "They will be needed," said the governor, "on the frontiers of this state and Washington Territory, and for expeditions against the Snake indians, who have so long been mercilessly engaged in robbing our fellow citizens. I cannot doubt that the citizens of Oregon, who have always responded to any demand for their military services, will in like manner respond to this call, thereby showing their loyalty to the Government and aid in chastising marauding bands of indians which infest our frontiers."[19] Not even a rumor that the troops so raised would eventually be assigned to duty in Texas, which rumor obtained currency about this time, had a favorable effect on recruiting, the young patriots being surfeited with promises that had come to naught. In March it was announced that a single company, that raised by Lieut. John F. Noble, was nearly full, and that there was a possibility that one more company might he recruited, but this, said the Argus, "will be the most that can be obtained, unless the legislature should be convened and grant an additional bounty."[20] In the same month General Alvord declared in a letter to Rowland Chambers and other residents of King's Valley: "Oregon has not raised her share of troops. California has sent nearly nine regiments, and Oregon but seven companies into the field. California has her volunteers in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Washington Territory, as well as in Oregon guarding your Willamette valley."[21] Alvord's letter was written in reply to a petition of inquiry to the governor concerning the rumored intention of the War Department to abandon Fort Hoskins, and the letter contained a promise that if the people of the valley would fill the company then being recruited by Lieut. Henry C. Small at Eugene City, that company would be stationed at Hoskins. Both Small and Noble received commissions, and the single additional company formed by the consolidation of the recruits they had obtained was accepted as G Company, the state's final contribution to its cavalry regiment during the war.

A picturesque incident occurred in the spring of 1863 to relieve the tedium of patrol duty and indian skirmishing in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascades. A campaign against the unruly Snakes was projected early in the year by Colonel Steinberger, and four companies of Oregon cavalry and two of Washington infantry were drilled, ostensibly for this service but in reality for the purpose of making an impression on the Nez Percés, who were now divided into factions and who had been summoned to a treaty-making council at the Lapwai agency. The discovery of gold at Oro Fino and Florence, in what is now the State of Idaho, had brought many trespassers to the lands of the tribe and it was thought that a new treaty would be necessary to satisfy them. The Nez Percés chief, Lawyer, and his followers were still friendly to the whites and were willing to make further grants of land; a second group of the members of the tribe led by Big Thunder, while not openly hostile, opposed making concessions; a third, of which Eagle-of-the-Light and Joseph were the spokesmen, constituted the war party and obviously awaited only a favorable opportunity to precipitate hostilities. Lawyer and Big

[19] Oregon Argus, January 10, 1863.
[20] Id., March 14, 1863.
[21] Id., March 28, 1863.

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Thunder with about two thousand followers attended the council, bringing some twelve thousand horses to the treaty grounds. The spot chosen for conference was the mission established by Rev. H. H. Spalding in 1836. "The old, moss-grown apple trees planted by him at that early date," writes one of the participants, "still stood as silent sentinels to mark the spot. Just before the parley began it was discovered that a large band of renegade indians from the North, Coeur d'Alenes, Okanogans, Palouses—none of them Nez Percés—were there mingling freely and trying to foment trouble and disorder. Companies D and E were therefore sent to escort them off the reservation, which was done in a way that made the indians know they were unwelcome visitors, and they kept away, at least until the treaty was concluded."[22] In the course of the council the commissioners became anxious as to their personal safety. Ammunition was issued to the troops and full arrangements were made for defending the position in the event of an outbreak, which was momentarily expected. A detail of twenty men commanded by Capt. George B. Currey proceeded to the indian camp at the hour of midnight one night, and found fifty-three chiefs and sub-chiefs deliberating on the propositions which had been submitted to them by the commissioners. "The debate ran with dignified firmness," wrote Currey in a noteworthy account of this memorable event, "until near morning, when the Big Thunder party made formal announcement of their determination to take no further part in the treaty, and then, with a warm, and in an emotional manner, declared the Nez Percés nation dissolved; whereupon the Big Thunder men shook hands with the Lawyer men, telling them with a kind but firm demeanor that they would be friends, but a distinct people. It did not appear from the tone of their short, sententious speeches, that either party was meditating present outbreak. I then withdrew my detachment, having accomplished nothing but that of witnessing the extinguishment of the last council fires of the most powerful indian nation on the sunset side of the Rocky mountains."[23]

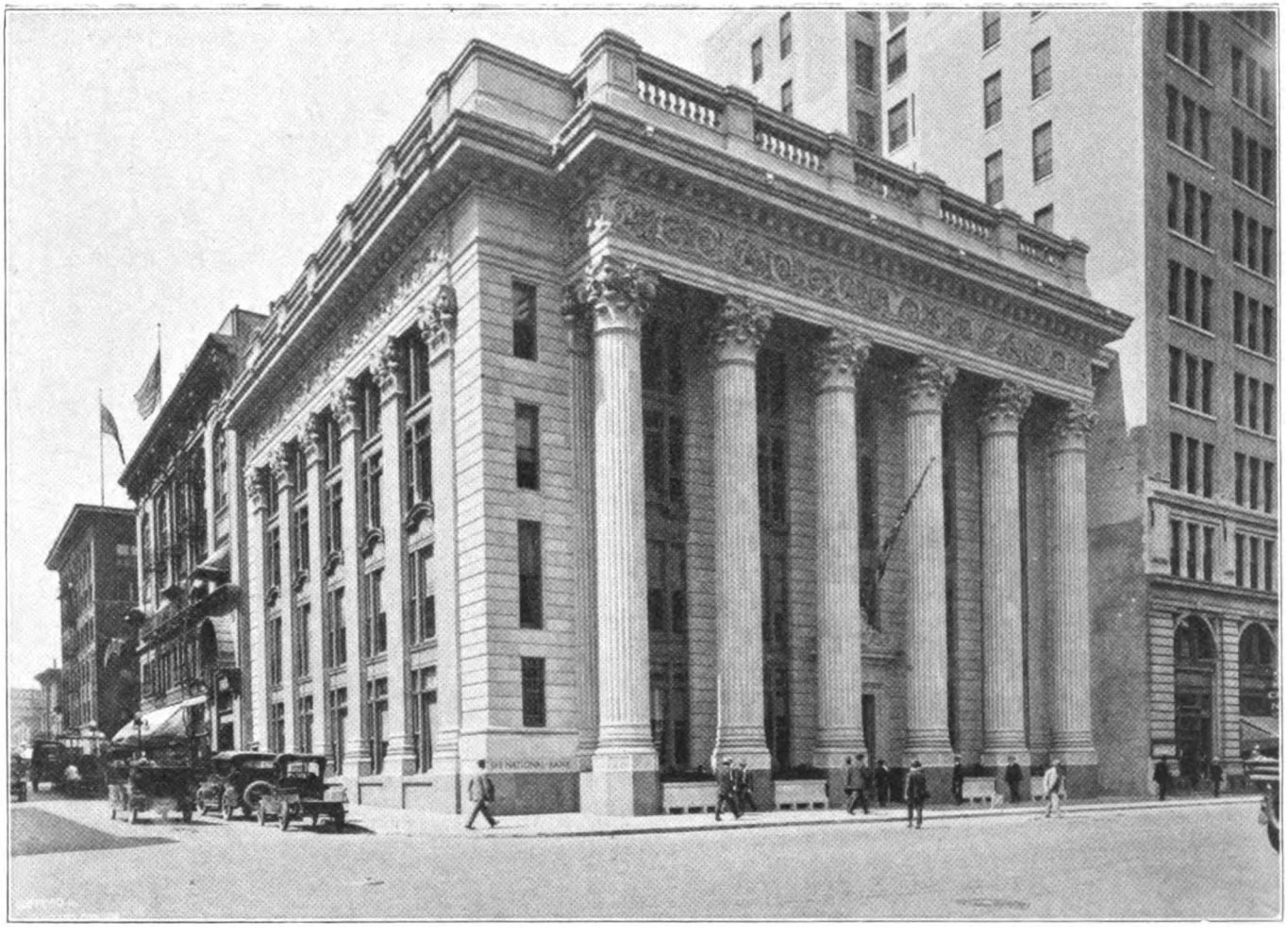
The treaty completed soon afterward by the commissioners therefore bore the assent of only the Lawyer faction, about one-third of all the Nez Percés. The more numerous element of that tribe, as well as the renegades from other tribes, the unconquered Modocs on the South, and the Bannocks of the middle country, continued to annoy and harass the whites and to keep the troops in active employment in the vast intermountain region until after the close of the Civil war.

After the treaty the duties of the troopers often took them into lands never before traversed by white men, unless by an occasional trapper of the fur-trade era. In the task of convoying the immigrant trains of 1863,—consisting in all of less than four hundred wagons,—they were assisted again by eastern volunteers recruited for the purpose and commanded, as in 1862, by Capt. Medorem Crawford. Open war was made on disaffected indian bands, who were pursued and shot when overtaken if it could be shown that they had been guilty of murder or other crimes. A characteristic extract from the official account runs: "Leaving camp with thirty men late in the evening of the 2d of June, the next day we came upon the indians—seeing us, they attempted to escape—killed them and moved up the creek in search for more,

[22] Reminiscences of W. V. Rinehart, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc.

[23] Report of the Adjutant-General of Oregon, for 1866, p. 19.

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but found only one—killed him and then returned to Camp Henderson, on the evening of the 5th of June."[24] This camp, named for Oregon's representative in Congress at that time, was established early in 1864, near the mouth of Jordan Creek, 330 miles from Walla Walla, and was the center of operations in Southeastern Oregon for some time afterward.[25] Alvord Valley was discovered and named for the commanding officer of the military district. Traveling over sage brush plains one day and across the sands of the region of Harney Lake on another, acting as scouts and convoys for scattered travelers to and from the mines, not infrequently in the saddle continuously day after day with only field rations and with the lightest of equipment, the troops suffered the usual discomforts entailed by constant marching, by drinking alkali water and by subsisting on a monotonous diet, but they won the distinction of being the first command that had ever traversed Southeastern Oregon without meeting defeat. An expedition under Lieut. J. A. Waymire, acting in cooperation with a company of fifty-four citizens of the Harney Valley, the latter commanded by C. H. Miller,[26] engaged a largely superior force of Utah and Nevada indians in Harney Valley in April in a battle which Adjutant General Reed has declared to be undoubtedly the hardest fought battle in which our troops participated. In October, when the men who had endured hard service in the Steen Mountain region had begun to look forward to a period of rest at Camp Alvord, orders reached Currey from district headquarters stating that it was believed that secessionist sympathizers meditated an outbreak on election day, and directing him to report at Fort Dalles at once. The prospect of fighting a white enemy, particularly one presumed to be attacking them in the rear while they were pursuing skulking redskins, so revived the energies of the troopers that they made the march from the Malheur River, at the point where it was crossed by the old emigrant road, to The Dalles in nine days. Men from the regiment were then detailed for duty at various points where there had been rumors of sedition, but nothing unusual occurred, to the intense disappointment of most of the men.[27]

In addition to the exceptional hardships peculiar to the nature of their service, which were borne on the whole with fortitude, the cavalrymen suf-

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[24] Report of the Adjutant-General of Oregon for 1866, pp. 38-9.

[25] Some of the military camps during the Civil war referred to in this chapter were located as follows: Camp Polk and Camp Maury on the Deschutes, near the mouth of Crooked River; Camp Dalgren slightly east thereof; Old Camp Watson and Camp Lincoln on the headwaters of John Day River; Camp Logan, east of Canyon City on the road to Colfax; Camp Colfax at the Willow Creek crossing of the Canyon City-Boise Road, south of Baker City; Camp Curry on Silver Creek; Camp Wright, north of Harney Lake; Old Camp Alvord on Horse Creek in Alvord Valley, east of Steen Mountain Range; Camp Lyon in the Jordan Valley, east of Owyhee River; Old Camp Warner, east of Warner lakes, and Camp Warner, west of same lakes. Besides these in Oregon, Camp Lander and Camp Reed were established on Snake River in Southern Idaho.

[26] This was Joaquin Miller of a later time, a poet and author of stories and plays. He had been editor of the Democratic Register of Eugene.

[27] General Alvord's order to the various officers commanding detachments read, in part: "It is alleged that if votes are challenged on that day, certain evil-disposed persons threaten to refuse to submit to the challenge and to resist it by arms. The legal right to challenge is indisputable and suppression of that right by armed men cannot be tolerated. You will not, however, use the military force except in subordination to the civil authority, and if any firing on a mob occurs, let it be from the express requisition of the civil authority." Report of the Adjutant-General for 1866, p. 52.

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fered from the result of a Governmental error that was even harder to endure, because it indicated complete lack of understanding at Washington of the nature of the sacrifices they were making. The order under which the regiment had been raised, based on an act of Congress of 1861, required the men to furnish their own horses and horse equipment, for which the Government allowed them 40 cents a day. Congress, June 20, 1864, repealed the act of 1861, and the army paymaster received orders not to pay the per diem allowance. The horses that had cost the soldiers from $125 to $250 each, had now been reduced by hard marching and by poor forage to mere skeletons of the animals originally bought, and the prospect of obtaining supplies necessary to put them in passable condition for marketing, if this could be done at all, was slight. News of the repeal of the original law did not reach the troops in some instances until three months afterward. There were other causes of dissatisfaction, which included the failure of the War Department to authorize the enlistment of friendly indians, these having proved their value as scouts while serving without pay in the desert country of southeastern Oregon and Northern Nevada.

The term of enlistment of the first six companies of the volunteer cavalry expired in the autumn of 1864 and the men who were first to respond to the call were gradually retired from the service. In the summer of this year defense works at Point Adams, at the south side of the entrance of the Columbia River, were completed and christened Fort Stevens, for Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, of Washington Territory, and garrisoned by regulars sent from California. The remaining Oregon cavalrymen were still held for service against the indians, but in diminishing numbers, mere squads being compelled to patrol long stretches of infested trails.

A call from the Federal Government for a regiment of infantry was received by the governor in October, 1864, about the time that the Legislature passed the bill for a bounty to encourage enlistments, and Governor Gibbs issued a proclamation in which he pleaded earnestly for volunteers in order that resort to the extremity of a draft might be avoided. Private citizens subscribed funds for the payment of bounties in various localities. Polk, Josephine and Clackamas counties were among those which sought in this manner to make recruiting popular.

The dark hours for the Union had come, bringing encouragement to the friends of the Confederacy on the Pacific coast. Knights of the Golden Circle grew bolder and more militant. Between the dates of the Wilderness campaign and Sherman's march to the sea, secessionist sympathizers were supposed to be well organized and armed, particularly in the Long Tom and Siuslaw valleys.[28] At Forest Grove, for example, the outlook was so ominous that a company of home guards was hastily formed. It was composed mainly of students of Pacific University and Tualatin Academy. This organization, as others like it, received Springfield rifles from the state arsenal at Salem.[29] An effort was made to enroll all the able-bodied men of the state under the militia law of 1862 in anticipation of a draft, which it was now believed would precipi-

[28] William V. Rinehart, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc.

[29] Reminiscences of Cyrus H. Walker, afterward lieutenant in the First Oregon Infantry, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc. The home guards at Forest Grove had for captain George H. Durham, afterward a lawyer in Portland and later in Southern Oregon, but then a student in Pacific University.

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tate local outbreaks, and which on that account the people strongly desired to avoid.

Recruiting was stimulated by such devices as competition between counties for the honor of muster as Company A. It began almost simultaneously in Polk and Yamhill counties in November, 1864,—in Polk under the direction of Lieut. Charles LaFollette, and in Yamhill and Washington under Lieut. Ephraim Palmer, a veteran of the Mexican war. Polk won and LaFollette was rewarded with the captaincy of Company A, Palmer becoming captain of Company B. Recruiting in Washington County was stimulated at a mass meeting of citizens held at Tualatin Academy, December 1, 1864, the student element in the Tualatin Valley being predominantly Unionist. Six companies were mustered in as the First Orgeon Volunteer Infantry, June 24, 1865, when George B. Currey, formerly captain of E Company of the First Oregon Cavalry, was commissioned as colonel. The higher regimental officers were drawn from the cavalry regiment, the veterans thus receiving advancement in rank which they had despaired of ever winning by conspicuous deeds on the battlefield.[30] Lee's surrender at Appomattox occurred more than two months before the formal muster as a regiment of the Oregon Infantry, but as had been the case with the cavalry in 1862, the companies were utilized for garrison duty while being drilled for further service. The first two companies mustered in, for example, were stationed at Fort Hoskins, where, on receipt of news of the assassination of President Lincoln, they were held under marching orders in anticipation of disturbances at Eugene City, which, however, the nearby presence of military force was sufficient to forestall.

The story of the First Oregon Volunteer Infantry parallels that of the cavalry, the companies being scattered among the posts and camps of the military district of Oregon, then comprising Oregon, Washington Territory, and also Idaho Territory, which was set apart in 1863. Brigadier-General Wright was drowned while on the way from San Francisco to Portland on board the steamship Brother Jonathan,[31] having been transferred to the command of the Oregon district. This left Colonel Currey as ranking officer in command of the Department of the Columbia, and Currey proceeded as soon as he could to organize a campaign against the indians in accordance with the views of western frontiersmen, which differed from those of the regular army establishment chiefly with respect to the policy of garrisoning the country in winter, which was favored by the volunteers and deprecated by the regulars. Currey's determination to test the volunteer theory was followed by character-

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[30] Officers besides Currey who had served in the Oregon cavalry were Lieut.-Col. John M. Drake, Maj. William V. Rinehart and Surgeon Horace Carpenter.

[31] A fine patriotic letter from Wright to Senator Nesmith just after the war began is printed in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 133. The wreck of the Brother Jonathan, July 30, 1865, off Crescent City, was a great marine tragedy of the Oregon-California coast. Of a total of 174 on board, all but nineteen were lost. The wife of General Wright refused to leave the ship unaccompanied by her husband in the only boat which reached shore, and perished when the steamer foundered. William Logan, superintendent of indian affairs for Oregon, had with him a considerable sum of money for payment of indian treaty obligations, and its loss and the delay in paying the indians, which was occasioned thereby, was the cause of further uneasiness in the indian country. Funds to meet the payroll of the army were also lost, which gave rise to extravagant tales as to the quantity of specie on board, so that for many years afterward expeditions for the salvage of the Brother Jonathan's treasure were a favorite outlet for the energies of hopeful adventurers.

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istically prompt action; his plan contemplated sending every available man in the district against the Snake indians and keeping them engaged, summer or winter, until the enemy were reduced to submission. To avoid the encumbrance of unwieldy transportation trains, winter stations were selected in the midst of the indian country and supplies were ordered sent to them during the autumn months. Of the numerous camps already mentioned as having been made use of at some stage of the military operations, the following were put into service for the particular purpose in hand: Camp Polk near the mouth of Crooked River, Camp Logan on the road between Colfax and Canyon City, Camp Lyon in the Jordan Valley, Camp Alvord on Horse Creek in Alvord Valley, a camp on Silvie's river north of Malheur, Camp Colfax at the Willow Creek crossing of the Canyon City-Boise road, Camp Lander at the site of Nathaniel Wyeth's old Fort Hall, and Camp Reed near Salmon Falls. Troops were ordered to all these points with instructions to erect winter shelters for themselves. It was Currey's idea that as soon as the first storms of winter were over and the snow had hardened a little on the mountains, the troops at all the camps except Reed and Lander should be set in motion, concentrating in a moving column near Harney Lake, traveling thence toward the region where it had been ascertained that the indians were accustomed to congregate in winter. Currey believed that the hostiles could be forced to make a stand either on the west side of Steen's Mountain or at the headwaters of the Owyhee, or that they would gather near the lakes west of Steen's Mountain, from where they would be driven either south into Nevada, or across the Goose Creek Mountains to the Snake River Plains, where they would be intercepted by the reserves. As incidents to the moving of the troops into position, the soldiers destroyed twenty-three indian camps and their provision caches and killed about sixty indians. "The only objections that can be urged against a winter campaign," wrote Currey in a subsequent official communication, "are those founded on the personal comfort of officers and men, and are totally unworthy the consideration of the soldier who is ambitious of performing soldierly duty."[32]

Currey arranged to take the field in person November 1, 1865. He was interrupted, however, by telegraphic orders from the War Department, which had got wind meanwhile of the details of his plan, directing the mustering out of the volunteers. But the snow in the Blue Mountains and the Cascades by this time had cut off communication, preventing the immediate recall of the men in the isolated camps. Currey himself was mustered out October 14, 1865, together with such of the volunteers as were accessible at the time, and the remainder were gradually discharged until, in June, 1866, only two companies of Oregon men remained. The intervening winter was extremely cold, the troops stationed at the points chosen by Currey had no shelter until they provided it for themselves, and in point of hardships and privations their service probably exceeded even the miseries which fell to the lot of the cavalry.[33]

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[32] Report of Adjutant-General of Oregon for 1866, p. 81.

[33] W. V. Rinehart, Mss. Or. Hist. Soc. Rinehart served in both branches, as lieutenant and captain in the cavalry from June, 1862, to December, 1863, and from the latter date as major of infantry. He cites as evidence of the soundness of Currey's strategy the fact that Chief Paulina, the terror of the whole frontier, surrendered before Christmas at Fort Klamath, after being reduced to the verge of starvation by being kept constantly on the move by the troops. Paulina's indians never took the warpath again, but gave up their life

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The history of Oregon's military participation in the Civil war, as has been seen, consists of a series of events peculiar to the still isolated nature of the Northwest Country. It moreover extends for a considerable period beyond the formal surrender of General Lee, and into the summer of 1866, in which season Oregon volunteers were still pursuing indians, escorting immigrant trains, guarding settlers against the depredations of small bands of thieving renegades, and occasionally laying down rifles and bayonets to perform prodigious labor with shovels and axes in clearing the way for wagon trains of settlers. At the close of the Civil war the immigrants took up the march across the plains in increasing numbers. The soldiers were not always rewarded by the gratitude of those whom they served. "I was often very much discouraged," wrote Lieut. Cyrus H. Walker, who commanded a detail assigned to duty on the Oregon trail, "in trying to help the immigrants in the way of advice. A majority of them were 'secesh,' and did not like Uncle Sam's boys much, and would not take good advice. It was quite refreshing to meet a train of Union men, a number of which passed, generally travelling by themselves."[34] Desultory warfare did not end, however, with the final discharge of the last Oregon companies and their replacement by regular troops in 1866. The indian menace was such in the autumn of that year that the Oregon Legislature by joint resolution called on the military commander of the Pacific division for sufficient troops to furnish adequate protection to the citizens. A new turn was given to the course of events by the recruiting, under an act of Congress, of two companies of friendly indians on the Warm Springs reservation, led by William C. McKay and John Darragh, whom Governor Woods appointed first lieutenants. This precipitated a controversy between the governor and the War Department over the propriety of conducting a war of extermination of the hostiles without regard to sex. The governor contended that the Ward massacre had demonstrated that indian women were even more fiendish than the men, that they had taken the lead in devising tortures for the women and children among the captives, and that no peace could be obtained without unrelenting reprisals. Woods' instructions prevailed. Brevet-Maj.-Gen. George Crook, now acting as lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-third Infantry, took the field in the Boise district in December, 1866, and by following the general policy of a winter campaign which Currey had outlined in 1865, made further progress toward restoring peace to the frontier of Oregon. He kept the hostiles constantly on the move, and this forced the larger bodies to sue for peace, which was concluded with the Warner Lake and Malheur bands of the Shoshones in the closing days of 1868, leaving only a few irreconcilable Modocs and Shastas on the southern border of the state to be dealt with in the so-called Modoc war, which consisted about equally of a series of massacres by outlaw indians and of conflicts of authority between civil and military officials, and was not terminated until 1872.

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of vagabondage and settled on the Malheur reservation, where, as indian agent, Rinehart cared for them for six years. "The success of these small garrisons thrust into the very heart of their winter homes not only demoralized the indians," says Rinehart, "but commanded the favorable attention of General Crook, who followed in command. Taking up the work where we left off, he followed our plan of campaign, and in a few years strong settlements of hardy pioneers clustered around each of those small military camps, until no spot in all that vast inland empire could be called indian country."

[34] Report of the Adjutant-General of Oregon for 1866, p. 105.

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Oregon's isolation at the time of the Civil war, and the cost of moving troops across the continent made impossible the hope that any Oregon regiment would be called to the front. The population was small and was well scattered. The enrolled militia of Oregon, comprising all of the citizens of military age who had been listed by the county assessors under the law of 1862, consisted in 1865 of 12,973 men. Linn County led with 1,300, Marion County was second with 1,265, and Multnomah third with 1,243. Tillamook enrolled twenty-eight. The militia organization moreover was complete in skeleton, with Governor Gibbs as commander-in-chief, Joel Palmer major-general of the division, and Cyrus A. Reed adjutant-general. Generals of the three brigades were James C. Tolman, John McCracken and Orlando Humason.[35] These were in addition to the troops furnished for active service.

The Modoc war, to which allusion has been made, was, however, the most disastrous to the military forces of all the campaigns in the Northwest, in this respect far outstripping the rout of Haller, or the defeat of Steptoe in the '50s. It cost the lives of forty-one soldiers, and more than that number were wounded. Seven commissioned officers were killed, among them Maj.-Gen. Edward Richard Sprigg Canby,[36] who was treacherously murdered April 11, 1873, while a member of an unarmed peace commission which had gone to treat with Captain Jack, chief of the faction of the Modocs which had refused to go on the reservations provided for them. The principal part of the war was in California territory.[37] The Modocs, who were led by Captain Jack, a resourceful member of the tribe, were a degraded people, by common standards, whose men forfeited all claim to local esteem by profiting by the immoralities of their women, while affecting to be affronted by the proposal that they themselves be put to work. Nevertheless they enlisted the sympathy of numerous sentimentalists at a distance from the scene, and civil and military authorities clashed so frequently over matters of policy in disposing of them that they were emboldened to acts of defiance which continued for about five years, from 1868 until 1873. One other member of the peace commission, Rev. E. Thomas, a Methodist minister of California, was killed; a third, A. B. Meacham, was gravely wounded, left for dead and subsequently rescued, and two escaped.

Officers of the regular army felt that that organization itself was open to criticism in respect of this tragedy, as it had been in 1858 by Steptoe's retreat, and a large force was promptly put in the field against Captain Jack's warriors. The latter, however, defeated or held off the troops in several engagements, killing twenty-two and wounding sixteen at one time, before they were at length overcome. A number of these indians were indicted by a grand jury in Jackson County in 1873, and Governor Grover, who was then in office, issued an official protest against any action by the Federal Government that would give them immunity for their crimes. But Captain Jack and three other Modoc leaders were condemned by military court and hanged on October 3, 1873,

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[35] The governor's staff consisted of the following: Col. Richard Williams, judge advocate; Col. Ralph Wilcox, surgeon-general; Col. Leonard J. Powell and Lieut.-Col. A. G. Hovey, John H. Mitchell, David M. Thompson, Chester N. Terry, Philip Schuyler and William P. Abrams, aides.

[36] Major-General Canby was not only a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, but of the Seminole indian war also. Fort Canby, at the entrance of the Columbia River, was named in his honor in 1874, the year after his assassination.

[37] For a full account of the Modoc war, see Bancroft, Oregon, Vol. II, p. 555.

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which date may be taken as the termination of the Modoc war and of indian warfare in Oregon.

The part that Oregon had in the Civil war was not as spectacular as it might have been had it been nearer the stage of the great national conflict. But though remote the state remained loyal and indirectly it did its full part for the Union. It would be a long honor roll to enumerate the names of those who went to the front, or those who were in the regiments locally used, and this is not the place to attempt to describe the many instances of individual heroism and courage. Most of those who survived the war became members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Oregon posts, though thinned in ranks, still loyally follow the flag and march at the head of every patriotic demonstration of loyal Oregon citizens.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE COMING OF THE RAILROAD

Within a period of twenty years after the first railroad was built in the United States men of imagination began to talk of a railroad to Oregon. In 1832 Judge S. W. Dexter, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in 1834 Dr. Samuel B. Barlow, a resident of Granville, Massachusetts, began to advocate the construction of a railroad from New York to the Columbia River with Government aid. The decade of the '30s witnessed an extravagant expenditure for railroad building in the eastern states, followed by the great panic of 1837. Some of the lines built were doomed to failure beforehand, being laid out and constructed without regard to the possibility of earning anything. Some had state aid, and many that were built upon borrowed money were almost a total loss to investors. These railroads were usually short in mileage as well as in earnings. Rails were brought from England. There was no standard of construction, and they were of varying breadth, some of six feet gauge and some less than four feet in width between rails, so that there were as many as eight gauges in use upon different lines. Passengers and freight had to be transferred from one line to another in making a journey of any considerable length. Such being the discouragements, it is the more remarkable that the gigantic project of building to the Pacific could be seriously considered, or that it could be supposed that there would be money enough in the country for an enterprise so great. No lines had been built west of the Mississippi, and little was known of the country beyond.

Dexter's proposal was published in the Emigrant, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, February 6, 1832, and his suggestion was that the project might be financed or aided by a land grant of 3,000,000 acres. Doctor Barlow seems to have made a similar proposal without reference to Dexter's plan, but his suggestion was to have the project financed with annual appropriations of the surplus from the duties and taxes after the public debt was paid. These men were visionaries, but they anticipated by a generation what became a reality. In fact, there were several others of the same type, who not being engineers or railroad builders, nevertheless made suggestions that are now recalled and noted, such as John Plumbe, of Dubuque, Iowa, and Dr. Hartwell Carver, each of whom applied to Congress by memorial. Plumbe suggested what was substantially adopted by the Government in later years when it voted such railroad aid land grants, namely, a gift or subsidy of alternate sections on each side of the line, the reserved sections to be so enhanced in value by the building of the railroad that the Government would lose nothing.[1]

[1] Earlier proposals for roads are noted by Prof. F. G. Young in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 172, including an anonymous contributor to American Farmer of Baltimore, July 9, 1819, who proposed a camel route; Robert Mills, 1820 (a Treatise on Inland Navigation), a portage railway or turnpike; Hall J. Kelley (Geographical Sketch of Oregon, 1830). Young gives full bibliography and review under the title: "The History of Railway Transportation in the Pacific Northwest." See also discussion by Fred Wilbur Powell of same, including Benton's editorials and writings. (Id., Vol. XVIII, p. 14, et seq.)

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Rev. Samuel Parker, advance agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whose visit to Oregon has already been described, was impressed as early as August 10, 1835, by the apparent feasibility of a railroad to the Pacific coast by way of the South Pass. "There would be no difficulty," he wrote, "in the way of constructing a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean; and probably the time may not be far distant when trips will be made across the continent, as they have been made to Niagara Falls, to see Nature's Wonders."[2] Senator Thomas H. Benton predicted in 1844 that adult men then living would see the western plains subjugated by steam transportation. Asa Whitney, of New York, a pioneer railroad promoter and locomotive builder, returning from China, was impressed with the possibilities of a trade with the Orient by way of Oregon. He petitioned Congress in 1844 for a grant of public lands sixty miles in width to aid in the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Columbia. Whitney represented that by means of such a railroad, the cost of which he estimated at about sixty-five million dollars, the continent might be comfortably crossed in eight days, and the journey to Amoy in China would take thirty days. "The drills and sheetings of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and other manufactures of the United States may be transported to China in thirty days, and the teas and rich silks of China, in exchange, come back * * * in thirty days more." He represented that if the railroad were built, the United States could have a naval station at the mouth of the river, and thus command the Pacific, the south Atlantic, and the Indian Ocean; the whole line would soon be settled by an industrious and frugal people; and Oregon would then become a state of magnitude and importance; but otherwise she would become a separate state, which, with cities, harbors, ports all free, would monopolize the fisheries of the Pacific, control the coast trade of Mexico and South America, and draw to her ports all the rich commerce of the Sandwich Islands, China, Japan, Manila, Australia, Java, Singapore, Calcutta and Bombay. If the road were built, Oregon would be held in the Union, and the United States would enjoy the commerce of the Far East.[3]

March 3, 1845, the House Committee on Roads and Canals, of which Robert Dale Owen was chairman, submitted a report, which is memorable because it contains the first Congressional endorsement of a transcontinental railroad project. "Your committee," wrote Owen, "are deeply impressed with the immense and far-reaching influence which the construction of such a road to a distant territory * * * is likely to exert upon her progress and destiny." The committee urged that "the plan, if practicable and expedient, should not be too long delayed."[4] While Congress did nothing at this time, the Whitney proposal gained in popularity. It was endorsed by meetings at Benton, Missouri, and at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and Whitney addressed legislatures and mass meetings in different states. Members of Congress were urged to support the project. A meeting held in Indiana petitioned for a railroad from the Mississippi to Oregon, and a bill and reports were soon presented in both houses. The Senate Committee on Public Lands considered the constitutionality of the

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[2] Journal of an Exploring Tour, Third Edition, 1842, p. 77.

[3] Sen. Doc. No. 69, Twenty-eighth Congress, second session, January, 1845; also in House Doc. Executive, No. 72, same session and date.

[4] House Rep. No. 199, Twenty-eighth Congress, second session, March 3, 1845.

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land grant, and the practicability and advantages of such a railroad, and finally approved the plan.[5]

In this very early period of discussion, detractors were numerous. Representative Dayton of New Jersey voiced the opinion of the conservatives when he said: "The power of steam has been suggested. Talk of steam communication—a railroad to the mouth of the Columbia! A railroad across 2,500 miles of prairie, of desert, of mountains! The smoke of an engine through these terrible fissures of that great rocky ledge, where the smoke of a volcano only has rolled before! Who is to make this great internal, or rather external, improvement? The state of Oregon, or the United States? Whence is to come the power? Who supply the means? The mines of Mexico and Peru disemboweled would scarcely pay a penny in the pound of the cost. Nothing short of the lamp of Aladdin will suffice for such an expenditure."[6]

Soon afterward, George Wilkes, of New York, projected a scheme in 1845 for a Pacific railroad to be built by the Federal Government, and he embodied in his memorial to Congress a history of Oregon and also a vigorous attack on the fundamental principle of a Government subsidy as proposed by Asa Whitney. He calculated $58,250,000 to be an "extravagant estimate" of the cost of the railroad, and argued at length in support of his suggestion that the Government should undertake the task, reimbursing itself from the sale of lands instead of granting an immense tract to private investors, who, he said, would soon become mere land speculators, rather than railroad builders. Wilkes entitled his memorial a "Proposal for a National Railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific."[7] Like Whitney, he was impressed by the Oriental phase of the transcontinental railroad enterprise, rather than by the importance of fostering the settlement of the Oregon Country.

Wilkes also addressed a memorial to the Oregon Provisional Legislature and the people of Oregon, praying for endorsement of his plan;[8] and that body in the following December adopted a memorial to Congress in the course of which it said: "We cannot but express with mixed astonishment and admiration our high estimation of a grand project (the news of which has found its way to Oregon by the memorial of George Wilkes, Esq.,) for a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. That such a thing should exist cannot but be obvious to those who have traveled from the United States to Oregon."[9] Meanwhile, however, a public meeting had been held at Oregon City, September 24, 1846, at which resolutions were adopted setting forth the "great importance of a national railroad across the Rocky Mountains to this country," and a committee was appointed to devise further measures for calling national attention to the scheme.[10]

In Congress, the House Committee reported unfavorably upon the Wilkes project, and thought it entirely impracticable to build or operate a railroad

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[5] Sen. Doc., first session, Twenty-ninth Congress, No. 466, Vol. IX, July, 1846. McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. VII, p. 580.

[6] Congressional Globe, Twenty-eighth Congress, first session, Appendix, p. 277.

[7] History of Oregon, Geographical and Political, by George Wilkes, 1845, pp. 57-9. Also in report of committee on roads and canals, House of Representatives, July, 1846, Twenty-ninth Congress, first session, No. 773.

[8] Oregon Spectator, September 17, 1846.

[9] Id., December 24, 1846.

[10] Id., October 1, 1846.

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in a cold section of the country, where in winter the track would be covered with snow and ice, and where it would traverse 3,000 miles of uninhabited country and over mountain passes 7,500 feet above the sea level. But the committee recommended a survey, including the proposed route of the Columbia and Missouri rivers, and an examination of feasible mountain passes in the Rocky Mountain range. Whitney traveled extensively through the eastern states lecturing and educating the public to the necessity and practicability of his project. He put before Congress, in 1848, a modification of his proposal, under which he was to build at his own expense ten miles, which when completed would entitle him to ten miles of the land grant, and this was to be used in turn to raise money for the next section, and so on. The Mexican war, however, diverted the attention of the nation from the project, and nothing came of it.[11]

Following this, H. M. Knighton, owner of the original townsite at St. Helens, Oregon, proposed in 1850 to build a railroad from that town, then a serious competitor of Portland for supremacy as the metropolis at the head of river navigation, the route of which railroad was to follow through the Cornelius Pass and across Washington County to Lafayette. Knighton calculated that the enterprise would involve an outlay of $500,000 for construction and equipment, and he proposed to divide that sum into 1,000 shares of $500 each. The scheme was advertised in the Spectator as a "brilliant chance for investment!"[12] There were no adequate laws in Oregon for the creation of limited liability corporations in this period, however, and for this and other reasons,—the sum demanded being very large in proportion to the wealth of the territory,—the plan fell through. It had the support of the owners of the townsite of Milton, and it aroused some interest in Lafayette, then the most influential town in the Willamette Valley, but naturally it received no support in Portland or from other settlements on the rivers, each of which places was then hopeful of obtaining recognition as the water terminus of any line that might be built.

The conditions in Oregon at this time, relating to transportation and means of communication, have already been described, but a word more on the subject will aid in understanding the utter impracticability of Knighton's proposal, as well as the obstacles overcome when the Pacific railroads were brought into existence and Oregon after the lapse of years was given railroad communication with the outside world. The members of the legislative council

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[11] The following congressional documents are referred to in the text—July, 1846, Report of Committee on Public Lands, Senate, Twenty-ninth Congress, 1st Sess., No. 466; March, 1846, Mills, Robert, Petition for steam coaches on common roadway with boats on connecting waterways, House of Rep., Twenty-ninth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 173; Whitney, Asa, Memorial, February, 1846, Senate, Twenty-ninth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 161; January, 1847, Indiana Legislature, Resolution, Senate, Twenty-ninth Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 194; 1847-8, New York and other legislatures, memorials and resolutions, Senate, Thirtieth Cong., 1st Sess., Nos. 1, 4, 5, 18, 29, 58, 76, 77, 124; February, 1848, Mills, Robert, A New Route, Senate, Thirtieth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 51; June, 1848, Select Committee, Report on Whitney's Railroad, House of Rep., Thirtieth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 733; Jan. 1848, Whitney, Asa, Memorial, Senate, Thirtieth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 28; 1848, Resolutions of various states, House of Rep., Thirtieth Cong., 1st Sess., No. 28. These are indexed in Katherine B. Judson, Subject Index to the Hist. of the Pac. Northwest, pp. 275-6.

[12] Oregon Spectator, November 28, 1850. The advertisement contained this paragraph: "N. B. It is almost useless to add that the terminus of this road should be at a point that can be reached with safety by large class vessels at any season and at any stage of the river, as the people of Oregon have already expressed their wishes upon this subject."

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of the Provisional Government, it will be remembered, in their memorial to Congress adopted June 28, 1845, had described their defenseless situation and told of the scattered condition of the people, and among other requests had asked for "a public mail, to be established to arrive and depart monthly from Oregon City and Independence, Mo., and that such other mail routes be established as are essential to the Willamette country and other settlements."[13] It has already been shown in these pages that the settlers did not await the action of Congress, which at best would be slow, but actually elected a postmaster-general of their own, and outlined certain mail routes, as between Oregon City and Vancouver, once in two weeks by water, and a circuit up the valley and return once a week on horseback.[14] When the third newspaper to be published in Oregon was issued, June 7, 1848, at Tualatin Plains, it said: "Probably the greatest embarrassment to the successful operation of the presses in Oregon is the want of mails," and it made arrangements for two carriers to make the rounds through the settlements. It was to receive the mails from Portland, twelve miles away, once a week, and by special express whenever foreign intelligence reached the river.[15]

It was the settlers' memorials and other appeals that caused Congress to insert in the act of 1850 to establish post roads in the United States, the following in Oregon: (1) From Astoria, via the mouth of the Cowlitz River, Plymouth, Portland, Milwaukie, Oregon City, Linn City, Lafayette, Nathaniel Ford's, Nesmith's Mills, Marysville, John Lloyd's, Eugene F. Skinner's, Pleasant Hill to mouth of the Umpqua River. (2) From Umpqua Valley to Sacramento City, in California. (3) From Oregon City, via Champoy (Champoeg), Salem, Hamilton Campbell's, Albany, Kirk's Ferry, W. B. Malay's, to Jacob Spore's in Linn County. (4) From Nesqually via Cowlitz settlement to the mouth of the Cowlitz River. (5) From Portland via the Dalles of the Columbia River. (6) From Portland to Hillsborough. (7) From Oregon City to Harrison Wright's on Molalla. (8) From Hamilton Campbell's to Jacob Conser's on Santiam Forks. (9) From Linn City to Hillsborough.[16] This enactment may be assumed to show the principal accessible settlements, but the act did not actually establish mail service on many of these routes.

The Pacific Mail steamship Caroline had made one trip to the Columbia River in May or June, 1850, and the steamships Oregon and Panama of that same company visited the river during the summer of that year. The monthly mail service to the mouth of the river from San Francisco began with the visit of the steamship Columbia of that line in the winter or spring of 1850-51. In 1857 the Overland Stage Company was organized and began carrying the letter mail between St. Joseph, Mo., and Placerville, Cal., upon a contract with the postmaster-general under an act of Congress of March 3, 1857, which required the mail to be carried in good four-horse coaches or spring wagons, suitable for passengers, through in twenty-five days. This arrangement was continued until the completion of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads in 1869.[17]

Mail had been sent under Government arrangement from the eastern states

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[13] The memorial is set out in full in Bancroft's Oregon, vol. I, p. 481, n.

[14] Chapter XXIX, supra.

[15] This was the Oregon and American Evangelical Unionist. (Clarence B. Bagley in Or. Hist. Quar. Vol. XIII, p. 355.)

[16] Stat. at L., vol. IX, p. 496.

[17] Judge William Strong. Annual Address, Or. Pioneer Ass'n, Trans., 1878, p. 20.

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to Oregon as early as 1845. The service was improved after the gold rush of 1849, and after the close of the Mexican war. As early as 1847 a postal agent for Oregon had been appointed with power to name postmasters. He had appointed John M. Shively at Astoria and W. G. T'Vault at Oregon City, and soon after that postmasters were appointed both at Salem and at Corvallis. But the fact remains that in 1850 when the first railroad project was proposed by Oregon capital there was not even a regular mail steamer to the Oregon country, and not a stage line yet established. Persons carried letters and light packages at that time overland from Oregon to California at 50 cents an ounce. Until 1855 it required at least five months to get a letter overland across the continent.

Although the Pacific Mail Steamship Company began to carry the mails between Oregon and San Francisco about 1851, as stated, the arrivals were irregular and intermittent. The service was the subject of criticism by the Legislature in 1852, which also requested of the Government at Washington the appointment of a postmaster in each county seat. The legislature in 1853 complained that although six weeks had elapsed since its meeting began but one mail was delivered at the capital at Salem during that period.[18] At about this time there was from the eastern states a mail service via the Nicaraugua route, but this was soon supplanted by the Panama Railroad, which was completed in 1855, after which date the mails for the coast came by that route; but even with this improvement it required from twenty to twenty-five days to carry a letter from New York to San Francisco. The pony express that was put on between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento, Cal., in April, 1860, carried messages between those points in ten days' time, but this was not continued after the through telegraph was completed and in working order about two years later than the date named.

Such being the undeveloped state of transportation across the continent and within the sparsely settled territory, so remote, and so difficult of access, there was little to induce the Government to act upon the various proposals for an Oregon railroad. Even after the sovereignty of the country was settled by treaty, the volume of business for such a line was entirely too insignificant for serious consideration. President Pierce's inauguration in March, 1853, revived the ambitions of expansionists, but at the same time set in motion a series of political events which again defeated the aims of the advocates of a railroad to Oregon. The President appointed Jefferson Davis as secretary of war, and Davis, if not inclined to give preference to a southern route, was at least not predisposed in favor of a northern one, so that when Congress was persuaded in 1853 to make provision for a preliminary survey for a transcontinental railroad, for which $150,000 was appropriated, four expeditions were organized under the direction of the War Department.[19] One, which was placed under

[18] There were some stage lines in the Willamette valley as early as 1851, when a line was established by Todd and Company to run from Portland to southern Oregon points. This route was later controlled by L. W. Newell, who afterward operated as Newell and Company, and this firm was succeeded first by Adams and Company and then about 1855 by Wells, Fargo and Company. Later, when railroad construction began, the Wells, Fargo Express operated successfully between the ends of the railway lines until the completion of the through track, and for the greater part of this time carried express mail in opposition to the postal service of the Government.

[19] Senator Gwin of California in 1853 introduced a bill for a railroad from Arkansas to California with a branch from some point west of the Rocky mountains to Oregon, and also

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the direction of Isaac I. Stevens, who was about the same time appointed governor of the new Territory of Washington, produced results of later concern to Oregon, and his report constituted a noteworthy contribution to the history of early western railway reconnaissance. Stevens procured the appointment of Capt. George B. McClellan as his principal aide and assigned to him the task of exploring the Cascades from Vancouver in search of a pass north of the Columbia River. One of the several other army officers attached to Stevens' expedition was Lieut. John Mullan, who later surveyed and partly constructed a wagon road from Walla Walla, Wash., to Fort Benton, Mont., which became a famous thoroughfare from Oregon to the mines of Idaho and Montana in the early '60s, a period in which Columbia River steamboat transportation reached the zenith of its prosperity.[20] Stevens made an exhaustive preliminary survey and estimated the cost of a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean at $117,121,000. His aide, Captain McClellan, reported that the Columbia River Pass afforded the only route that was worth considering, and that great physical difficulties stood in the way of construction across the Cascades farther north. Stevens' estimate of cost was increased by Secretary Davis from $117,121,000 to $150,871,000, an act which Stevens himself attributed to Davis' bias in favor of the South.[21] Stevens reconnaissance, in general, determined the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was built about three decades afterward.

Another of the same series of explorations, conducted under the direction of Lieut. R. S. Williamson and Henry L. Abbot in 1853, was productive of consequences of more immediate interest to Oregon. These engineers, whose work was greatly hampered by the Rogue River war of the winter of 1853-4, which deprived them of military escorts, made one survey of a line from Redding, Cal., to the Columbia River at The Dalles, by way of Pit River Pass, east of Mount Shasta, through the Klamath Lake region and down the valley of the Deschutes, although finding the lower Deschutes too rugged for practical railway building. Seeking a pass through the Cascades, they reported the only acceptable one to be that known as the Middle Fork, leaving the

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with branches to the Gulf of Mexico. (Senate Journal, 32d Congress, 2nd Sess., pp. 50, 95, 105, 115, 141, 153.)

[20] An interesting letter from Mullan was published in Washington Statesman (Walla Walla) Nov. 29 and Dec. 6, 1862 (reprinted in Or. Hist. Quar. vol. IV, p. 202), in which he described a journey made by him in that year from Walla Walla to San Francisco by way of Portland and the Willamette and Rogue river valleys. In this he described the portage railways on the Columbia, and the means of locomotion by steamboat and stage. The narrow gauge railroad from Walla Walla to Wallula on the Columbia river, was then under consideration, but was not built until 1871, when it was at first constructed with wood and strap iron rails. In after years Mullan tunnel on the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad was named for Lieut. Mullan. The State of Oregon treated him with injustice by failing for many years to appropriate money in payment of a claim for money justly due him by contract, until in his old age payment was insisted upon by Secretary of State Kincaid in his biennial report of 1898. (p. 13.)

[21] Life of General Isaac I. Stevens, by Hazard Stevens, vol. I, p. 428. "Secretary Davis was in fact astonished and deeply disappointed at the results of the survey, and the very favorable picture of the northern route and country given in Governor Stevens' report," says the author. "A leader among the southern public men, who were so soon to bring on the great rebellion of which he was to be the official head, he had set his heart upon the southern route, and was anxious to establish its superiority to all others and secure its adoption as the national route, in order to aggrandize his own section."

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Willamette Valley near Eugene City, crossing the Cascades south of Diamond Peak, and reaching the headwaters of the Deschutes south of the deep canyons which had been crossed with difficulty by Fremont in December, 1843. From Eugene City, Williamson followed a northerly course east of the Willamette Valley, crossing the Santiam above its forks, and leaving Salem on the west. Lieutenant Abbot also projected a route from Vancouver along the west side of the Willamette River to Salem, where he crossed the river and continued to Eugene, and proceeded thence over the general course of the regularly traveled wagon route, to Yreka, Cal. Military duty requiring him to pass Fort Jones, in Scott's Valley, he was diverted from the more practicable route which he might otherwise have discovered, but these surveys furnished the foundation for others, which during the period of construction of the railway projects in California, soon undertaken, stimulated effort in Oregon to establish communication with the east by building a railroad from the Columbia River south.

The first railroads in Oregon and Washington to use iron rails and steam locomotives were the portage railroads built in 1861 and 1862 by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company in aid of navigation on the Columbia River. One of them, six miles long, was on the Washington side at the Cascades, and the other was on the Oregon side extending fourteen miles east from The Dalles to Celilo. The latter was authorized by an act of Congress giving that company a grant of a right of way over public lands in Wasco County.[22] Prior to their construction there was a short wooden tram road on the north side, from the middle landing to the upper Cascades originally built by F. A. Chenoweth but afterward operated by P. F. Bradford, and a short tram road with wooden rails operated with mule power, built by Col. J. S. Ruckel and H. Olmstead on the Oregon side of the river, at the Cascades, and the latter was afterward partly furnished with strap iron rails and an engine to operate on a part of the line. These tram roads were all superseded when the Government many years afterward built canals and locks at both of these localities on the river.

The preoccupation of national administrations with the slavery question and the increasing bitterness of sectional differences of the North and South in the second half of the '50s postponed projects for transcontinental railroad development from the time when Jefferson Davis, February 27, 1855, submitted to Congress a voluminous report of the work of the army engineers, until July, 1862, when Congress passed as a war measure, and President Lincoln signed, a bill to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. It was in pursuance of this that the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroad companies were organized, the latter as the result of agitation in California which had continued there incessantly during the period of the inactivity.[23] With liberal grants of land and financial

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22 Stat. at L. vol. 12, p. 577. Hist. Or. Steam Nav. Co., by P. W. Gillette, Or. Hist. Quar. vol. VI, p. 120; Oregon's First Monopoly, by Irene Lincoln Poppleton, id. vol. IX, p. 274.

23 Four railroad companies were chartered by the territorial legislature of Oregon of 1853-4, but they were purely local in their aims. They were the Willamette Valley Railroad Company, which proposed to build from Portland to the head of the Willamette valley; the Oregon and California, which promised to build from Eugene City to the lower Willamette River; the Cincinnati Railroad Company, to build from Cincinnati (now Eola), in Polk County, to some prospective near-by coal mines; and the Clackamas Railroad Company, to build a road around the Willamette Falls. These companies never passed the preliminary stage, although the names of many citizens prominent in the territory associated as promoters attested the popular interest in the subject. No stock was ever issued. Similarly, in 1859,

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aid, both companies were spurred to great activity, which was accelerated by the conclusion of the Civil war. The outlook for a railroad across the continent was so bright by 1863 that citizens of Jacksonville, then a booming mining town and the agricultural center of Southern Oregon, subscribed to a fund, payable in money and merchandise, to defray the cost of a survey for a railroad in Oregon to connect with a line projected from Marysville, Cal., north to the Oregon-California boundary. The survey was begun under the direction of S. G. Elliott, a California promoter and engineer, and George H. Belden, a Portland civil engineer, and was continued until the inadequate fund became exhausted, when it was taken up by others, directed by Col. A. C. Barry, and was completed in the autumn of 1864. The results of this survey were placed, in October, 1864, before the Legislature, which thereupon passed bills incorporating the California and Columbia River Railroad Company, granting it the proceeds of 500,000 acres of public lands, and authorizing a general property tax of one mill for payment of interest on the bonds of a construction company. The provisions of this law were never utilized.

There was pending in Congress at this time a bill making a grant of lands to the California and Oregon Railroad Company for the construction of a railroad from the Central Pacific to the Oregon-California boundary, and also to another company to be chartered by the Oregon Legislature to build a road from the northern terminus of the California road to Portland. The bill became effective July 25, 1866,[24] without, however, designating by name the Oregon company so to be favored, and thus was precipitated a long and memorable contest of rival interests to obtain the benefits of the promised land grants. The devious methods which marked the course of various strategists who now came upon the scene constitute a new and romantic chapter in the annals of the growing state.

First, an Oregon Central Railroad Company was organized, more or less informally, October 6, 1866, to administer the land grant in Oregon, and this company was designated by joint resolution of the state Legislature, October 10, 1866, as the company to receive the grant.[25] The same Legislature passed a bill providing for a guarantee by the state of the bonds of the company at the rate of $200,000 for each twenty miles of road constructed.[26] The articles of incorporation were later amended by the addition of other names, the list of incorporators then standing: Joseph Shoalwater Smith, I. R. Moores, John H. Mitchell, E. D. Shattuck, Jesse Applegate, John McCracken, Stukeley Ells-

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the Astoria & Willamette Valley Railroad Company was incorporated to build a railroad from Astoria to Salem, and this also failed to obtain support, so that it ultimately expired from neglect.

[24] 14 Stat. at L., p. 239.

[25] Laws of Oregon, 1866, pp. 81-2. The congressional act (14 Stat. at L., p. 239) was approved July 25, 1866, and granted lands in aid of the construction of a railroad and telegraph line to connect Portland in Oregon with Marysville in California, but it required a designation of the recipient by the Legislature.

[26] Laws of Oregon, 1866, p. 3, et seq. In addition to the state subsidy, the City of Portland promised to pay the interest on $250,000 of bonds for twenty years, Washington County on $50,000 of bonds and Yamhill County on $75,000. Citizens of Portland subscribed and paid for $50,000 of stock, citizens of Washington County took $20,000 of stock and citizens of Yamhill County $25,000, while John H. Couch and George H. Flanders gave the company ten blocks of land in Portland situated near where the Union Station now stands. (Joseph Gaston, The Oregon Central Railroad. Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, pp. 323-4.)

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worth, F. A. Chenoweth, Joel Palmer, E. R. Geary, M. M. Melvin, Thomas H. Cox, B. F. Brown, W. S. Ladd, H. W. Corbett, S. G. Reed, J. C. Ainsworth, C. H. Lewis, R. R. Thompson and Joseph Gaston. A paragraph in the prospectus which provided that persons who had made subscriptions in aid of Barry's survey in 1864 should be entitled to credit in part payment for shares of stock was later to foment discord, the Barry survey having been made on the west side of the Willamette River.[27]

Californians concerned in the promotion of the road from the line of the Central Pacific to the Oregon boundary incorporated in the summer of 1865 the Oregon and California Railroad Company, articles of incorporation for which were filed with the secretary of state of Oregon July 13, 1865, the purpose of the company being declared to be to build a railroad from a point on the Oregon-California boundary to some point on the navigable waters of the Columbia River. Its capital stock was $16,000,000 and its home office was at Jacksonville. With the opening of the subscription books of the Oregon Central Railroad Company, the contest for possession of the land grant began in earnest. The Oregon and California Company's interests, represented by Elliott, under whose direction the earlier Oregon-California survey had been made, first sought by persuasion to obtain possession of the Oregon Central, failing in which they incorporated, April 22, 1867, another Oregon Central Railroad Company, with a capital stock of $7,250,000, of which six persons subscribed $100 each. The six elected George L. Woods, then governor, chairman, and authorized him to subscribe in the name of the company for $7,000,000 of the capital stock. This Oregon Central Railroad Company, afterward known colloquially as the "Salem Company," to distinguish it from the "West Side" Company, elected Governor Woods president and S. A. Clarke secretary, located a route for a railroad on the east side of the Willamette River, obtained an advance of $20,000 on the company's bonds, and began construction work.[28]

For geographical and engineering reasons, two railroads through the Wil-

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[27] Joseph Gaston, the most active of the promoters of the company says that mention of the "Barry survey" was responsible for creating the sectional issue. "In consequence," he writes (Centennial History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 520), "the people of the east side of the Willamette valley made no subscriptions to the stock of the company, while the people on the west side made large subscriptions and thereby secured the location of the road on the west side of the Willamette river, where it is now constructed from Portland to Corvallis."

[28] An interminable controversy was waged afterward, out of the courts as well as in them, over the priority of right to the name "Oregon Central Railroad Company." Gaston says that Elliott proposed to issue $2,000,000 of non-assessable stock of his new company, in exchange for the "good will" of influential persons in procuring control of the company previously organized, and that the original incorporators declined the offer, following which refusal the rival Oregon Central Company was incorporated. (Centennial History of Oregon, Vol. I, pp. 520-1. Also Joseph Gaston's The Oregon Central Railroad, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, p. 317.) S. A. Clarke, who was secretary of the Salem Oregon Central Railroad Company, says that the Salem Company was organized only after it was discovered by residents of the east side that they had been forestalled by Gaston, who had appropriated the name they had all along intended to use. (S. A. Clarke's The Oregon Central Railroad, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 135.)

Three of the incorporators of the Salem Company—I. R. Moores, E. N. Cooke and Joseph Shoalwater Smith—were members of the original West Side company. The others were J. H. Moores, Governor George L. Woods, Stukeley Ellsworth and S. A. Clarke. The first board of directors consisted of the foregoing and J. H. Douthitt, T. McF. Patton, Jacob Conser, A. L. Lovejoy, F. A. Chenoweth, S. F. Chadwick, John F. Miller, John E. Ross, J. H. D. Henderson, A. F. Hedges, S. B. Parrish and Green B. Smith.

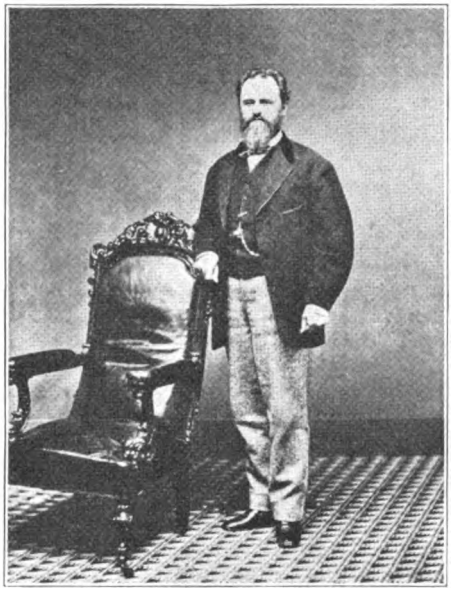
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lamette Valley might have been justified if there had been friendly cooperation instead of wasteful competition between east side and west side interests from the beginning. Limited though the resources of the community were in that early period, the people could with ultimate profit to themselves have adopted the course suggested by Jesse Applegate, who early pointed out the futility of trying to serve the needs of Western Oregon with a single road. Discussing the Elliott survey, Applegate, who was a practical civil engineer, said in the latter part of 1863: "From the Calapooya mountains to Portland there should be two roads. A railroad cannot be made to wend its way through overflowed bottoms and cross and recross such a stream as the Willamette like a mud road, which the water leaves unimpaired. The expense of a road built in such localities, which at best would accommodate but little over half the valley, would be as much or more than a road on suitable ground on both sides of the river, which would accommodate the whole. And if Congress will not aid both roads the same as other parts of the line, let whatever can be obtained be equally divided between them." Although a resident of Southern Oregon, Applegate urged that the claims of Portland be recognized. "Portland," he said further, "is the commercial metropolis of the state and it is almost as much the interest of the people of the country to build it up, and make it prosperous, as of its own citizens."[29] Portland, however, had even then begun to engender jealousy by its rapid growth. It had in 1865 a population of 6,068, by comparison with 2,917 in 1860, having more than doubled in size in five years, and political as well as commercial rivalry with Salem inclined Portland people to throw the weight of their influence toward the west side route. Portland was then seated entirely upon the west side of the Willamette River, and the settlement on the opposite bank, called East Portland, was looked on as a potential competitor. The west side line, as represented by the first of the two Oregon Central Railroad companies, therefore received the support of Portland interests. The west side Oregon Central Railroad Company broke ground near the head of Fourth Street, in Caruther's addition to Portland, April 15, 1868, with due ceremony, and the Salem Oregon Central Railroad Company formally began work on the opposite side of the river the following day, April 16, 1868, at a point not far from the present corner of East Fourth and East Morrison streets. The orators of the day on the occasion of the west side celebration were ex-Governor A. C. Gibbs, Joseph Gaston and Col. W. W. Chapman, and an added interest was given the affair by Hiram Smith, who publicly paid his subscription of $1,000, being the first subscriber

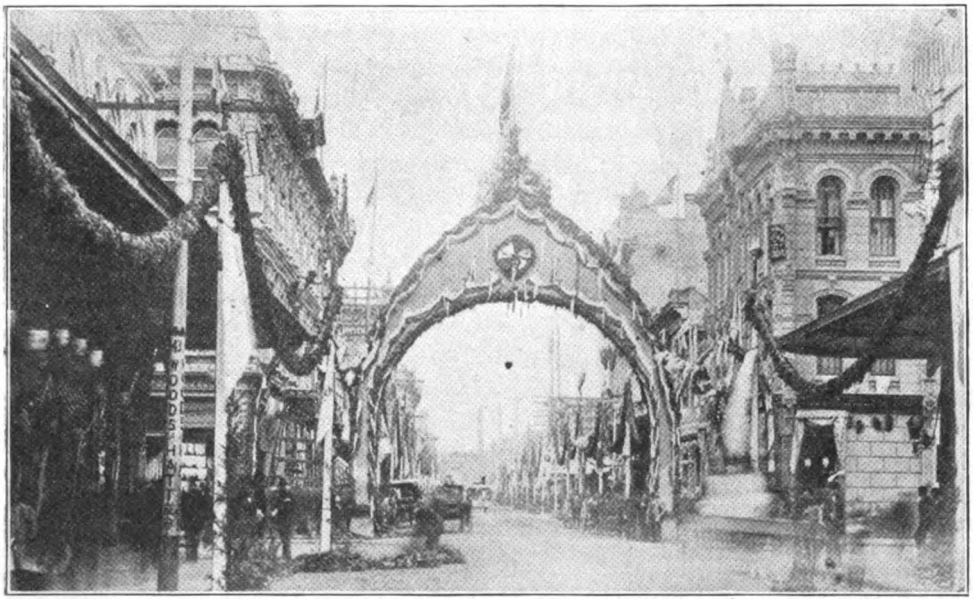
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[29] Letter, Applegate to J. W. Nesmith, December 25, 1863. (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.) Applegate on other occasions pleaded for construction of the road as an all-Oregon enterprise. He quoted Elliott as saying: "Capitalists will come from California to build you railroads," and added: "Perhaps they also wish to speculate in townsites. It seems to me we have suffered enough by placing undue confidence in California adventurers of all kinds to be a little cautious of them in future." By January 28, 1865, he had concluded that if only a single railroad were practicable, a west side line would cost less, by $1,500,000, than one on the east side. "Besides," he added, "it will be shorter, safer, and easier kept in repair. It will be superior as a thoroughfare, if one is built, as it will accommodate the largest population. For it runs everywhere near the river, touching it at Chehalem and Corvallis, while a road on the east side ought from Salem for several reasons to run far back from the river along the foot hills, touching it only where it would cross it at Springfield, about three miles of Eugene City." (Letter Applegate to Governor Gibbs, January 28, 1865. Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.)

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BEN HOLLADAY
Railroad Builder



AT FIRST AND ALDER STREETS, PORTLAND, SEPTEMBER 11, 1883

The Arch was one of three erected in honor of the driving the last spike of the Northern Pacific Railroad, that event occurring on September 8th. A great celebration was held in Portland.

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to meet his obligation in full. At the opening of the east side line, arrangements for which were made according to a more elaborate plan, there was a procession led by a brass band, and addresses were delivered to a crowd of some thousands by John H. Mitchell, Judge W. W. Upton, J. N. Dolph, J. H. Reed and Joel Palmer. Work thereafter proceeded upon both sides of the river with vigor. The more popular character of the west side movement was apparent. By September, 1868, the west side grade had progressed about three miles and a half, having been stimulated by repeated appeals to local patriotism, while the east side company had exhausted its ready funds in work in the direction of the Pudding River. Elliott, one of the original promoters of the Salem company, reappeared in Oregon in a final effort to reorganize the financial affairs of the corporation but did not succeed. He entered into a contract with a mythical A. J. Cook and Company, of California, to construct 150 miles of road, by an arrangement depending on the issuance of bonds to cover 90 per cent of its cost, and a further $2,000,000 of non-assessable preferred stock. The conflict of interests of the two corporations was now carried into the courts, while a violent controversy raged in the newspapers and both concerns bombarded prospective investors with circulars, each maintaining its exclusive right to the name Oregon Central Railroad Company and each asserting that the methods of the other were illegal and fraudulent. Suits were brought by the west side company in the courts of Multnomah and Marion counties to dissolve the east side company on the ground that not more than $700 of stock had been genuinely subscribed, that the subscription of $7,000,000 by the company itself was in violation of law, and that the sale of non-assessable stock was illegal; and other litigation was instituted in the Federal Court by a stockholder in the west side company, also praying for dissolution of the east side company, but setting up a different cause of action—that his stock had been greatly depreciated in value by the fraudulent use of the name Oregon Central Railroad Company by the east side corporation. Counter-suits were brought in the interests of the east side company seeking the dissolution of the west side company for alleged irregularities, and also attacking the guarantee by the City of Portland of the interest on west side company bonds, as in violation of the $50,000 debt-limit imposed by the Portland city charter. The last-mentioned suit was decided for the plaintiff. This so impaired the marketability of the west side company's securities that work on this railroad was stopped.

There now entered the field Ben Holladay, who for a full decade from this time dominated not only the railroad situation in the state but its politics as well, by methods then novel to the community. Holladay had grown up on the frontier. A Kentuckian by birth, he emigrated to Missouri in 1846, where he engaged in such speculations as the times unfolded to a resourceful and a daring adventurer. He had operated a buckboard stage line between St. Joseph and Salt Lake at about the time of the outbreak of the Civil war and had also formed a connection with the pioneer pony express firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, with whom he participated in several highly profitable contracts for the transportation of troops and war supplies across the central plains.[30] Holladay, whose aid had been procured by Elliott, infused new life

[30] Joseph Gaston, a bitter anti-Holladay partisan, says that Russell, Majors & Waddell "fell into financial trouble, and in order to tide over their affairs and force a cheap settlement with their creditors, as related to the author by Mr. Russell himself, the firm delivered to Holladay as their friend $600,000 of government vouchers for transportation the firm had

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into the east side enterprise by supplying it with needed funds, which were not, however, expended solely for the physical materials of railway construction. That which he did most ably, and which made him conspicuous in the subsequent annals of the state, was to organize a large and influential lobby, purchase some newspapers and subsidize others, establish an efficient publicity bureau and conduct a campaign, social, financial and political. He obtained the adoption by the Legislature, in 1868, of a joint resolution reversing the resolution of the preceding session which had designated the west side Oregon Central Railroad Company as the one to receive the benefits of the Federal land grant, on the professed ground that at the time of the adoption of the original resolution, October 10, 1866, no such company as the Oregon Central Railroad Company had existed.[31]

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rendered, under an agreement that when they settled with their creditors Holladay should return them the $600,000. Holladay took the vouchers, collected the money and when requested to return it to the confiding firm he repudiated not only the agreement to do so but also all knowledge of the transaction. * * * On this plunder Holladay came to the Pacific coast, bought the line of ships to Oregon and got into the Oregon Railroad.'' (Centennial History of Oregon, p. 526.) Holladay arrived in Oregon in August, 1868. He was operating a steamship line from San Francisco to Portland, having sold out his interest in the overland express in 1866. His agent and general manager was George W. Weidler; and Joseph Holladay, his brother, was also associated in some of his business enterprises. The latter, unlike the profuse promoter, was very frugal and therefore had saved in the course of time from Ben's enterprises considerable sums which he lent to brother Ben at compound interest. Later when Ben was deeply involved in debt, and desired to conceal his property from creditors, he conveyed most of it by deed to Joseph as security for what was owing to the latter. Joseph afterward asserted title and refused to admit Ben's interest therein. But the result of the litigation that followed was to hold that Joseph was mortgagee and trustee, and the property was sold for the benefit of the latter and other creditors. The property included sawmill, street railway, town lots and shares of stock at Portland valued at several hundred thousand dollars. The Holladay litigation kept in the courts for several years and many of the lawyers of Portland had a part therein.

[31] Laws of Oregon, 1868, pp. 109-10. The majority of the House Committee on Railroads of the Legislature had reported adversely to the Holladay contention, holding that the Legislature of 1866 plainly meant to designate the west side Oregon Central Railroad Company. ''There has been evidence offered before your committee,'' said the majority report, ''showing that it was the articles of incorporation of the Oregon Central Railroad Company of Portland, commonly called the west-side company, that was before the last legislature. In fact that name had never been used before or at that time, except in the articles of incorporation of the west side company. It is also in evidence that these articles were offered to the secretary of state four days before the passage of the joint resolution above referred to, and by the secretary filed in pencil. From these facts, the majority of your committee are of the opinion that the legislature of 1866 did designate a company.'' The report also pointed out that the west side company had filed with the Secretary of the Interior at Washington its ''assent'' to the act of Congress together with a copy of the joint resolution of 1866 under the great seal of the state and the certificate of the secretary of Oregon. The majority report recommended that the Legislature take no action. (House Journal for 1868, pp. 304-5.)

The minority of the committee disregarded the pencil memorandum filing of October 6, 1866, and held that completed articles had not been filed until November 21, 1866, and when filed had been altered by the addition of ten other names as incorporators. This being some six weeks after the adoption of the joint resolution designating the company by name, the minority report contended that no legal designation could have been made of a non-existent company, that no company could have legally existed to ''assent'' to the terms of the act of Congress, that the time-limit imposed by Congress had meanwhile expired, and consequently that ''the state must rely upon the generosity of Congress to grant an extension of the time for filing the assent.'' Contending further that unless the Legislature should now

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The public interest in this memorable contest was great. The Oregonian, already a power in the state, supported the east side company's pretensions, principally on the ground that Holladay was amply supplied with money and resources, and would be most likely to give the people of the state a through railroad connection in a short space of time. The issue of priority of dates raised by this action of the Legislature involved details of an intricate series of formalities, and informalities, and of questions of veracity between individuals which further inflamed partisan spirit, intensified ill-feeling between sections and left an enduring impression on political and social life.[32]

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designate an existing company, Congress could not be expected to act, the minority proceeded to discuss the relative financial resources of the two Oregon Central Companies. It found that the Salem Oregon Central had entered into a contract with "Ben Holliday & Co." to construct a road from Portland to the southern boundary of the state, and that "these contractors have graded said road, with some few interruptions, from Portland southerly for a distance of about 25 miles, and are vigorously engaged in prosecuting the work." The west side company, on the other hand, was held to be wanting in substantial prospects, the minority concluding that "the available assets of what is known as the west side company do not extend to $40,000 and that this sum is wholly inadequate to the construction of a railroad within the requirements of the act of Congress, and that no reasonable hope of the construction of a road by this company can be entertained." (House Journal for 1868, pp. 310-4.)

Prof. F. G. Young procured in 1906 the attestation of F. I. Dunbar, secretary of State of Oregon, that the records of his office did not show that any company under the name of "The Oregon Central Railroad Company" filed articles of incorporation October 6, 1866. However, articles of incorporation of "The Oregon Central Rail Road Company," "Oregon Central Railroad Company," and "Oregon Central Rail Road Company" were filed November 17, 1866, November 21, 1866 and April 22, 1867, respectively. The corporation of November 17, 1866, was a Salem corporation but never figured as a beneficiary of the land grant. That of November 21, 1866, was the completed west side company, in behalf of which the pencil memorandum had been filed October 6, 1866. The real Salem contender for the land grant was the "Oregon Central Rail Road Company" of April 22, 1867. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, pp. 138-9.)

[32] Joseph Gaston, a man of strong partisanship, was not only intimately concerned with the building of the west side, or Portland, Oregon Central, but was also a voluminous writer on historical topics, as a consequence of which the published literature on the subject has a predominantly "west side" flavor. John H. Mitchell in a letter to Judge Matthew P. Deady, October 10, 1868 (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.), set forth the contentions of the Salem or east side advocates as follows: "The facts are simply these: Eight men on 26 Sept., '66, agree to associate themselves together and form a corporation under the name of 'The Oregon Central R. R. Co.' They draw up articles of incorporation in triplicate and sign them and hand them to Mr. Gaston, who is a notary, with the understanding that he attach his certificate and seal and file them. Mr. Gaston instead of filing them goes before the legislature and its railroad committee and represents to them that these gentlemen had formed a corporation under that name. The committee acting upon this made a report (See Journal of last session, page 256), wherein they stated that the gentlemen named in the articles had formed a corporation under the name and style of 'The Oregon C. R. R. Co.,' the gentlemen named therein supposing all the while that they were incorporated, the fact being, however, that Gaston never attached his certificate or filed the papers until over a month after the legislature adjourned. The legislature on the 10 of Oct. 1866 passed a joint resolution designating 'The Oregon C. R. R.' as the company that should take the land grant, supposing all the while that the eight gentlemen before named were duly incorporated. After the legislature had adjourned, Mr. Gaston, without the knowledge or consent of the gentlemen who had signed the papers, obtained the signatures to the same articles as additional incorporators of the following names: M. M. Melvin, George L. Woods, R. R. Thompson, J. C. Ainsworth, S. G. Reed, John McCracken, C. H. Lewis and J. Gaston, and on the 16th day of Nov. he Gaston attached his certificate and seal, and the 21st day of Nov., over four weeks after the adjournment of the legislature, he filed the articles with the secretary of state. But

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Congress was induced, also through Holladay's efforts, to extend the time for acceptance of the land grant act, which was done by a bill by which the company that should first complete twenty miles of road was designated as the recipient of the grant—now the real object of the contest. George H. Williams, then representing Oregon in the Senate at Washington, was the active force that secured this enactment, which was a victory for the Salem Oregon Central. Holladay completed his first twenty miles by December, 1869, and his company thus earned the land grant.[33]

The west side contractors, S. G. Reed and Company, presently abandoned their contract, whereupon the west side company made such salvage as it could

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not only so. Before filing them he enters into a secret agreement with five of the new signers by which one of their number, to wit, Gaston, is to subscribe $2,000,000 of the stock and for their special benefit, this stock is to be non-assessable. On the 17th day of November, four days before the filing of these articles, which are the articles under which the west side claim their rights, three of the gentlemen who first signed the articles, that is, J. S. Smith, E. N. Cooke and I. R. Moores, ascertaining that Gaston had deceived them and had not filed the articles as originally intended, formed a new corporation and took the same name and duly filed their papers on that day, which of course was the first company incorporated under that name. At that date they did not know what had become of the original papers. On the 22d day of April, 1867, no stock having been subscribed or directors elected in either of the two companies before designated, a third corporation was formed and papers on that day duly filed. This corporation was composed principally of the men who first signed the original papers, including those who signed the last-named papers. They also assumed the same name. * * * Now the two companies present themselves to this legislature and ask to be designated as the company to take the grant. The west side claims that they have rights by virtue of the action of the last legislature, at least equitable rights that ought to be respected. The east side company denies this and insists that they both stand before the legislature in the same situation, neither of them being in existence at the time of the action of the last legislature, that neither of them has been designated, or if any equity exists in favor of any company, it exists in favor of that company that is composed of the men whom the legislature supposed were incorporated at last session, and to whom, as a company, they intended to give the land grant. But suppose it was claimed that although no company was in existence at the time the resolution was adopted, that as a matter of law the grant would vest in the company first incorporated under the name designated, which was that of Nov. 17, 1866—which is not the west side company—and suppose that company never proceeded to subscribe its stock or elect directors, but was permitted to lapse and was abandoned. The result would be even in that view that the land grant would revert into the hands of the legislature and consequently the west side company has no claims to it. The truth of the business is no company was in existence and consequently no company could be designated."

[33] The Act of July 25, 1866 (14 Stat. at L., p. 239), was amended (Stat. at L., Vol. 16, p. 47), "so as to allow any railroad company heretofore designated by the legislature of the State of Oregon in accordance with the first section of said act to file its assent to such act in the Department of the Interior within one year from the date of the passage of this act; and such filing of its assent if done within one year from the passage hereof shall have the same force and effect to all intents and purposes as if such assent had been filed within one year from the passage of said act." The act contained a final proviso: "That the lands granted by the act aforesaid shall be sold to actual settlers only in quantities not greater than one-quarter section to one purchaser, and for a price not to exceed $2.50 per acre." This clause subsequently involved the railway companies in litigation as lands were sold in violation of this restriction and Congress passed an act forfeiting the land grant. The rights of purchasers on installments were also involved in the forfeiture but provision was made for settlement by the Government with bona fide purchasers. After protracted litigation the Supreme Court held in Oregon and California R. R. Co. vs. United States (238 U. S. 393), decided June 21, 1915, that this restrictive clause was an enforceable covenant, and held that the act of August 20, 1912 (37 Stat. at L. 320, Chap. 311), granting authority to compromise with purchasers was valid.

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by completing grading as far as Hillsboro. It succeeded in obtaining from Congress an additional grant of land for construction as far as McMinnville, with a contemplated branch from Forest Grove to Astoria,[34] and arrangements were now made with a Philadelphia company to build the road, but owing to Holladay's mastery of the entire railway situation, the west side Oregon Central supporters in 1870 lost heart in the fight and sold to him. He then obtained subscriptions in Portland amounting to $100,000 and completed the line as far as St. Joseph, on the Yamhill River, to which point train service was established on November 3, 1872.

The state courts in a suit brought by Holladay held that an attempted organization of a corporation by having an agent subscribe in the corporation's name for a majority of its capital stock was a nullity, and the effect of this was to hold the west side corporation not properly organized.[35] The west side company meanwhile won a hollow victory in the courts by a decision of Judge Deady [36]—a decision which did not, however, deprive the Salem Oregon Central of the land grant which was assured to it by completion of the line from Portland to Parrott Creek on December 24, 1869. The time limit specified by the act of Congress was December 25, 1869, so that there was only one day to spare. This road was completed as far as Roseburg in December, 1872.

Holladay reorganized the Salem Oregon Central by forming a new corporation, the Oregon and California Railroad Company, which became the owner of all the assets of the Salem Oregon Central and which floated bonds in Germany in an amount exceeding $10,000,000.

Holladay was a type of successful and not over-scrupulous men of the period. However reprehensible the methods used to accomplish his purposes at times, there can be no doubt that his virile personality and his profuse expenditures stimulated the rather sluggish business conditions in Oregon in the latter part of the '60s. To no man before that time did the state owe more, for he succeeded not only in spending his own fortune in needed railway building but also in bringing to Oregon from across the Atlantic the additional moneys required to purchase his issues of railroad bonds, negotiated for construction and equipment. His plans were never carried to completion. He found that the earnings of his railway lines, operated as they were in a sparsely settled state, and not even extending as yet to important terminal cities in the south, were quite insufficient to keep up interest on the borrowed money invested. It was inevitable that there would be a default in the payment of the interest. And indeed this followed very soon and resulted in his loss of control. This removed him as an active figure, but it brought to the state another remarkable

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[34] Stat at L., Vol. 16, p. 94, approved May 4, 1870. This act granted lands in aid of the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Portland to Astoria and McMinnville with a suitable point of junction near Forest Grove. A section was required to be completed within two years, and the entire railroad and telegraph line within six years. The grant was afterward forfeited by congressional action for non-compliance with the conditions.

[35] Holladay v. Elliott, 8 Or. Repts. 84.

[36] Newby v. Oregon Cent. Ry. Co., Fed. Cas., Nos. 10144 and 10145. The suit was by a bondholder of the west side Oregon Central to enjoin the issuance of bonds by the Salem Railroad of the same name on the ground that the former had the sole right to use the name Oregon Central by reason of its priority. But the plaintiff's suit was dismissed principally because the Salem corporation was not made a party defendant.

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man, who within a few years undertook even greater railroad projects and established lines of vast importance to the state. This was Henry Villard.

This gentleman was a German by birth who had been an American newspaper correspondent during the Civil war and afterward, and who in 1873, while in Germany with his family upon a visit, by mere chance was consulted by an acquaintance regarding what was deemed an unfortunate investment in bonds of the Oregon and California Railroad Company of Oregon. He was informed that over eleven millions of these bonds had been sold in Germany and England at a little over seventy per cent, and that there had been a default in interest. A committee of bondholders had gone to Oregon and returned with a report that "only half of the nominal amount of the bonds had been received by the company in money; that instead of 375 miles from Portland to the California state boundary only 200 miles had been completed and were in operation, and that owing to the small population and limited development of Western Oregon the road was producing only about one-third of the interest charge and could not be well expected to yield more for some time to come."[37] Villard was employed to effect a compromise agreement with Ben Holladay and to go to Oregon in the interest of the bondholders. He met Holladay and his lawyers in New York, one of whom was Senator John H. Mitchell, of Oregon, and in company with Richard Koehler, a German railroad engineer, he then traveled to Oregon, where he arrived in July, 1874. He was met at the railroad terminus, which was then at Roseburg, by Holladay and his staff, and proceeded to Portland. What he saw of the state, and of the city and surroundings, filled him with enthusiasm, as is afterward related in his Memoirs, in which it is said: "The picturesque situation and surroundings of Portland were an agreeable surprise to him, as was the unusual number of large and solid business buildings and of handsome private residences, together with the commercial activity of the place."[38] He returned to Germany with a favorable report as to the promise of the country and recommended the establishing of a bureau in the Atlantic states for the promotion of immigration to Oregon, rightly appreciating the need of more people and greater development to insure returns upon the capital invested in the railroads. The final result of prolonged negotiations which shifted to New York City before they were concluded was a complete surrender by Holladay of the management of the Oregon and California, the Oregon Central, and the Oregon Steamship Company in the interest of creditors. A cooperation of these three was to effect great changes in Oregon by inducing settlement, by increasing steamer and train service, and by an extension of the Oregon and California to a connection with the Central Pacific system, and by increasing the mileage of the Oregon Central sufficiently to make it a paying investment. But Villard had hardly formulated these plans, so important for the development and prosperity of Oregon, than greater enterprises were visualized by him. These included the construction of a railroad eastward from Portland along the south bank of the Columbia River, and later the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad from Saint Paul to Portland, and also the union of these with a great steamship enterprise; in addition to all of which he developed his comprehensive scheme to induce immigration to the Northwest, with a view to creating traffic for this great concern by the practical device of increasing the population of the country.

[37] Memoirs of Henry Villard, Vol. II, p. 272.
[38] Id., p. 274.

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To digress a moment from consideration of the Villard activities, two other transcontinental railroad projects which claimed attention while Willamette Valley rivalries were at their height were proposed by W. W. Chapman, pioneer lawyer and surveyor-general for Oregon in President Buchanan's administration, and B. J. Pengra, an engineer who was surveyor-general during President Lincoln's term. Chapman proposed a line up the Columbia River to The Dalles and thence to a junction with the Union Pacific Railroad at Salt Lake.[39] Pengra had a practical scheme for a connection with the Central Pacific Railroad near Winnemucca, Nev., by way of Southeastern Oregon. This line would have crossed the Cascade range by the pass known as the "Middle Fork," of the Willamette, surveyed by Lieutenants Williamson and Abbot in 1853, connecting with the Willamette Valley Railroad system at Eugene City.[40] Pengra also sought a land grant from Congress for his company, in view of the prospect of which he obtained a promise from Collis P. Huntington, of Central Pacific fame, of financial backing for the construction of the road from Winnemucca to Eugene. With the extension of the west side Oregon Central from McMinnville to Eugene by the aid of a further land grant which Congress was at one time apparently in a mood to give the builders, Pengra's road would have provided the state with a through railroad from Winnemucca to Astoria. This project was also the subject of widespread political controversy, because it not only ran counter to Holladay's designs but also excluded a large section of Southern Oregon, including the Rogue River Valley, now a region of fast increasing importance. The bill was amended in Congress to require the Pengra road to connect with the Holladay road at some point in the Rogue River Valley. Huntington lost interest when the road was thus made dependent on Holladay's for connection with the coast and withdrew his support.[41] Chapman's efforts encountered the opposition of the backers of the Northern Pacific Railroad and of the Columbia River steamboat transportation interests and failed of immediate results, but he did a large amount of work, chiefly at his own expense, in making surveys and obtaining data, which paved the way for the building of the railroad up the Columbia, which was afterward undertaken by the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company under Villard.

The acts of Congress (passed between July, 1862, and July, 1864), author-

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[39] A memorial from the Oregon Legislature, resolution from the Idaho Legislature, and a petition from the Portland Board of Trade, were presented to Congress, and there was a senate committee report. (Forty-third Congress, first and second sess., 1874; Senate, Nos. 15, 21, 29, 317.)

[40] The Pengra line was incorporated as the Oregon Branch Pacific Railroad. The Oregon Legislature passed a joint resolution favoring the construction of this railroad and this was presented to congress. (Dec., 1870, Forty-first Cong., 3rd sess., Senate Memorials, No. 14.)

[41] Gaston severely criticizes Senator George H. Williams for supporting the amendment which changed the proposed route of the Pengra Railroad. (Centennial History of Oregon, p. 528.) There was nevertheless a strong feeling in Southern Oregon that could hardly have been disregarded. The Rogue River amendment was demanded by the Oregon Legislature in 1868, by joint resolution instructing the representatives in Congress to "give their paramount support" to the project for "Government aid for a railroad from the Big Bend of the Humboldt River, State of Nevada, to the Klamath Lake; thence through the Rogue River, Umpqua and Willamette valleys to the Columbia River." (Laws of Oregon, 1868, p. 124.) Again in 1870 the Legislature urged the passage of the "Oregon Branch Pacific Railroad bill with the Williams amendment." (Senate Journal, 1870, pp. 58-9 and 117.) A pledge of support of the Rogue River amendment was demanded of James K. Kelly by the Southern Oregon members as a condition of their support of him for United States senator in 1870.

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izing the construction of the first Pacific railroads were war measures, justified at the time because of military necessity, although the line by way of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific was not completed throughout its entire length until May, 1869. The Northern Pacific Railroad was aided by the act of July 2, 1864, giving that company the right to construct a line from some point upon Lake Superior westward and north of north latitude forty-five degrees, to Portland, Oregon. It was given a land grant consisting of forty alternate sections of public land for each mile within the territories to be penetrated, and twenty sections for each mile within states through which the railroad would pass. At that time the entire mileage of railroads in the United States was less than forty thousand miles. No railroad tracks worth considering had then been laid west of the Mississippi River. Between the settlements upon the Pacific coast and Chicago and St. Louis there was an undeveloped and unsettled country. It is natural therefore that the Northern Pacific enterprise was not immediately undertaken, especially during the war and the reconstruction period. But in 1869 the Philadelphia banking firm of Jay Cooke and Company became interested, and from that time until their failure in 1873 they were the moving force in the project. Cooke had made a great reputation as a financier through the war, and was a strong figure in these days. He aimed at raising funds to the amount of $100,000,000, and might have succeeded but for the financial stringency that was due to the Franco-Prussian war which prevented marketing the bonds. There was during this period a construction of about five hundred miles of the line. This fragment of completed mileage produced slight income, however, and was not self sustaining. Gen. Lewis Cass was appointed receiver in 1874 and the road languished until a new company took over the property in 1879 and pushed its construction with vigor until 1882. It then came under the control of Henry Villard and his associates, as will be related in the following pages. At this time the proposed and surveyed line down the Columbia had not been built, and over one thousand miles of the railway on the projected route were unconstructed.

When, in April, 1876, Holladay was retired from railroad and steamship activity in the state, and Villard obtained control of the Oregon lines, a rehabilitation fund was furnished by the foreign bondholders and this was expended for extension of existing railroads and for the purchase of new steamships, as planned. Villard was elected president of the Oregon and California, and also the Oregon Steamship Company, thereby acquiring control of the west side railroad also. During the period of management by the interests represented by him the Oregon and California bought the west side Oregon Central, and extended it from St. Joseph to Corvallis, fifty miles, and also extended the east side line 145 miles from Roseburg to Ashland, which was reached May 5, 1884. There was also built a branch line from Albany to Lebanon, about twelve miles long.

Mr. Villard's plans grew with the years. At first his object was to rescue the investment of the foreign bondholders of the Holladay railroads, but it became evident not only that these lines to be successful must have a connection with San Francisco, but also that if the Northern Pacific, then under construction, should carry out its plan of building from the Rocky Mountains to Portland by way of the Columbia River that railroad would have a strategic advantage by reason of its forming a direct connection between the Willamette

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Valley at Portland and the eastern states. Villard had established friendly relations with the officials of the Union Pacific, and through them he was enabled to examine surveys and reports that had been prepared for them, covering a possible line to Portland following substantially the route of the old Oregon Trail and the south bank of the Columbia. Such a line if built would perhaps forestall the Northern Pacific from building down the Columbia.

It was about 1879 that Villard made arrangements to acquire the stock interests of the German bankers, who still controlled the Oregon Central lines and the Oregon Steamship Company; and being successful in this he rapidly entered upon more ambitious plans with the help of financiers in New York. First, he took steps to acquire the stock of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, a pioneer river transportation line that had a practical monopoly upon the Columbia River, and to consolidate this with the Oregon Steamship Company. The former was earning great profits, but Villard surprised the owners who were mainly prominent business men at Portland by his offer of somewhat over four million dollars for 40,320 shares of the stock of the company, which was much more than they thought he could pay.[42] They gave him an option for six months, at the end of which time he not only completed the purchase from them but put through a second scheme, namely, the organization of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company by the use of the steamboat companies as a basis. This new company was his most successful financial organization. It was designed to combine water and rail transportation along the Columbia River. To insure getting the wheat from the Walla Walla district, which was already becoming a commodity of importance, and to anticipate any design that the Northern Pacific may have had for the acquisition of the property, he purchased the narrow gauge line running from Walla Walla to the Columbia at Wallula.[43]

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[42] The history of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company shows how fortunes were made in Oregon in that time. It acquired and owned nearly all the steamboats on the Columbia. The original subscription list of the company in 1860 accounts for $266,000. It was reorganized in 1862, when 3,988 shares of a nominal value of $1,994 were subscribed. Its earnings were enormous, the receipts of a single steamer for a single trip often being in excess of $3,000, and once (on May 13, 1862), exceeding $10,000. Three-fourths of the stock in the company was sold in 1871 to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for $1,500,000, payable half in cash and half in Northern Pacific bonds at par. On the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, Oregon Steam Navigation shares declined on the stock market to a fraction of their real value and a large amount was repurchased by the original owners at an average price of about 20 cents on the dollar. Soon after this Villard paid these owners $100,000 for an option for six months to purchase at $4,000,000 and he exercised this option in due course. The original company grew out of the Union Transportation Company and was organized under the laws of Washington by L. W. Coe, R. R. Thompson, J. C. Ainsworth, T. W. Lyles, A. H. Barker, Josiah Myrick, S. G. Reed, Benjamin Stark, Richard Williams, Jacob Kamm, C. W. Reed, J. M. Gilman, George W. Hoyt, Ladd & Tilton and J. W. Ladd. When reorganized it became an Oregon corporation with additional stockholders. A majority of the stock had been acquired by Jay Cooke and Company as collateral for the advances of that firm to the Northern Pacific Railway Company prior to 1873, and after their failure in that year had been sold and gradually had been picked up by the principal Portland stockholders at a nominal price. Their sale to Villard and his associates therefore gave these stockholders a stupendous profit. (History of Oregon Steam Navigation Company, by P. W. Gillette, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. V, p. 120; Oregon's First Monopoly, Irene Lincoln Poppleton, id., Vol. IX, p. 273.)

[43] This line had originally been built by Dr. D. S. Baker of Walla Walla with his own means. At first it had wooden rails with strap iron, but later rails were procured from Eng-

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The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company was originally created with a capital of six millions, and it issued six millions in mortgage bonds. Some of these shares and bonds were used in lieu of cash in purchasing the Oregon Steam Navigation Company stock and for the purchase of the Walla Walla Railroad. Later, the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's capital was enlarged by an additional stock issue of six millions, and active work was begun upon the construction of the railroad along the south bank of the Columbia, and upon feeder lines tapping rich wheat producing sections in Eastern Oregon and Washington. Villard also succeeded in inducing the Northern Pacific to suspend the building of its projected line down the Columbia; and he changed the gauge of the Walla Walla line to standard. He then organized the Oregon Improvement Company to assist in the development of the natural resources of the Northwest, mineral, agricultural and otherwise, which company bought and worked a coal mine in Western Washington and a railroad in connection therewith, and also acquired good wheat lands in the Palouse section by purchase from the Northern Pacific.

Meantime in 1880 the capitalization of the Oregon and California was changed to provide money for the necessary extension southward to the California boundary, and this work was begun. Under the aggressive policy of Villard the Oregon Country was now the scene of much active development work, and this was accompanied by efforts to colonize and settle the region. It was still possible that the Northern Pacific, which had reorganized and was taking advantage of improved financial conditions in the East, might build its Columbia River line, for which it would earn part of the land grant under the act of Congress, but at this period an arrangement was made which practically amounted to a division of territory with the Snake River in Eastern Washington as the dividing boundary, but with certain exceptions in favor of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company in the district of Eastern Washington north of that boundary. And when this agreement was made, although it did not actually cover a promise on the part of the Northern officials not to build down the north bank of the Columbia, it seemed that such a possibility was remote.

But Villard was ambitious. He saw an opportunity to get control of the Northern Pacific itself, and devised a remarkable scheme of financing with that in view. His design was to have a new corporation that would hold the stock of both the Northern and the Navigation companies, and after quietly buying as much of the stock of the Northern as he could acquire with his own means and credit, he invited his friends to put money in his hands to the amount of eight millions for investment in an undisclosed enterprise, for the acquisition of properties to be consolidated with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and Oregon Improvement Company, the nature of which would be fully revealed to them by May 15, 1881. This novel and rather mysterious way of financing an unknown project was successful beyond expectations, and the subscription was soon over-subscribed, so that allotments were made on a proportionate basis, none of the subscribers getting as much of the coveted shares as desired. This was the famous blind pool, which at this stage rested wholly upon Villard's reputation, and upon an established confidence in his sagacity. So much in demand were the participating shares

land and the property was much improved and was operated with steam locomotives. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, pp. 19 and 45.)

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MULTNOMAH FALLS, OREGON

Party of Celebrities visiting Oregon September 10, 1883, after Driving the Last Spike on the Northern Pacific Railroad in Montana.

(Among the figures are President Henry J. Villard, Vice President Harris of the railroad, Gen. U. S. Grant, Hon. Charles Russel, Lord Carrington, Lord Justice Sir Charles Brown, Ex-Senator H. W. Corbett, Ex-Governor S. F. Chadwick, Harvey W. Scott.—From Portland Oregonian, March 12, 1922.)

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that before the time for disclosure of the plan they commanded premiums, and persons even paid at the rate of $150 for the right to put $100 into the lottery.

The plan when revealed was the organization of a holding company to be called the Oregon and Transcontinental Company with an authorized capital of fifty millions. Additional moneys were to be put in by the original participating shareholders to an aggregate of twenty millions, for which as promoters they were given thirty millions of stock of this new company. The purpose was to have this proprietary or holding company own shares that would enable it to control both the Northern Pacific and the Oregon Railway and Navigation companies and dictate the policy of both. This was carried out under the direction of Villard, who became president of both of these railway companies. The construction of the main line of the Northern Pacific, and various branches in Minnesota and elsewhere, was pushed forward with energy under his direction, and the enterprises requiring gigantic financial operations upon mortgage bond issues and otherwise were carried through during 1882 and 1883.

At the same time grading and track-laying continued on the Columbia River line of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and on the main line of the Oregon and California. The amazing fact in 1883 was that the forces employed by the several companies controlled by the Oregon and Transcontinental formed a total of over twenty-five thousand railroad men, mechanics and laborers. Villard now, to quote his Memoirs, "aimed at an achievement the like of which had never before been attempted in the civilized world—nothing less than the completion of not far from two thousand miles of new road in two years, or nearly three miles a day, including scores of miles of tunnels, bridges and trestles. No man in the country, indeed, had ever before at one time had charge of such gigantic operations, extending from the upper Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and from Puget Sound to the northern boundaries of California."[44] The Northern Pacific Railroad was completed from Duluth, Minnesota, to Wallula on the Columbia River, September 8, 1883, on which date a symbolical last spike was driven with due ceremony in Western Montana.[45] Villard had invited a large company of representatives of American and European investors to witness this historic event, and after the ceremonies they made a kind of triumphal tour of the line, culminating in a celebration in Portland September 11, 1883, which long held the western record as a manifestation of civic enthusiasm. Portland now for the first time possessed continuous railway communication with the Atlantic seaboard, the Northern Pacific and the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company lines connecting at the since abandoned town of Ainsworth on the Snake River, near its confluence with the Columbia. But even before the last spike was driven there were indications of financial disaster. Many of the visitors were alarmed for their dividends when they saw the magnificent distances covered by the Northern Pacific in a wholly undeveloped country, and shares of stock and

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[44] Memoirs of Henry Villard, Vol. II, p. 302.

[45] The line from Puget Sound to Portland, via Kalama and Goble, between which a ferry was maintained over the Columbia River was finished in December, 1883, although work had been begun at Kalama on this western division in 1870, the same year that construction began on the eastern end of the system. The line across the Cascade Range via the Yakima Valley and Stampede Pass was not completed until the summer of 1888.

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bonds were unloaded by use of the telegraph. The price of all the related stocks and bonds dropped, and the market conditions were growing worse.

Villard's association with the railway history of Oregon was virtually concluded by his pecuniary embarrassments, resulting from unexpectedly heavy construction costs and from large advances made the Northern Pacific from Oregon and Transcontinental funds, which terminated in the bankruptcy of the last-named company, and in the collapse of Villard's personal fortunes in December, 1883, three months after the completion of the Northern Pacific. On the foundation constructed during the period of his ascendency, however, all the railways which he projected were subsequently built, with only minor deviations from the original plan.[46] The Oregon and California Railroad reverted in 1884, with the failure of the Oregon and Transcontinental, to its former owners, who operated it through some vicissitudes, carrying on further construction work, however, and completing it to a connection with the line to California over the Siskiyou Mountains December 17, 1887. Railroad communication over the Oregon Trail route by way of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's line was established by the completion of the Oregon Short Line, a Union Pacific enterprise, in 1884, the meeting point being at Huntington, Oregon.

The purchase of the west side Oregon Central by Holladay, and the failure of Villard to operate it to the advantage of the residents of Yamhill and Polk counties when he succeeded to Holladay's interests, led a number of farmers in those counties to begin a movement in 1877 to have a railroad from Dayton, which then had steamboat connections, to Sheridan, a distance of twenty miles. This resulted in the incorporation in that year of the Dayton, Sheridan and Grand Ronde Railroad Company, which was financed to the extent of more than sixty thousand dollars by individual farmers who agreed to accept freight script, or orders for an equivalent value in railroad service, in redemption of their pledges. The company built the narrow gauge line from Dayton to Sheridan with a branch to Dallas in 1878,[47] at which stage it came upon financial difficulties. Its chief creditor, a concern which had supplied the rails for its construction, foreclosed the debt in 1879, and after some months under receivership it was bought by a syndicate of Scotch capitalists represented by William Reid, who now introduced still another element into Oregon railway development.

Reid came to Oregon in 1874 from Dundee, Scotland, as the steward of very considerable foreign savings funds that were seeking investment, and being in-

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[46] In 1887, Villard again got control of the Northern Pacific resigning subsequently as director July 19, 1893. During his operations between 1872 and 1883 he had caused to be invested in the railroad and steamship enterprises approximately $150,000,000 of capital. He had intended to reside in Portland in the early period of his Oregon operations, but gave up this plan as his operations increased and made it necessary for him to spend much of his time in New York. He promoted the construction of the Portland Hotel, which was partly built when his failure in 1883 suspended the work. It was subsequently completed by a local stock company. He also gave liberal financial support to the University of Oregon at Eugene, and the Territorial University of Washington, at Seattle.

[47] The Dallas branch was an afterthought, the outcome of a county seat contest then brewing in Polk County. Independence chose this time to start a movement to remove the county seat from Dallas to Independence, to checkmate which citizens of Dallas raised a fund of $17,000 as a bonus to have the narrow gauge road extended to their town. This was done and the seat of government remained at Dallas.

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tensely optimistic as well as prudent and sagacious, he made a deep impression upon the local industrial situation. As the product of his efforts the narrow gauge railroad was extended by an east side branch between Ray's Landing on the Willamette River and Silverton, by way of Woodburn, in 1880, and it reached Coburg in 1882. On the west side it was pushed from Dallas to Monmouth and Airlee, and from Lafayette to Dundee in 1881. The names Dundee and Airlee are perpetual reminders of the contribution made by Scotch thrift to the development of Oregon in this period. The first was named for the city on the Tay from which Reid came to America, and the second for the Earl of Airlee, who was president of the company in the first months of its existence. Reid planned to connect the east side and west side lines by a bridge at Ray's Landing on the Willamette, and in 1881, when the enthusiasm of railway and real estate boomers was at a great height, seriously considered a proposal to connect the narrow gauge system with the Central Pacific at Winnemucca by the Pengra or Middle Fork Pass route, to which allusion has been made. These ambitious plans were interrupted, however, by Villard, who had another and not less forward-looking scheme of his own for a homogeneous railroad system, in which the Central Pacific and Huntington had no part. So, after a clash of financial arms, Villard obtained, in the name of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, a lease of the narrow gauge road from the Scotch owners for ninety-six years, and the Scotchmen rejected a proposal from Huntington in which were embodied the extension of the line to Nevada. Reid, who had better vision than the Scotch shareholders, opposed the Villard lease vigorously but unsuccessfully. The Willamette Valley narrow gauge road now became a subordinate in the Villard scheme; extension work was stopped and its incompleted parts were made to serve as feeders for the Oregon and California. On the failure of Villard it became involved in litigation, fell into disrepair, passed into a receivership in the course of which it was largely rebuilt and restored, and in the later course of time was absorbed by the Southern Pacific, which also acquired the Oregon and California in the late Eighties.[48]

The historian chiefly concerned with the human aspects of social growth will select for especial emphasis the efforts of the citizens of Astoria to obtain railroad facilities, as a conspicuous example of persistence in civic enterprise. From 1858, when the Astoria and Willamette Valley Railroad Company was incorporated by the Oregon Legislature for the avowed purpose of building a railroad from Astoria to Eugene, it was almost forty years until Astoria's aspirations were fulfilled by the driving of the last spike on a line from that city to a connection with the Northern Pacific at Goble. This interesting event was the culmination of a long series of alternating hopes and disappointments without precedent, for a particular enumeration of which the reader is referred to the voluminous contemporary records. Astoria was at various times considered as the future ocean terminus of an independent transcontinental route, and its fortunes for many years seemed bound up with those of the Winnemucca-Eugene line which Pengra and Gaston fostered and which was favored by the Central Pacific and Huntington. These early plans were frustrated by Senator Williams' amendment of the land grant bill, which killed the project by diverting it to a Rogue River connection with the Holladay

[48] Consult The Narrow Gauge Railroad, by Leslie M. Scott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XX, pp. 141 et seq., and sources therein cited for a detailed account of the fluctuating fortunes of the narrow gauge lines.

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line, and again by Villard's determination to exclude embarrassing competition. The land grant which Gaston procured for his west side Oregon Central contemplated a line from Forest Grove to Astoria, as has been stated, but the value of such land in the '60s hardly justified such an undertaking. Villard, moreover, never considered a railroad to Astoria as essential to his scheme. After twenty years of waiting, Astoria pledged a bonus of $175,000, in 1888, for a railroad then projected by way of the Nehalem Valley to Hillsboro. Construction was actually begun in 1889, and it continued under the presidency of William Reid, of narrow gauge railroad fame, until 1890, when seven or eight miles had been graded at each end. Further work was stopped by want of funds. Reid is said to have expended some $155,000 of his private means in an effort to keep the enterprise alive, but failed. Reverting to the Goble route, on which thin prospects had been fostered during the Northern Pacific construction period, Astorians then subscribed to a large subsidy of land, and when this proved barren of results raised another subsidy amounting to half a million dollars in cash and land for a railroad to be constructed over another Nehalem Valley route. In 1894, after an interval during which no patriotic Astorian was idle, and wherein the city was a mecca of promoters of nearly every sort, the citizens raised another subsidy, this time consisting of 3,000 acres in Astoria and 1,500 acres in Flavel, as the result of which construction of a railroad to Goble was begun in August, 1895, by the Astoria and Columbia River Railroad Company, organized by A. B. Hammond and financed with the help of Collis P. Huntington and Thomas H. Hubbard. This railroad was formally completed by the driving of the usual last spike, April 3, 1898. Meanwhile, Hammond bought the line between Astoria and Seaside, begun by Reid, and completed it in 1896. The Astoria-Goble road was operated through Goble to Portland for a time under a trackage agreement with the Northern Pacific and was sold in 1907 to the Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway Company, owned by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads. The originally projected railroad by way of the Nehalem Valley was never built.[49]

On the foundations prepared by the pioneer railroad builders whose labors have been described, a great superstructure was reared in the decade which began when James J. Hill and Edward H. Harriman turned their attention to Oregon. Both of these financiers had achieved eminence before they came into the Oregon field. Hill built the Great Northern from St. Paul to Puget Sound, and prior to 1907 obtained an influence in, if not a control of, the Northern Pacific; and Harriman as president of the Union Pacific, reconstructed and rehabilitated the physical properties of that railroad and its subsidiaries, which had depreciated seriously during the period of industrial depression from 1894 to 1906. Harriman had also obtained control of the Southern Pacific and organized with these companies, and various others, a great system which became known as the Harriman lines. It was at a banquet given at Portland during the World's Fair, popularly known as the Lewis and Clark Fair, in 1905, that Hill publicly announced his purpose to develop the territory in Oregon by constructing railroads. Shortly afterward the first step was taken by beginning the construction of a railroad to Portland by following the north bank of the Columbia from Eastern Washington.

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[49] History of the Astoria Railroad, by Leslie M. Scott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, pp. 221 et seq.

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There followed a period of competitive railroad construction, which was in some respects economically wasteful because it resulted in much duplication, but which on the whole gave a noteworthy impetus to internal development. Between July 1, 1894, and June 30, 1906, twelve years, for example, railway mileage in Oregon had increased from 1,520 to 1,897 miles only, which was an average of about thirty-one miles a year. The state was dotted with small independent railways, unscientifically conceived and largely lacking in correlation. Southward and eastward from Portland extended the lines of the Southern Pacific and the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company,—the Harriman system. Northward and westward ran the Northern Pacific to Puget Sound, and the Astoria and Columbia River Railway to Astoria. The Harriman lines were excluded from Puget Sound, and the Hill lines from the rich Willamette Valley. Neither had entered the potentially profitable territory of Central Oregon. There was within the boundaries of Oregon in 1907 an area larger than the entire State of Illinois, not served by any railroad; nine out of the thirty-three counties of the state were untouched by steel rails, and little could be profitably produced therein.

Under Mr. Hill's stimulus, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific agreed to share jointly and to own and operate a line on the route down the north bank of the Columbia River similar to that originally designed for the Northern Pacific, the construction of which had been frustrated by Villard's operations in 1880. The new line was to begin at a point of connection with the Northern Pacific at Pasco, on the Columbia in Eastern Washington, and follow thence westward to Vancouver and across the river there to Portland. For this purpose a jointly owned corporation was created under the name Portland and Seattle Railway Company, but subsequently called Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway Company. Later the projected line was extended from Pasco up Snake River and to Spokane, Wash. The announcement of these plans of paralleling the railroad on the opposite side of the Columbia River stirred much interest among competing railroad officials as well as in the Oregon Country generally. Several intensely dramatic situations were created by the contest which ensued between Hill and Harriman for supremacy in common territory. Harriman had an undoubted physical advantage, in the water-grade of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's line along the south bank of the Columbia River, while both Northern Pacific and Great Northern were handicapped by the generally heavy mountain grades, a condition which George B. McClellan had foreseen and condemned in 1853. The construction of the new line, popularly known as the North Bank Railroad, was accomplished in record time, and it was completed in 1908. In retaliation, Harriman threatened to build a railway to Puget Sound, in the early progress of which a tunnel was driven through the peninsula near St. Johns. Hill's plan included opening Central Oregon by building a line up the Deschutes River Canyon, and to forestall this invasion of Harriman territory the various strategic points in the main canyon of the Deschutes were held by the Harriman interests in the effort to be first to construct a railroad southward from the Columbia River into Central and Southeastern Oregon. The route here followed was one which John C. Fremont had avoided whenever possible in 1843 because of the excessive ruggedness and which Lieutenant Abbot in 1855 had pronounced impracticable for the same reason. Two lines of railroad, however, were built through the fastnesses of this canyon after a memorable legal struggle in the courts.

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A tragic outcome was several times avoided by the narrowest of margins. Hill's Oregon Trunk Railroad and Harriman's Deschutes branch were constructed with vigor along the slopes of the canyon and were practically parallel as far south as Metolius,[50] at which stage of the conflict a truce was effected whereby a single line built by the Hill interests, but jointly operated, was made to serve both companies as far South as the present terminus at Bend. Hill's scheme contemplated the possible continuance of the line from Bend to a crossing over the Cascade Range in the extreme southerly part of the state, and the Pacific and Eastern Railroad, extending eastward from Medford, in Jackson County, was purchased as a possible feeder for the new system. But the latter line was built no farther east than Butte Falls, and the former no farther south than Bend. The Hill interests acquired the Oregon Electric system in the Willamette Valley reaching from Portland to Salem, and caused it to be extended to Eugene with branches reaching Forest Grove, Woodburn and Corvallis, and also the United Railways, another electric railroad at Portland, which was extended to Wilksboro in Washington County by way of Linnton and the Cornelius Pass. Harriman's comprehensive plan included the construction by the Southern Pacific of lines north from Weed, Cal., to Klamath Falls, and also from Eugene by way of Natron, in Lane County, up the Middle Fork Pass, eastward. The latter, which is still unfinished, recalls to mind the Pengra project on which for so many years in earlier railway history the promise of a railroad from Winnemucca to Astoria had depended. Harriman also planned having the Oregon Short Line construct a main east and west line through Central and Eastern Oregon, by way of the Harney Valley to a contemplated extension of the Deschutes branch from Bend. These projects were not all carried to completion when by mutual consent the work was suspended. The Northern Pacific granted to both the Great Northern and the Harriman lines common use of tracks between Portland and Puget Sound. The Northern Pacific and Great Northern now became effective competitors of the Harriman lines in the Willamette Valley as far south as Eugene and in Central Oregon as far south as Bend, while the Harriman lines entered Puget Sound territory for the first time.

A great number of branch lines were completed during the period under review and existing lines were reconstructed to accommodate heavier traffic and to increase speed, new terminals were built, modern signal systems were installed and a considerable mileage of double track was laid. Hill built an extensive terminal at Flavel near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been an early rival of Astoria. He built two fine steamships, the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, to operate between Flavel and San Francisco, but early in the World's war these were taken over by the Government for transports on the Atlantic. The Southern Pacific system, embracing the historic Oregon and California, acquired a number of small connecting lines and built new branches. It absorbed the Corvallis and Eastern,[51] the Pacific Railway

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[50] Originally called by the indians "Mpto-ly-as," as recorded by Lieutenant Abbot, who crossed the river on September 17, 1855, and gives the earliest account of the name. (Explorations and Surveys, Vol. VI, p. 84.)

[51] The Corvallis and Eastern was the visible evidence of the early independence and public spirit of the citizens of Corvallis and Benton County. These people contributed about $100,000 in money, merchandise and labor to the first steps of its construction, but it fell into the hands of a promoter named T. Egerton Hogg, after which it became a creature of high finance, with a capital stock of $18,000,000 and a bond issue of $15,000,000. It failed

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and Navigation Company's line between Hillsboro and Tillamook, and several others. The Oregon and California now constructed also a long deferred line to Coos Bay connecting with the main line at Eugene, and following the Siuslaw River and the line of the coast. By an independent narrow gauge railroad (the Nevada-California-Oregon) Lake County, Oregon, meanwhile obtained railway connection with the outside world at Alturas, Cal. Extension of the Sumpter Valley Railroad to Prairie City also gave Grant County its first railroad. The same decade was marked by energetic work in the electrifying of suburban and interurban lines and the extension of electric railways in the Willamette Valley, by the Harriman lines. This included the introduction of electric power on more than one hundred miles of the steam lines of the Southern Pacific and the rapid construction of the suburban electric lines. Railroad construction work in Oregon from 1907 to 1916 amounted to a total of more than 1,400 miles,[52] but from that time until 1920, owing to the war, all railroad construction was suspended. Since that time there has been some activity on a line running north from Klamath, and also upon extensions of the United Railways in Columbia County.

The history of actual railroad building in the Oregon Country is compressed within a period of only a little more than half a century. It was not until 1861 that completion of the transcontinental telegraph to California, with an express system north to the Columbia, reduced the time required to transmit messages from the East to Oregon to about four days, and not until 1864 that Oregon was united by telegraph with California.[53] Thereafter, as has been seen,

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and was sold by its receiver to A. B. Hammond, builder of the Portland and Astoria Railroad, for $100,000. It was known successively as the Willamette Valley & Coast, the Oregon Pacific and the Corvallis and Eastern. Benton County subscribers lost all they put into it and its failure long discouraged private railroad enterprise.

[52] Union Pacific system, 452.56 miles, in twelve projects; Southern Pacific system, 390.56 miles, in fourteen projects; Hill system, 356.67 miles, in ten projects; various independent and electric lines, 207 miles. (Clyde B. Aitchison, chairman of the Oregon Public Service Commission, in Oregonian, January 1, 1916. Mileage is calculated on a single-track basis.)

[53] "An act to facilitate Communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states by electric telegraph," was approved June 16, 1860. It provided for a line from the western boundary of Missouri to San Francisco, and section two gave the contractors the "right to construct and maintain through any of the territories of the United States a branch line so as to connect their said line or lines with Oregon." (Stat. at L., Vol. 12, p. 11.) A telegraph line was in operation as early as 1858 between Yreka and Sacramento, and after that date news was carried from the end of the telegraph line to Portland at first by horseback and then by stage. The bulk of the mails came to Oregon by ship from San Francisco during the period until completion of the rail lines. Stage from Yreka to Portland took 4½ days. The first proposal to operate a through telegraph line from Portland and valley points to California points was by Charles F. Johnson, agent of Alta California Telegraph Company, and E. D. Towsley in 1854, but this was not built at that time. The part of this line, however, was put in operation, 1855-1856, between Corvallis, Lafayette, Oregon City and Portland. A company called the Oregon Telegraph Company, promoted by J. E. Strong of California, organized by W. S. Ladd, H. W. Corbett, S. G. Reed and others in 1862, with John McCracken as superintendent, undertook to build a through line to California from Portland, and was so successful that the first through message was sent out over the wires March 5, 1864, and the Oregonian issued an extra edition containing news twenty hours old from New York. The celebration at Portland was on the eighth of that month when there was an exchange of messages between the mayors of Portland, Oregon, and Portland, Maine. The operator at Portland for many years was O. P. S. Plummer. The first line from Portland to Seattle was completed in 1864. In 1868 a line was built from Portland to The Dalles, which was extended to Boise City in 1869. (Bancroft, Oregon, Vol. II, p. 339.)

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it was almost two decades before passenger travel by rail between the Atlantic seaboard and Oregon was made possible. Those who lived in the era during which the great transformation was taking place sometimes viewed the phenomena herein noted with sincere misgivings. "This is a fast age," wrote Senator Nesmith, in 1864, as the first through telegraph line to Oregon approached completion, "people travel by steam and talk by lightning, and it does seem to me sometimes that they have some sort of intuitive way of acquiring information. People like myself must get out of the way of the 'car of progress.' In fact, I often look upon the halcyon days when I was an honest miller as the happiest of my life."[54]

Looking backward over the years since the first railroad land grant in aid of western development was proposed to Congress, it is evident that besides the elements of optimism and imagination there was much of the ingredients of ignorance and inexperience that induced investors to finance pioneer railroad construction in the Far West. It is plain now after experience has made the record, that to build a costly railroad in an undeveloped country where there were few inhabitants and no industries would be to face a lack of dividends out of earnings for many years. It would not be possible to operate such a railroad without a steady supply of money from some source to pay the monthly deficit in operating income. The hope of converting the land grant into ready money as needed would be certain of disappointment. And where as in the case of the Oregon and California land grant it was weighted with a condition that prohibited sale except to actual settlers at $2.50 per acre, the lands being far away and mostly undesirable for purposes of actual settlement, the availability of the granted lands as an asset to furnish the stream of ready money that would be required during the pioneer period was visionary, and impracticable. It is not surprising, therefore, that none of these enterprises that were so vital to the Oregon people proved a success to the original investor. Several of the lines went through receiverships and reorganizations. Some portions of the land grants were forfeited for failure to construct within the time limit, and others were forfeited for failure to comply with the conditions. There was consequently during the years much litigation and the activities of legislatures and public officials in connection with this phase of Oregon's railroad history would require a special treatise to present the story in detail. But no chapter of events is more important to a review of the development of the Oregon Country than that which shows the part that the coming of the railroads had in this story.

[54] Letter, Nesmith to Deady, February 28, 1864. Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

EDUCATION IN OREGON

We have seen that the earliest settlers fully understood and well appreciated the desirability of education, and that they manifested a practical interest in this important subject when, in forming the provisional government, they adopted verbatim the declaration of Nathan Dane's Ordinance of 1787, which ought to be put upon a tablet at the entrance of every school building in Oregon, that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." By their loyal patronage of such institutions of education as existed in the formative period they translated thought into action. When the uncertainty as to the political status of the country was ended, and Oregon emerged from the voluntary organization and became a full fledged territory of the United States, the future of education was cared for in the act of Congress even more liberally than the historic Ordinance had dealt with the subject for the Northwest Territories in 1787. The Federal act for the organization of the new government granted not only the sixteenth section in every township of the public lands to the territory for the purposes of education, as the Ordinance of 1787 undertook to do for the states erected out of the original Northwest Territory, but it doubled the gift by granting both sections sixteen and thirty-six of every township. Oregon was thus the first American commonwealth to receive this double grant, a fact of no little sentimental interest in any discussion of the movement for education and of the leadership of Oregon among western states in the development of schools. The provision in question was perpetuated by the act of Congress admitting the territory to statehood and this was formally accepted by the first State Legislature. An additional Congressional grant of two townships or seventy-two sections of the public lands for the use and support of a university encouraged the founding of schools for higher education and these were therefore developed side by side with the common school system. Such a unison undoubtedly has exercised a cultural influence upon the life of the people.[1]

It is to be noted, however, notwithstanding there was seeming agreement concerning the desirability of education in the abstract, and despite professed willingness whenever the subject was presented to make the schools an affair of public concern, that the private school was preferred to the public school for a considerable time; and since this in some degree conflicted with the participation by all the people, on which principle the public school is founded, growth of the latter was apparently retarded. The first schools were private schools.

[1] By the Act of September 27, 1850 (Stat. at L., Vol. IX, p. 496), which was familiarly known as the Donation Act, besides provision for survey of public lands, and donations to settlers, there was in Section 10 a grant of two townships of land to aid in the establishment of a university, the selection to be made west of the Cascade Mountains, one north of the Columbia, and one south of that river. (See also, Act of February 19, 1851, and Act of March 2, 1861, id., Vol. IX, p. 568, and X, p. 208.)

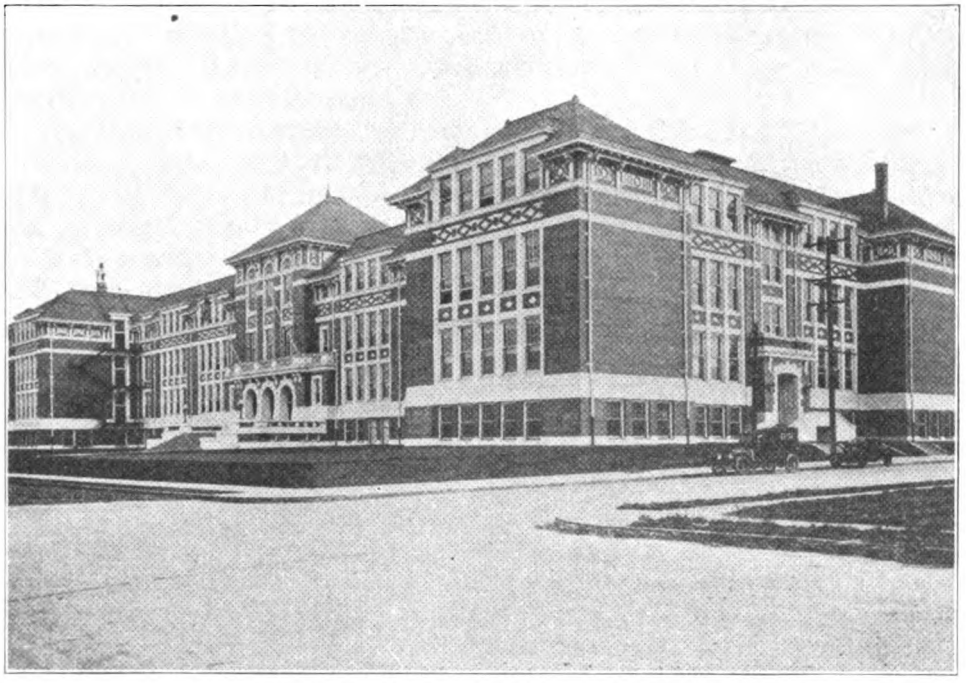
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Schools that were public, in the sense that they received some support from the common treasury, were often sustained in part by tuition fees. A not inconsiderable proportion of the first immigrants came from states in which the public school system had not been developed, and in which there was at least a remnant of social prejudice against it and an implication of want of thrift, or of degradation as though in the acceptance of public charity, in what was there deemed to be a matter fundamentally of personal concern. There was for a time a prevalent belief, held by the most enterprising and patriotic citizens, that every man should educate his own children and not tax others to do it.

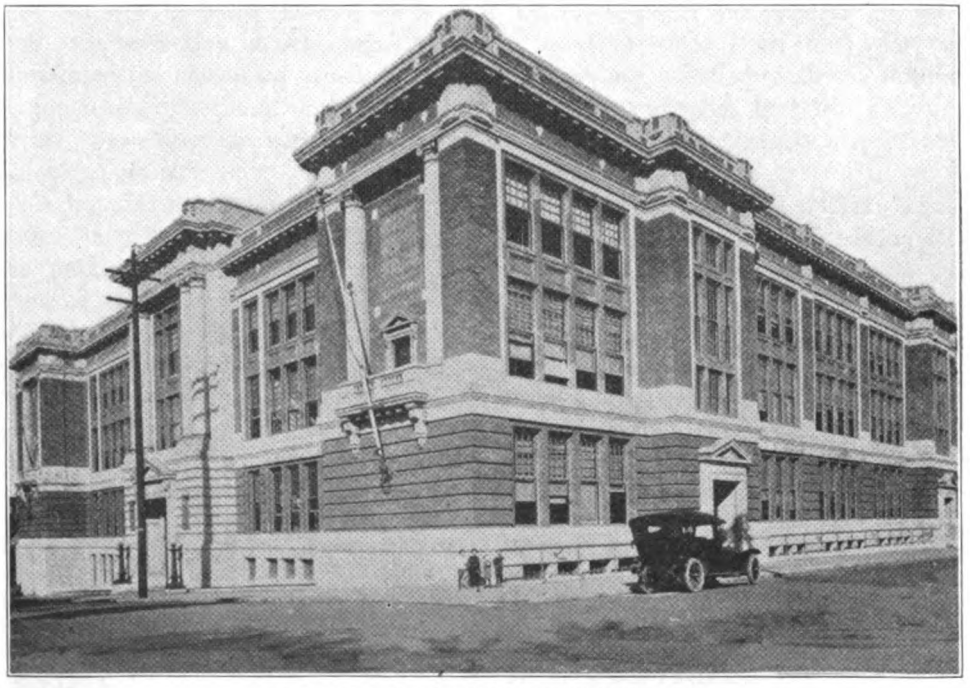
John Ball, who came to the territory with Wyeth and was employed by Dr. McLoughlin at Vancouver to teach the first school ever conducted west of the Rocky Mountains; Solomon Howard Smith, also a Wyeth man, who taught at Fort Vancouver and who opened on French Prairie near the present site of Wheatland the first school within the present limits of Oregon; and the early missionaries who founded schools for the instruction of indians which were later merged into schools for white children, received no aid from the public treasury. As settlers began to come in increasing numbers it was plainly evident that although the people desired the facilities of education, the first efforts to establish free schools would encounter determined opposition. The denominationalists on one hand, who in all probability were sincere in contending that, under the circumstances existing, inadequately supported public teaching could only hamper the cause of education as a whole by diffusing effort, and on the other hand the individualists who have been mentioned, together with the unmarried of both sexes who thought it unjust that they should be taxed "for the education of other people's children"—these elements of the population were alike outspoken in their opposition to the principle of public support.

Governor Lane's inaugural message, addressed to the territorial Legislature July 17, 1849, had a noteworthy bearing on education. It contained a strong plea for the principle of the public school, and it served to introduce a personality of note in the annals of education in Oregon. This was Rev. George H. Atkinson, who arrived in the territory in 1848 as the representative of the American Home Missionary Society, a Congregationalist body, which had charged him especially to aid in the work of education whenever and wherever opportunity presented. Atkinson wrote at Governor Lane's request the portion of the inaugural message touching on the topic in question. "The law of Congress," said the message, "provides that when the lands of the territory shall be surveyed * * * sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six shall be reserved for the purpose of being applied to the schools. The magnificent spirit displayed by Congress, in making so liberal a donation for this purpose, is a ground for grateful acknowledgment, and indicates an enlightened policy, which looks to the diffusion of knowledge as the surest guarantee for the continuance of good government and the substantial happiness of our people. In this grant we shall have the means of providing a system of common schools for the education of all the children of the territory. Your attention is invited to the importance of adopting a system of common schools and providing the means of putting them into operation; and when the lands become available, the system may, under wise legislation, be maintained and continued, without bearing onerously upon the people, and ultimately be productive of the end in view when the gift was made. With a system of edu-

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cation, sustained by such resources, there is no reason to doubt that in the course of a few years the rising generation of Oregon will proudly vie, in respect to useful knowledge and moral culture, with that of the older settled portions of our common country."[2]

The Legislature responded by adopting, September 5, 1849, the territory's first school law, a law particularly creditable both to the minds and the hearts of the people because of its expression of their willingness to tax themselves to give immediate support to the school system. It declared that the principal of all funds accruing, "whether by donation or bequest, or from the sale of any land heretofore given or which may be hereafter given by the Congress of the United States to this territory for school purposes, or accruing from licenses, fines, forfeitures or penalties appropriated by law to the common schools, or in any manner whatever, shall constitute an irreducible fund, the proceeds or interest from which shall be annually divided among the school districts in the territory * * * for the support of the common schools * * * and for no other use or purpose whatever." A school tax of two mills on every dollar was levied; provision was made for the biennial election by the Legislature of a school superintendent; county courts were empowered to appoint examiners to determine the qualifications of prospective teachers; a school commissioner for each county was provided for and directed to divide the county into school districts; and a species of local home rule in school affairs was established by a provision that there should be a public meeting in each school district on the first Friday of every November, when a majority of the taxpaying inhabitants of the district lawfully convened should have power to levy an ad valorem tax on all property of the district for school purposes.[3] Religious freedom was guarded, as had been done by founders of the earliest government, in a section which provided that "no preference shall be given or discrimination shown on account of religious opinions, whether with the pupils or the teacher, nor shall any laws be enacted by any district that will or may in any way interfere with the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship."

A hopeful beginning was thus made in the effort to place the public school system on a solid and enduring basis, a beginning which for want of vision on the part of the early lawmakers, or perhaps for reasons less creditable to some of them, was nullified in important essentials by subsequent failure to adopt a policy in disposing of the state's patrimony of public lands which would have protected and built up the irreducible school fund. Some of the school land was covered with heavy timber, itself a rich possession; but it was often mountainous and rough, cut off from communication with the centers

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[2] Oregon Spectator, October 4, 1849. In a sketch of the History of the Provisional Government of Oregon, J. Quinn Thornton claimed that he was the author of the provision of Section 20 of the Act of Congress of August 14, 1848, extending the laws of the United States over Oregon. That section, which provided that sections 16 and 36 in each township should be reserved for schools, met with opposition in Congress but with the active help of Vinton of Ohio, and Horace Mann of Tennessee, it was retained in the law as originally drafted by Thornton. (Or. Pioneer Trans., 1874, pp. 88, 94. Same, 1882, p. 40.)

[3] Laws of Oregon Territory, session of 1850, pp. 66 et seq. This plan of government in local school matters by direct vote of the people was similar to the New England town meeting, and it has been retained for many years under statehood. It will be observed that it was the taxpayers that were the qualified voters, a restriction that was maintained in school elections in Oregon until recent times.

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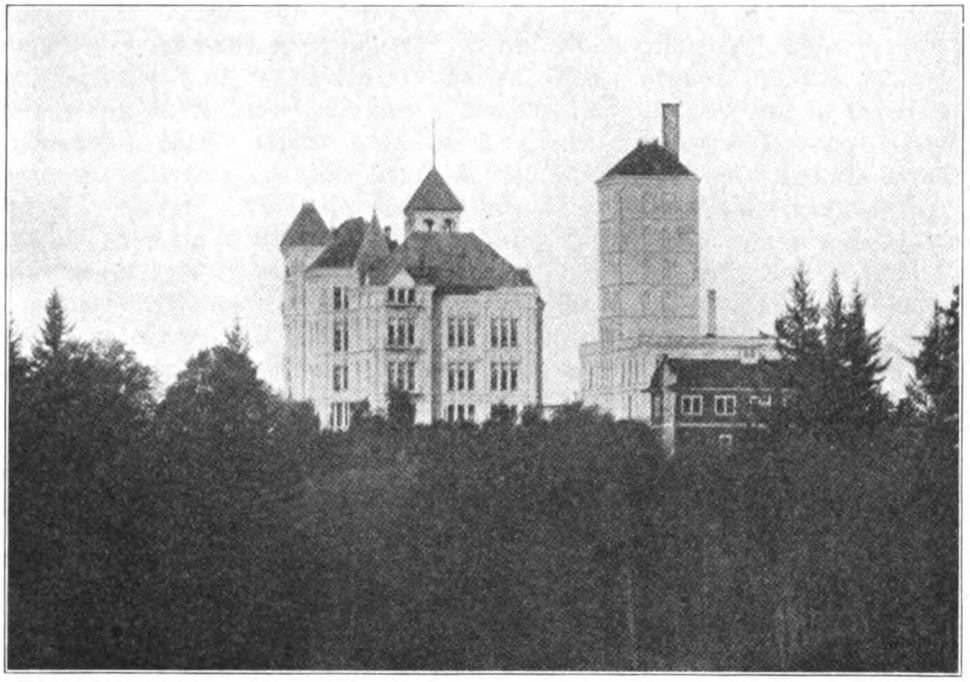
of population and from outside markets, so that it was unattractive to bona fide home builders. In later years it passed in enormous quantities into the possession of land and timber speculators, who could hold it for private exploitation, and did so, through a series of doubtful transactions which stain the history of state government, and gave rise to scandals that leave permanent scars. The enormous benefit that might have accrued if the political leaders had had the foresight and the patriotism of the framers of the original law, and had made provision for the reservation and sale of timber by the state itself, will be readily understood. As it was, dummy purchasers and false and fraudulent affidavits were resorted to by thieving speculators. Sales of school lands during the territorial regime, and for many years afterward during statehood, were made at the nearly uniform price of $1.25 an acre, although $2 an acre was sometimes realized. The minimum price was increased to $2 an acre in 1878, after which time solemn pledges were required of intending locators that their purchases were not made for speculative purposes and that no agreement, expressed or implied, had been entered into for the sale of these lands. Notwithstanding these nominal safeguards, vast areas of school lands passed into the possession of exploiters, the practice reaching its height during and immediately following the period of railroad expansion.[4]

The endeavors of the pioneers to establish neighborhood schools were beset with peculiar difficulties. In the winter of 1843-4 while title to the region was yet in dispute and the provisional government was still cautiously feeling its way, a primary school was opened at Oregon City under the patronage of Sidney W. Moss, with John P. Brooks as teacher. No charge was made for tuition, the entire expense being assumed by Moss. In Clatsop County, where a number of scattered settlements were growing up around Astor's old venture, a subscription school was conducted in the winter of 1845-6 by Miss Lucy Jane

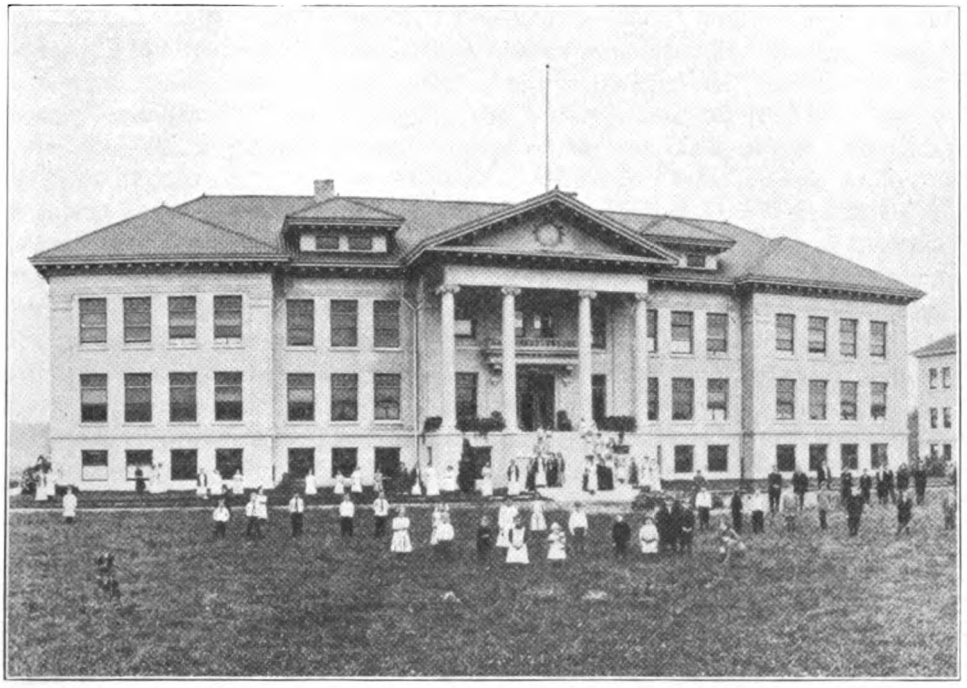
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[4] See review of the state's land policy in Sale of Oregon Lands, by F. G. Young, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, pp. 121 et seq., a significant and interesting chapter in the political no less than the educational history of Oregon. "The solemn pledges required in the act of 1878," says the author, "were followed by a 'joker.' 'Certificates of sale' could be secured from the state on payment of one-third of purchase price, except in case of timbered lands, on which a payment of one-half was required. Those certificates of sale could be freely assigned and the assignee on payment of the amounts due on the purchase price of lands represented by each certificate would receive a deed and there was no limit whatever to the number of acres the state would thus deed to him." The Legislature in 1887 again reduced the sale price to $1.25 an acre and made other amendments to the law, "which," observes the author, "caused the loss to the people of Oregon from their school fund of millions of dollars; it encouraged perjury, forgery and malfeasance in office." Thus was the people's heritage frittered away in this state, in spite of the hopes of Thornton and Atkinson. The provision of the Organic Act of August 14, 1848, which donated to Oregon Territory sections 16 and 36 in each township, gave 16,888 square miles, equal to 10,803,320 acres. This inured to the benefit of the states subsequently carved out of that territory. The precedent so established was effective in the organization of other states and territories afterward created. "It opened the way for the grant of 28,823,040 acres of land as a permanent fund for public education, instead of half that amount, in the nine states, including Oregon, admitted to the Union since 1848. It opened the way for the grant of 30,879,360 acres for public education in eight territories, not including Alaska, yet to be admitted, instead of half as many acres as per the Ordinance of 1787. This magnificent donation of about 60,000,000 acres vested and forever inalienable as a fund for the education of youth and committed as a sacred trust to eighteen or twenty new states now existing or yet to be was a guarantee of knowledge to all future generations." (Rev. G. H. Atkinson, Address, Or. Pioneer. Trans., 1880, p. 35.)

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STATE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS, SALEM



STATE SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF, SALEM

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Fisher, in a log house furnished for the purpose by Capt. R. W. Morrison, and supported by him and by Solomon H. Smith, who had located a claim between the present sites of Warrenton and Flavel. The winter of 1848-9 intensified the problem of the schools, because of the absence of a great part of the male population in the California mines. In the general neighborhood of the present settlement of Amity the inhabitants decided to build a school but disagreed over the selection of the site, and the men of each of two factions cut logs and hauled them to the respective locations of their choice. Ahio S. Watt, who was engaged to act as teacher, composed the differences of the warring elements by choosing a new site midway between the two, to which the name Amity was given as a token of brotherly cooperation. Here Watt taught a picturesquely conglomerate group of youngsters of all ages, being assisted by his thirteen-year-old sister Roxanna. Classes were held under the spreading branches of a noble oak when the weather was propitious, and the single McGuffey's reader which the district possessed was passed from hand to hand. "There were few text books of any kind," says a pioneer teacher, "and as late as 1853, when Levi Ankeny and Harvey W. Scott were in attendance at Amity, the instruction was largely oral. A number of men noted in Oregon affairs began their careers in this little log schoolhouse. Following Watt as teacher were Matthew P. Deady, John E. Lyle, Rev. E. R. Geary and Wyatt Harris."[5] About the same time there arrived in Oregon W. L. Adams, a college-bred young man, who settled on Burton Prairie, north of the town of Yamhill, where he was engaged by the few inhabitants who had not gone to the mines, to open a school in a rudely improvised lean-to addition to James Fulton's log cabin, over the door of which a sign emblazoned in charcoal announced the existence of "Yamhill University." There was in one corner of the room a mud chimney, which smoked much of the time, and here boy pupils in buckskin and moccasins and girls in gowns of shirting colored with tea-grounds conned their lessons during the bitter winter of 1848-9—a season remarkable for low temperature, during which the thermometer sometimes fell below the zero mark. The successor to this school was another conducted by Adams in one of the three rooms of the log cabin of Dr. James McBride. Among his pupils were J. R. McBride, who was afterward a member of Congress from Oregon, Judge Thomas A. McBride, now a justice of the Supreme Court, George L. Woods, afterward governor of Oregon, and L. L. Rowland, later state superintendent of public instruction. In the winter of 1849-50 the first school in Lane County was opened at Pleasant Hill, fourteen miles south of Eugene, where Elijah Bristow had made a donation of five acres for "church, school and cemetery purposes." The school, like others in the territory in this period, was built by community cooperation, the heads of families joining in furnishing materials and labor for its construction.

The first school law, though wisely conceived, found few communities ready to avail themselves of its provisions, but while public education waited, schooling did not. Even prior to the date of Governor Lane's inaugural message, or at about the time that it was written, the governor had been in communication with Gov. William Slade of Vermont, a national leader in education, with a view to obtaining the assignment of young women as teachers in Oregon, who

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[5] F. H. Grubbs, Early Oregon Schools, Oregon Pioneer Assn. Transactions, 1913, pp. 74-75.

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were to be reimbursed in part out of funds of the American Home Missionary Society, as appears from Slade's reply, dated October 21, 1849, in which he points out the difficulty of obtaining recruits for a point so far beyond the Mississippi Valley and adds: "I shall in the meantime make efforts to find ladies of the proper qualifications who will go, and take measures to have them gathered at Hartford, or some other place, and carried through the short course, with especial reference to their very important mission."[6] Rev. Mr. Atkinson also had called a meeting at Oregon City at which the question, "Shall we organize a system of public education?" was decided in the affirmative by a vote of thirty-seven to six. It was thought on more mature deliberation, however, that the plan was too costly for the means of the community, and so a private school, the Clackamas County Female Seminary, was incorporated instead, ex-Governor Abernethy subscribing $1,500, Dr. McLoughlin donating a block of land, and others making lesser subscriptions to a total of about $4,000. To this seminary, the first non-sectarian school organized in the territory for the education of young women exclusively, came five teachers as the result of Lane's correspondence with Slade. The seminary subsequently attained a high standing and enjoyed great prosperity, particularly in the period from about 1852 until 1858. The influence of Dr. Atkinson was exerted in this and other particulars which make him a commanding figure in the chapter on education in the history of Oregon. He brought to the territory, for example, the first school books that were placed on sale, and these he disposed of without profit, through L. D. C. Latourette of Oregon City, whose store was the first one in the territory to have a school book department. It is recalled by Dr. Atkinson in a review of the advance of education in Oregon that these first text books consisted of Sander's series of readers and speller, Thompson's arithmetic, Davies' algebra, Smith's geography, Wilson's history, Wells' grammars and the Spencerian system of penmanship.[7]

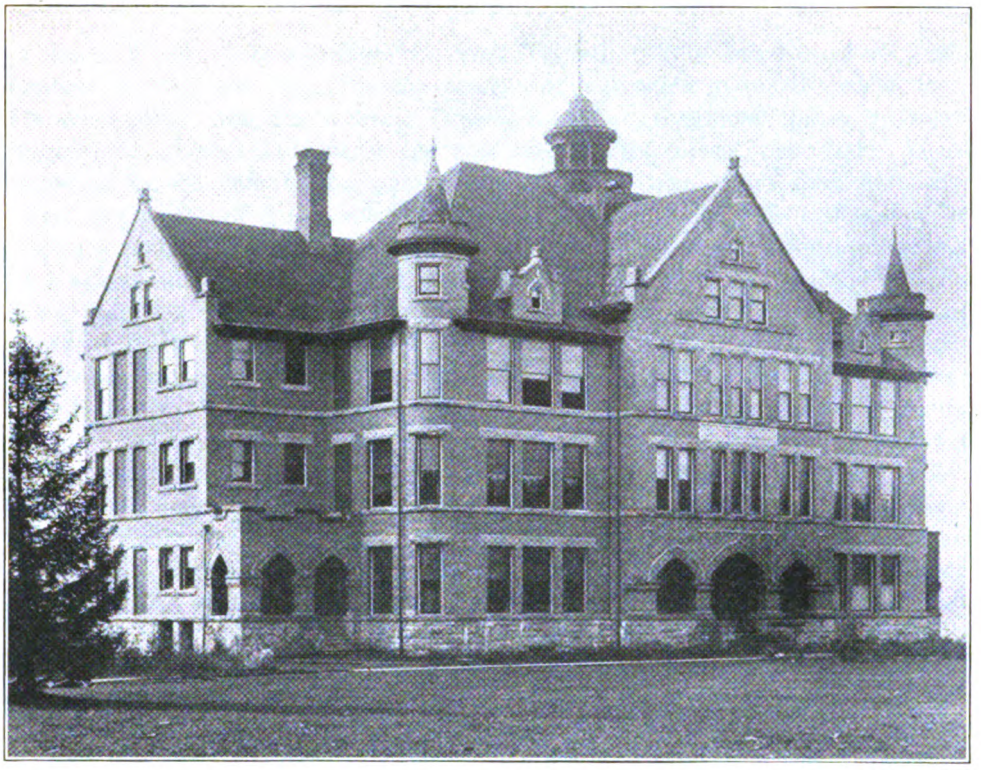
The public school encroached but slowly on the field thus dominated by the early private school, a condition which is even now reflected in the exceptional number of small privately conducted colleges in the state. The transformation was retarded from the beginning by pecuniary considerations and sparse settlement. It was some years before the territory began to realize upon its irreducible school fund, and the first contributions to the local districts from this source were too small to be of much importance. The history of education in Portland, the richest city in the territory and the one whose citizens might have been expected to bear with least grumbling the burden of a school tax, is illuminative in this particular. The first school in that city was opened in the autumn of 1847 by Dr. Ralph Wilcox, who was also the first practicing physician in Portland, in a residence building near the foot of Taylor Street. It was a private school. In February, 1848, Thomas Carter came to Portland, and his daughter, Julia,[8] opened a private school in a log cabin at Second and Stark streets, with about thirty-five pupils. In the winter of 1848-9 Aaron J. Hyde opened another school in a building called the "cooper shop," which served the inhabitants as a kind of town hall, on the west side

[6] Slade to Lane, Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.

[7] Early History of the Public School System of Oregon, with a General Outline of Its Legal Aspects, in the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1876, pp. 4 et seq.

[8] Afterward Mrs. Joseph Shoalwater Smith.

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EATON HALL, WILLAMETTE UNIVERSITY, SALEM



BENSON POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL, PORTLAND

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of First Street, between Morrison and Yamhill. Late in December, 1849, another noteworthy event in the annals of education occurred when Rev. Horace Lyman, who had come to Oregon as a Congregational minister, began teaching in a frame building on the west side of First Street, near Oak. These were the forerunners of the public schools of Portland, since they both disclosed the desire of the people for education, and revealed the inefficiency of a system under which the school terms had been too brief and the compensation of teachers inadequate. Lyman, together with Josiah Failing, Col. William King and others who were concerned with the future of the city, made an effort in 1850 to organize a school district under the territorial law, but encountered strong opposition. Meanwhile private schools of one kind or another flitted across the educational horizon. Cyrus A. Reed, who succeeded to Lyman's school in the spring of 1850, charged $10 a quarter for tuition and obtained sixty pupils. Delos Jefferson took up the work August 1, 1850, where Reed had left it, and taught three months at the same charge for tuition, the year being thus made memorable by the circumstance that Portland children received six months of schooling. Rev. Nehemiah Doane, who taught for nine months beginning December 1, 1850, received pecuniary aid from the Methodist Episcopal Home Missionary Fund, by reason of which he was able to reduce the tuition charge to $2.50 a quarter in the primary grades and to $6 a quarter for advanced classes, including one in which "Burnett's Geography of the Heavens" was taught.

The first free public school in Portland was not realized, however, until December 15, 1851, when John T. Outhouse was employed by the district which had been organized as the result of the earlier efforts of Lyman and others. Outhouse taught continuously until March, 1853, at a salary of $100 a month, paid from district funds, the community agreeing with some reluctance to tax itself for the purpose. The school nevertheless proved popular on the whole and it attracted pupils from points as far distant as Astoria. Its teacher eked out his living, when not busy with his official duties, by laying sidewalks, unloading ships in the harbor and in other ways proving himself to be an industrious and useful citizen. Another triumph of the champions of public education came November 20, 1852, when the electors of the Portland district voted a tax of $1,600 which made possible the conduct of a graded school.[9] The continued and active opposition which the advocates of the schools were compelled to combat has a picturesque illustration in an occurrence in May, 1856, when a meeting of the taxpayers of the Portland district was called

[9] The public school system in Portland was not, however, suffered to continue without challenge. There was apathy in 1853, largely due to the popularity of Miss Abigail M. Clarke, who had opened a private school. The usual district meeting of the first Friday in November was not held in 1853, and no funds were voted. Late in the autumn of 1854 agitation was renewed and W. S. Ladd, Thomas Frazer and Shubrick Norris were elected directors and A. D. Fitch, clerk. There were now two school districts in Portland, and L. Limerick, the first Portland teacher under the new organization, acted also as county school superintendent. On July 7, 1855, in response to an advertisement for "a competent person to take charge of the public school in District No. 1," a young man named Sylvester Pennoyer was engaged. Pennoyer afterward became governor of Oregon. He taught six months in 1855, after which the schools were discontinued as a charge on the district, perhaps with a view to letting funds accumulate for the construction of a building. No public school was maintained from that time until 1858, when classes were opened in the newly constructed schoolhouse, at about which time the Portland public schools seem to have become so firmly established that they have been maintained without interruption ever since.

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to discuss a proposal to levy a special tax for the construction of a schoolhouse. Benjamin Stark opposed the measure, suggesting that, as the county would soon be called on to erect a jail, the school tax would be likely to prove too burdensome. Col. J. M. Keeler replied that the erection of a schoolhouse should have first consideration and urged that if the school interests were more carefully fostered a jail "would indeed prove a burden because of its uselessness to the community."[10] Keeler's ready answer seems to have saved the day, for it is recorded that some time afterward the public schools resumed their sessions in a building devoted to school purposes exclusively.

A curious objection to the free schools now found voice, which would deserve little consideration if it had not been then regarded with much gravity. It was seriously argued that under the formerly prevailing custom of holding school only three, or at most, six months, many of the young pupils had been gainfully employed during the remainder of the year, whereby they had formed habits of industry, so that their minds and bodies grew in perfect harmony, whereas free schools and longer terms tended to produce young men and young women less well fitted to cope with the grave problems of life than their predecessors had been. This was a condition which the private schools and particularly the denominational academies set themselves to remedy. Tualatin Academy, at Forest Grove, based on a gift of two hundred acres from the land claim of Rev. Harvey Clark, which had been supplemented by other gifts from patriotic and self-denying citizens, became Pacific University in 1854, as has already been mentioned in these pages. Willamette University, at Salem, the indirect outgrowth of Jason Lee's missionary efforts, was incorporated by the Legislature in January, 1853, and developed numerous satellites, among which were Wilbur Academy in Umpqua County, Sheridan Academy, Dallas Academy, Santiam Academy at Lebanon, and Portland Academy. The Cumberland Presbyterians in 1853 obtained a fund of $20,000, of which $4,000 was expended at once for the construction of a building at Eugene City, which was dedicated as Columbia College in November, 1856, with E. P. Henderson as principal teacher. The Baptists in 1856 incorporated a school known as Corvallis Institute. The Disciples of Christ, better known locally as the "Campbellites," or Christian Church, established a school at McMinnville, which they surrendered to the Baptists on condition that the latter should organize and maintain a college; and somewhat later they founded Bethel Academy in the Eola Hills in Polk County, which was chartered in 1856 as Bethel Institute and opened in that year with sixty pupils, Thaddeus R. Harrison being its first teacher. The Baptists, who had gone no further with Corvallis Institute than to incorporate it, obtained a charter in 1856 for West Union Institute, situated at the north end of the Tualatin Plain, in Washington County, fourteen miles from Portland, and built a schoolhouse and a church, the latter being widely known as the "Lenox" Church; and in pursuance of their compact with the Disciples they obtained a charter for McMinnville Academy. The Disciples meanwhile encountered local opposition to Bethel Institute, and compromised this difference by organizing Monmouth University, in furtherance of a plan entered into by a number of members of the denomination in Illinois. The town of Monmouth was platted and lots were sold, as was beginning to be a custom, to

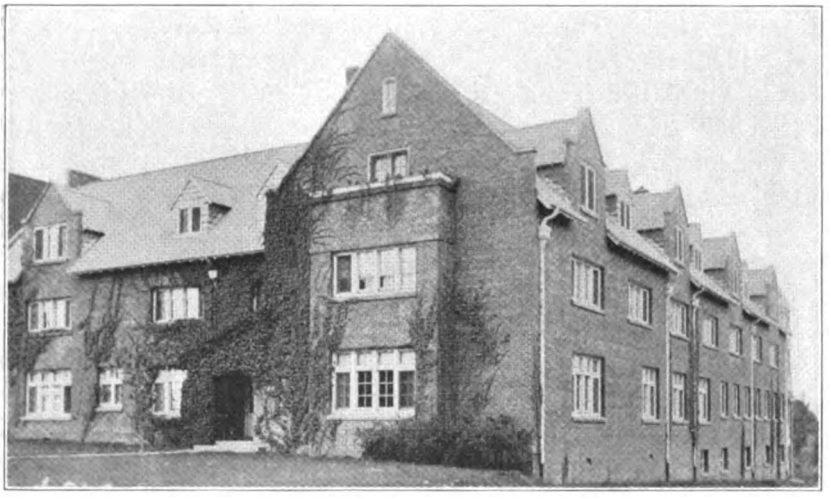
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[10] Historical Sketch of the Public Schools of Portland, Oregon, by T. H. Crawford, in Fifteenth Annual Report of Public Schools, Year Ending June 30, 1880, pp. 37-8.

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Dormitory



Dormitory



Training School

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realize funds for the support of the school. The Presbyterians in 1853 founded Albany Academy, which was superseded in 1866 by Albany Institute, which developed in 1867 into Albany College. Somewhat later, although still within the period when denominational schools were prominent in Oregon educational affairs, Corvallis College was founded, in 1864, by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, largely as the result of the efforts of Rev. B. F. Burch. This college obtains a peculiar interest from its subsequent designation by the State Legislature in 1868 as the recipient of the Congressional land grant of July 2, 1862, to the state for the maintenance of agricultural colleges, out of which arose the present large and successful Oregon Agricultural College.

The story of the founding and development of Catholic denominational schools, which of course by established principle are entirely separate from the public schools, begins with the founding of St. Joseph's College at St. Paul in 1842. This was made possible by the liberal donation for the purpose by Joseph Laroque to Father Blanchet, the pioneer missionary. It was soon followed by girls' schools established by Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. These missionary schools, however, were abandoned a few years after their foundation, but another girls' school was begun at Portland in 1859, called St. Mary's Academy. St. Joseph's College for boys was re-established, and again in 1861 a girls' school was reopened at St. Paul, and another at Portland. In the following year another was reopened at Oregon City. Other early schools were established at Salem, Jacksonville, The Dalles, Vancouver, Walla Walla and Steilacoom, all before Oregon was admitted into the Union. St. Michael's College for boys was opened at Portland in 1871.

The history of the various denominational schools which have been mentioned, and of some others, deserves to be set forth with more particularity because it introduces a number of personalities who greatly aided cultural development in the territory and the state. Rev. Harvey Clark, for example, who came to Oregon as an independent Congregationalist missionary, was an indefatigable laborer in the field of education and a man singularly free from denominational bias, as was illustrated by his service in various early schools without regard for sect. The arrival of Dr. Atkinson in Oregon resulted in bringing needed aid to Clark's cherished scheme of education, by means of which a collegiate department was added to Tualatin Academy and Pacific University was created. The first president of the new college was Rev. Sidney Harper Marsh, who continued in that office a quarter of a century, until his death in 1879, and he was also prominent in educational endeavor throughout that time.

Baptist effort began at Oregon City, where no sooner had a meeting house been completed in 1848 than a school was started therein. Almost immediately afterward a movement to found a college was begun, since every denomination now deemed it of the highest importance that the young should be reared amid Christian influences, and an Oregon City College was organized under the direction of the Oregon Baptist Education Society, which so warmly approved of the ministry as a career for all pious young men that the college became a kind of theological seminary in embryo, of which there was then no especial need in Oregon. This institution struggled for a time and finally gave up the ghost. The zeal and determination which characterized these efforts are plainly

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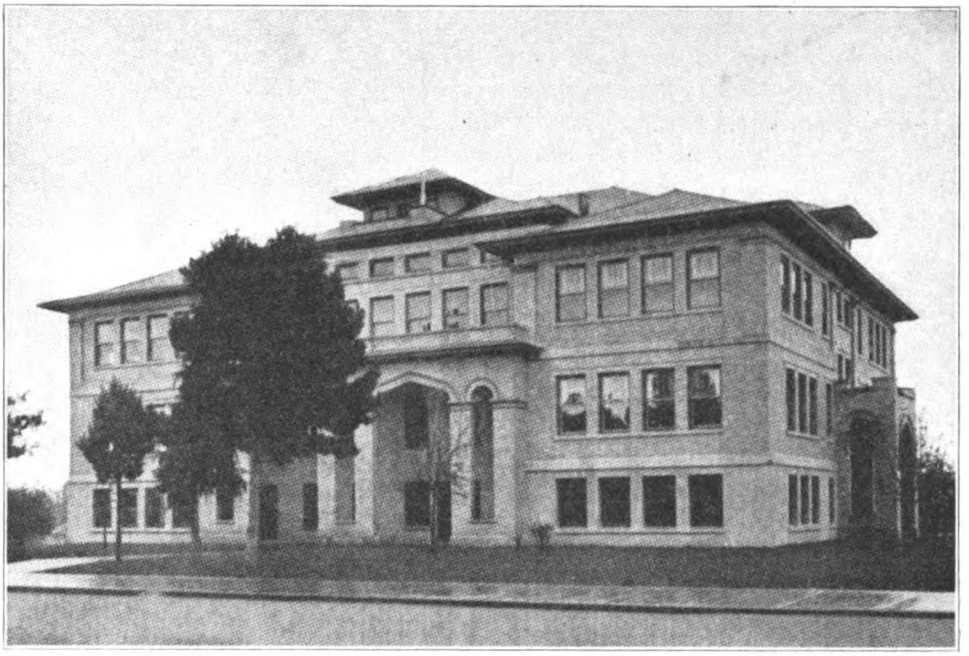
illustrated by the fact that there were reported at this time to be only 160 Baptists in all the region west of the Rocky Mountains and north of California.[11] They, however, subscribed more than $4,000 to the enterprise. Notwithstanding first discouragements, the Baptists persisted and presently, in 1857, McMinnville College was established with the aid of several donations of land by citizens of the neighborhood. It opened under the direction of Prof. John W. Johnson, afterward the first president of Oregon State University.

Methodist schools flourished with the impetus given them by the early missionary organization and the infusion of new effort when Oregon Institute was organized at Chemeketa, or Salem, and their growth was greatly accelerated by the arrival in Oregon of Rev. James H. Wilbur, who by his subsequent prodigious labors won a high place in the regard of Oregonians without regard to denominational distinction. "Father" Wilbur, as he was long called, taught school for a time at the Institute, but in 1849 proceeded to Portland, where he prevailed upon the proprietors of the town to donate land as the site for a school, and here with his own hands he cleared a space on which, in 1851, the first building of Portland Academy and Female Seminary was completed. The institution was incorporated in June, 1854, prospered greatly as Portland increased in population and was one of the most important of all the educational institutions in Oregon until it was discontinued in 1879, by which time the public schools were well established. The academy and female seminary was founded in pursuance of Father Wilbur's plan to create a series of schools of academic rank to serve as preparatory schools for Willamette University. Father Wilbur was appointed in 1853 to organize a Methodist mission in southern Oregon and he carried this idea with him, opening Umpqua Academy only a few months after his arrival in the Umpqua valley, where he chose a pleasant situation at a point then known as Bunton's Gap for a site, and he repeated his Portland feat by clearing ground himself and erecting a rude log house. An early catalogue announced that "the object of instruction will be to form correct mental and moral habits, and to cultivate a taste for intellectual pursuits," and this policy was pursued, with such fidelity as the human shortcomings of its young pupils permitted, until it, too, was merged into the public school system in 1900, by being sold to the local school district. A peculiar and interesting phase of the useful life of Umpqua Academy was that it was for years the only institution of higher learning between Sacramento and Salem, and it thus drew students from the larger part of two states. Santiam Academy, a primary and grammar school at Lebanon, had as its first trustees, Delazon Smith, Aaron Hyde, Alvan F. Waller, Rev. Thomas H. Pearne, John McKinney, William C. Gallager, Luther R. Woodward, Luther Elkins and Morgan Kees, all prominent citizens of the territory, and fulfilled its destiny until 1870, when it, too, succumbed to the growing influence of the public schools. A number of Methodist schools which were less long-lived also contributed their full part to the educational facilities of the decade immediately preceding the Civil war.

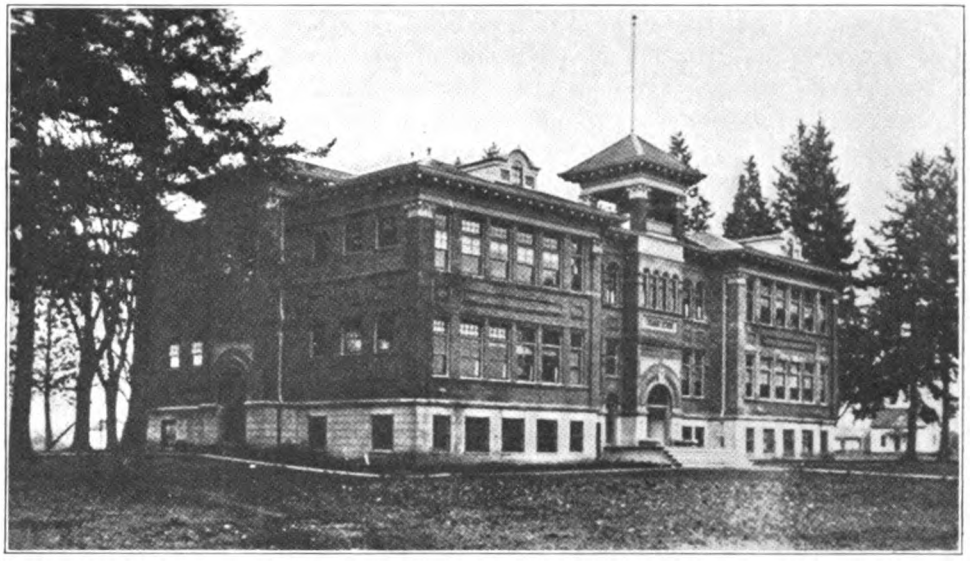
The Cumberland Presbyterians were less fortunate, although not much less energetic, in their attempts to influence education. They built at Eugene City a school which was opened in 1856 as Columbia College, with some fifty students. But the building was destroyed on the fourth day of the term by an incendiary

[11] Baptist Annals of Oregon, by C. H. Mattoon, p. 151.

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HIGH SCHOOL, DALLAS



HIGH SCHOOL, LEBANON

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fire, and being rebuilt was again burned in 1858 also by an incendiary. It was now resolved to rebuild once more, this time of brick and stone, which doubtless would have been done if the brethren had not fallen out among themselves over the issue of reading the Bible and holding prayers in the classroom. The opponents of prayer were defeated and withdrew their support, which ended denominational educational effort at Eugene, but, curiously, this experience sowed in that vicinity the seed of endeavor which ripened somewhat later into effort which resulted in locating the state university there. Albany Academy, afterward Albany College, resulted from the decision of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church to enter the Oregon field, and from the more immediate labors of Rev. E. R. Geary, another noteworthy pioneer in this field. A number of names of citizens noted for enterprise and public spirit appear among the trustees of the academy at the time of its incorporation in 1858. Residents of the Albany neighborhood furnished the site and subscribed several thousand dollars for a building and the entire property was conveyed to the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1867. The institution chartered as Monmouth University long flourished under the auspices of the Christian Church community with the leadership of Rev. Thomas F. Campbell, another eminent figure in early education, whose son, Dr. P. L. Campbell, is now president of the University of Oregon. The spirit of competition in the establishment of private schools prevailed in every community in the late '50s and early '60s. Butteville Institute and Yoncalla Institute, both incorporated by the Legislature in January, 1859, were examples. Another was LaCreole Academy, founded February 5, 1855, at a meeting of the residents of the vicinity of Dallas. Gifts of land were made by J. H. Lewis, J. E. Lyle and Solomon Sheldon, and part of the land was sold in town lots which now constitute a large part of the town of Dallas. John H. Robb gave half of all his property, a gift amounting to about $6,000, as an endowment. The first teacher was Rev. Horace Lyman, who had previously taught school in Portland and later was a member of the faculty of Pacific University. For some years it furnished education in accordance with the apparent needs of individual pupils and had no prescribed course of study and consequently no formal graduates, no diplomas being granted until 1881. It passed at length to the control of the United Evangelical Church.

Indeed, a community which could not boast a college, an institute, or at least an academy, at this time, was apt to be held in low esteem by its cultured neighbors, and citizens vied with one another for the honor of a trusteeship in some educational institution, as the highest social distinction which the territory was able to bestow.[12]

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[12] The rosters of trustees and incorporators of these various schools are an almost complete directory of the prominent citizens of Oregon. The first trustees of Albany Academy were Thomas Kendall, Delazon Smith, Demas Beach, Edward R. Geary, Walter Monteith, J. P. Tate, John Swett, James H. Foster and R. H. Crawford. Of these, John Swett sometime afterward achieved national eminence as a superintendent of schools at San Francisco. The incorporators of Yoncalla Institute were Lindsay Applegate, E. L. Applegate, John Long, W. H. Wilson, and James Miller. The trustees of Butteville Institute were George L. Curry, G. A. Cone, George Hibler, Ely Cooley, J. W. Grim, F. W. Geer, J. C. Geer, F. X. Matthieu and George Laroque. Monmouth University was chartered by Ira F. M. Butler, John E. Murphy, Reuben P. Boise, J. B. Smith, Sylvester C. Simmons, William Mason, T. H. Hutchinson, Thomas H. Lucas, Squire S. Whitman and D. R. Lewis. The trustees of La Creole Academy were Reuben P. Boise, N. Lee, William Lewis, J. F. Roberts, J. E. Lyle,

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Popular education in Oregon may be said to have entered upon a new era about 1862, when the benign effect of the popular assemblage clause of the first school law began to be manifest. The annual district meetings at which the people were wont to gather and to determine the rate of school taxation and discuss other matters of intimate detail had slowly but surely operated as a transforming force. The self-educating power of the school system, its influence upon citizen as well as pupil, its capacity for uniting the divergent elements of communities were no longer disputed. Said Governor Gibbs in his inaugural message: "Upon the proper education of a free people depends the stability of their institutions. I doubt whether a republican form of government can long exist without general education among the masses. The subject of popular education has attracted my attention, and it will be my pleasure as well as duty, as superintendent of public instruction, to elevate the standard of education in Oregon as much as my limited influence and acquirements will permit."[13] By 1872 the Legislature was ready to increase the state tax levy for schools from two mills to three and did so. Accruals from the irreducible school fund were appreciable in amount. Local school taxes yielded larger returns with increasing wealth and population. In the fiscal year 1875-6, to illustrate, total receipts of school funds in all the districts of the state amounted to $269,821, the public school property in the state was valued at $442,540 and forty-eight districts reported holding school terms of six months or more. The total number of pupils enrolled in the 745 public schools was 27,426, while the number of pupils attending the 132 private schools in the state was but 3,441. "The habit of sending their children from the country to the city schools adopted by the richer farmers," Doctor Atkinson reported to the state superintendent of public instruction in 1876, "on the principle that every man must look out for his own, is perhaps slowly yielding to the purpose to spend the money in providing better country schools."[14] It is sufficient to say in summarizing more recent developments in education in Oregon that the trend has been uniformly toward expansion of the public common school system, without, however, ignoring wholly the historical and sentimental claims of private and denominational schools which were the pioneers in Oregon education, but which now occupy a more subsidiary relative position in the scheme of education. The total number of pupils enrolled in the public schools of the state in the year 1918-19 was 146,546, and a noteworthy feature of the state's statistics of education is that the ratio of school attendance to total school enrollment is higher than in any other state in the Union.

Complete acceptance of the principle of public education by the people is exhibited in the development of the school laws of the state, in which progress has been especially noteworthy during the period beginning in 1915. The Legislature in that year passed a law making it mandatory upon county courts in

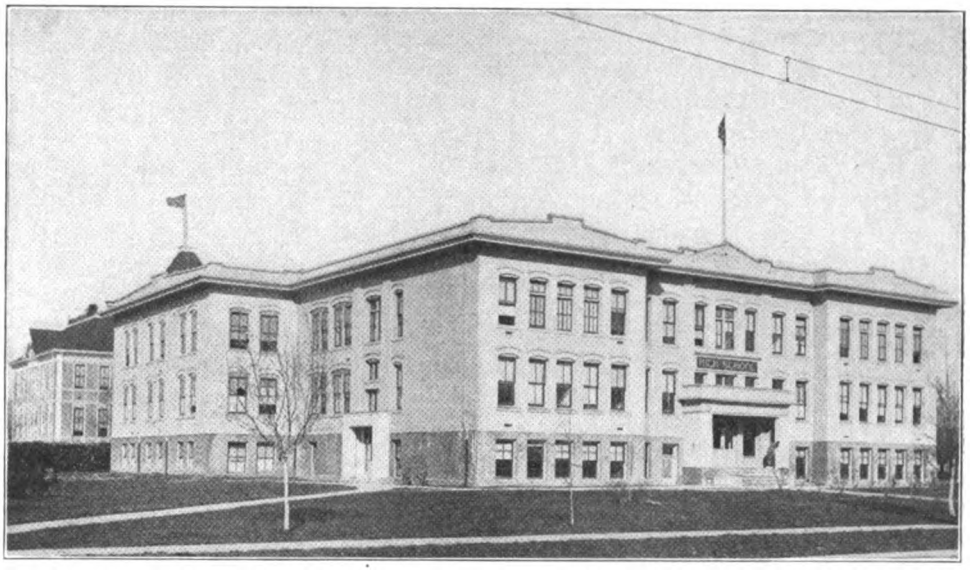
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F. Waymire, A. H. Sweeney, J. M. Frederick and Horace Lyman. The trustees of Umpqua Academy, incorporated in January, 1857, were James H. Wilbur, James O. Raynes, Matthew P. Deady, Addison R. Flint, Benjamin R. Grubbe, Willis Jenkins, Flemming R. Hill, John Kuykendall and William Royall. The articles of incorporation of Umpqua Academy specified that it should be open to youths of both sexes. The trustees of Bethel Institute in 1856 were Glen O. Burnet, Amos Harvey, Sandford Watson, W. L. Adams, A. V. McCarty, A. H. Frier, J. H. Robb, Joseph W. Downer and S. M. Gilmore.

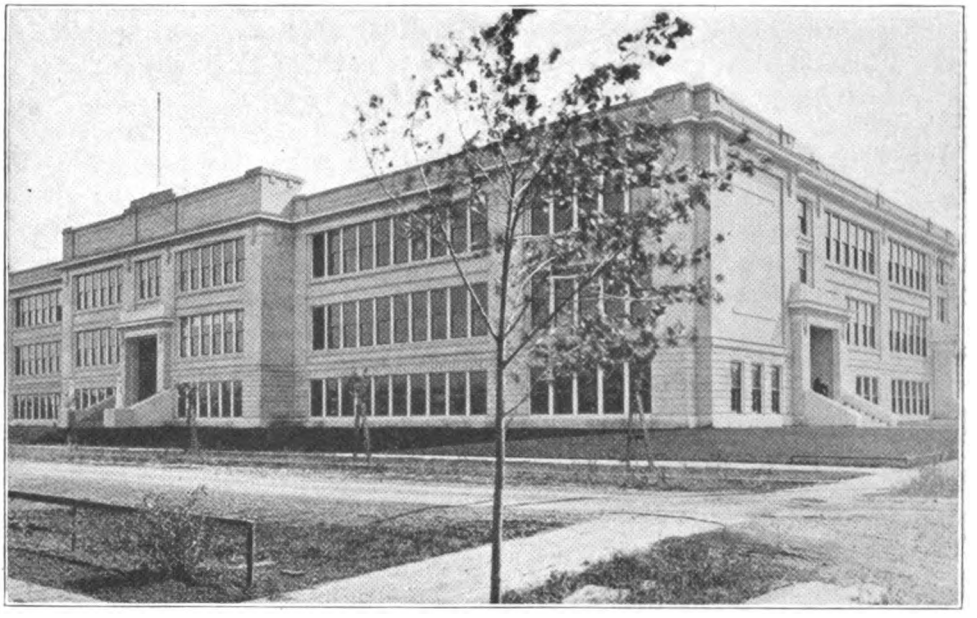
[13] House journal, 1862, Appendix, p. 51.

[14] Report, 1876, p. 17.

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HIGH SCHOOL, CORVALLIS



HIGH SCHOOL, EUGENE

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counties in which there was not already a county high school in existence to levy a tax sufficient to defray the cost of educating all high school pupils residing in the county who should desire to avail themselves of the benefits of the law.[15] The effect of this law was almost immediately to double enrollment in the high schools of the state, and in some counties it did even more than that. A standard for high schools was also adopted by Supt. J. A. Churchill, who became state superintendent of public instruction in 1913, and the entire system of intermediate instruction was coordinated with the public institutions of higher learning of the state, the effect being greatly to stimulate the desire, by increasing the facilities, for college and university training. As the direct result of these measures the number of high schools in Oregon increased rapidly, being 220 in 1921. The Legislature in the same year (1915) broadened the functions of the schools in general by passing a law providing that each schoolhouse should be established as a civic center, "where the citizens of the respective school districts within the said state of Oregon may engage in supervised recreational activities, and where they may meet and discuss from time to time, as they may desire, any and all subjects and questions which in their judgment may appertain to the educational, political, economic, artistic and moral interests of the citizens of the respective communities in which they may reside."[16] The same Legislature resolved a long-debated issue by prohibiting discrimination in the payment of salaries of teachers on account of sex.

This was followed in 1917 by a law fixing the minimum school term at eight months, whereas the minimum formerly had been six months, and increasing the minimum sum which each school district must provide, while the standard of teaching was also raised by increasing the minimum requirement of the elementary teachers' training course from six weeks to twelve.[17] The course of legislation in these years has tended uniformly toward greater efficiency in education, and particularly toward enlarging opportunities by furnishing better-paid instructors, of whom higher requirements are exacted, and increasing the equipment and facilities. The Legislature of 1919 increased the school tax from $8 to $10 per capita, thus insuring the distribution of at least $420,000 annually more than in former years through the elementary schools of the various counties, and again increasing the minimum sum which a district must provide, this time from $400 to $620 a year. The last-named requirement was made necessary by a law passed by the same Legislature, fixing the minimum salary of a teacher at $75 a month.[18]

The people still further showed their determination to uphold the elementary schools when they adopted in May, 1920, by the decisive vote of 115,337 to 30,739, a measure submitted to them by the Legislature of 1919 which created a permanent state tax of two mills for elementary school purposes.[19] A measure designed to equalize the opportunities of education, so that the remote and more sparsely settled regions should not suffer because of their want of material development, was passed by the legislators of 1921. This is known as the "county unit law," and accomplishes its aim by uniting all school dis-

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[15] Laws 1915, Ch. 235, p. 330.

[16] Id., Ch. 86, p. 94; Oregon School Laws, Sec. 150.

[17] Laws 1917, Ch. 64, p. 86.

[18] Laws 1919, Ch. 156, p. 213; id., Ch. 79, p. 88.

[19] Laws Special Sess., 1920, Ch. 38, pp. 71, 72; Laws 1921, p. 10.

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tricts in a county not already included in cities or towns into a single district, with the promise of equal benefits to all pupils residing therein.[20] Another law of supreme importance to the future of education in Oregon was enacted at the same session, further increasing the requirements of the teachers' elementary training course, so that after 1923 it will not be possible for the state department of education to grant a certificate to teach to any applicant who has not completed twenty-four weeks of normal school preparation, in addition to four years' work in a standard high school, notwithstanding that the applicant may have passed an examination in the eleven subjects required for a one-year teachers' certificate. The same law requires that after 1925 a teacher must have had, as a minimum, one year of training in a standard normal school.[21] Provision was made, also by the Legislature of 1921, for employment of home teachers, whose duty it shall be "to work in the homes of the pupils, instructing children and adults in matters relating to school attendance and preparation therefor, also in sanitation, in the English language, in household duties, such as purchase, preparation and use of food, and of clothing, and in the fundamental principles of the American system of government and the rights and duties of citizenship."[22]

An additional grant to the state of 90,000 acres of Government lands by an act of Congress approved by President Lincoln July 2, 1862, marked another step forward in education by introducing a further motive for a state institution of higher learning. The proceeds derived by the state were to be devoted to the creation of another irreducible fund, the revenue from which should be applied inviolably to the support by the state of a college whose leading objects, without the exclusion of other scientific and classical studies, should be to teach those branches of learning particularly related to agriculture and mechanic arts. There was then no public college in Oregon, nor for that matter was there an appreciable demand for one. The public common schools were still struggling against tradition, and public higher education was as yet a relatively novel idea. Nothing was done, therefore, in pursuance of the Federal law until the time limit fixed by the act had nearly expired, when the State Legislature enacted a law, which was approved October 21, 1868, designating Corvallis College as the beneficiary of the grant, "until other provisions are made," and naming J. C. Avery, J. F. Miller and J. H. Douthit as commissioners to locate the lands to which the state was entitled. The legislative act, which was hastily drawn, authorized each state senator to designate one student who should receive free tuition for two years, but prescribed no minimum educational qualifications, though providing for quarterly payment to the college out of the state treasury of $11.25 for each student so received.[23] The funds so advanced were to be repaid from the first interest accruing upon the college land funds. Instead of using the golden opportunity to acquire valuable timber lands which would in time be worth millions of money for the fund, the land commissioners promptly proceeded to locate 89,907 acres, mostly in Lake County, which was then remote from the settlements, about 10,000 acres subsequently proving to be within the limits of the Klamath indian reservation.

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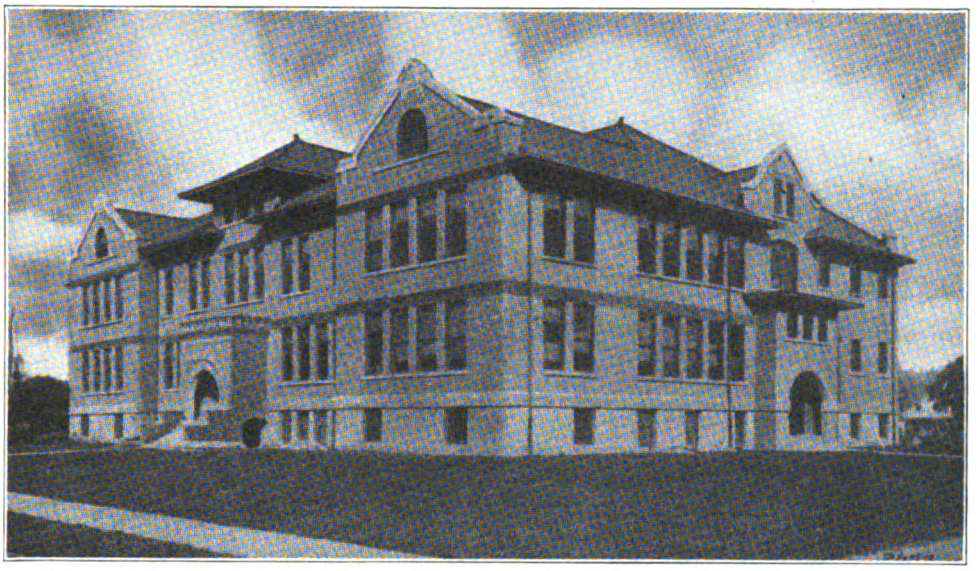
[20] Laws 1921, Ch. 18, p. 30.

[21] Id., Ch. 55, p. 78.

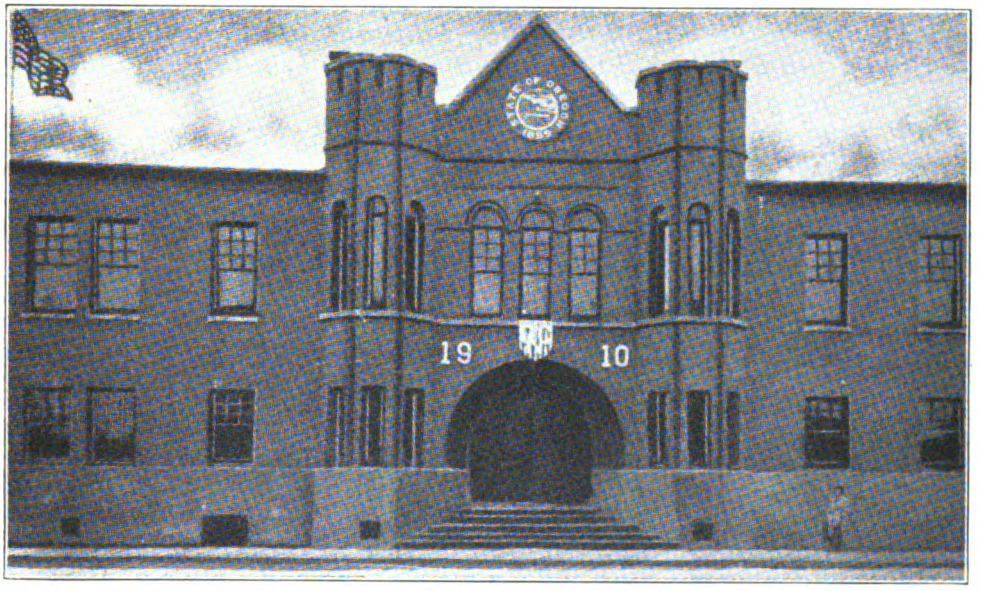
[22] Id., Ch. 87, p. 139; Oregon School Laws, sec. 132.

[23] Laws of Oregon, 1868, pp. 40-1.

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HIGH SCHOOL, ALBANY



ARMORY, OREGON NATIONAL GUARD, ALBANY

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The Lake County lands found no market for a time, and could never be expected to have great money value. The Legislature of 1870 appropriated $5,000 a year for the support of the college, and that of 1872 increased the number of state students to two for each senator. The experiment in higher education proved popular, notwithstanding the inadequacy of provision for the support of the college, so that in 1874 there were matriculated at Corvallis College forty-four so-called state students, described as "most of them of the best young men of the state, men of fine muscle and brain, men who came here to learn because they feel the need of education.[24] Ancient and modern language, history and literature were now included in the curriculum, together with moral philosophy and the physical sciences in general, comprehending chemistry, natural philosophy, biology and agriculture. "This," said the president in his first biennial report, "is as far as our means allow us to go," which is wholly credible in view of the fact that the teaching staff consisted of but three professors. These pioneers were President B. L. Arnold, B. J. Hawthorne and Joseph Emery. A farm was already attached to the college, however, and soil investigations were begun and experiments were made in the growing of grains, especially wheat, which was the prime agricultural staple of Oregon. Thereafter with the aid of small appropriations from time to time, the college was kept alive and even grew. Control was voluntarily relinquished to the state by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1885, when the institution became Oregon Agricultural College. In due time it obtained the benefits of the act of Congress of August 30, 1890, known as the Morrill Act, by which it received $15,000 a year at first, this sum increasing at the rate of $1,000 annually until it became $25,000 a year; in addition to which it received $15,000 a year for experiments in agriculture under the so-called Hatch Act of 1887. The latter fund, while not devoted directly to educational purposes, has nevertheless proved a valued adjunct to the general scheme. The state has from time to time made liberal appropriations in aid of this popular school, which for some years past has been under the direction of Dr. W. J. Kerr as president. Both the Agricultural College and the State University are now principally supported by a fixed rate of state tax. The complete transformation which popular sentiment has undergone with relation to education as a function of the state is now illustrated not only by the expansion of the academic field of Oregon Agricultural College, but also by the continued growth of an extension service, the purpose of which is to carry education in various forms to the people throughout the state. Almost the widest conceivable departure from the reluctantly supported public schools of half a century ago is embodied in the present system.[25]

Although the Agricultural College was thus the first publicly supported school of more than secondary rank in Oregon, a state university had been

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[24] Biennial Report of the Agricultural College, 1874, p. 5.

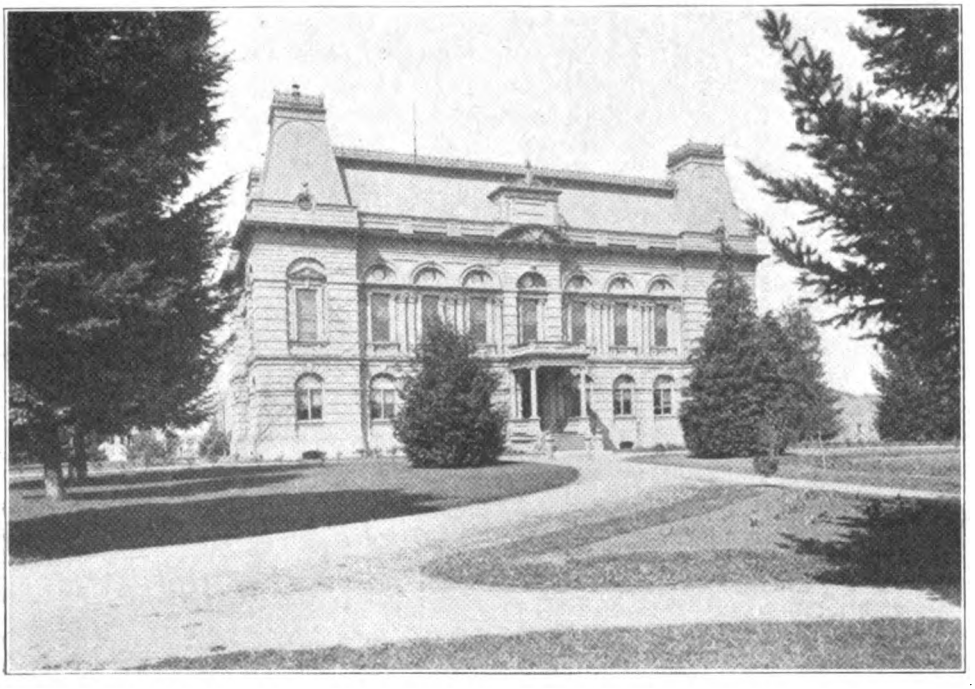
[25] The extra-institutional functions of Oregon Agricultural College are symbolical of the new era in public education which began in Oregon, as has been shown, sixty years or more ago. They embrace not only the work of scientists acting under authority of the college, but also the development of local community forces, the organization of societies for the improvement of economic and cultural conditions, and still more direct material benefits growing out of teaching and experimental work in agriculture and the domestic arts in the homes of the people. These are fully set forth in various reports, particularly that of Prof. Paul V. Maris, director of the extension service, Oregon Agricultural College, for 1918-20.

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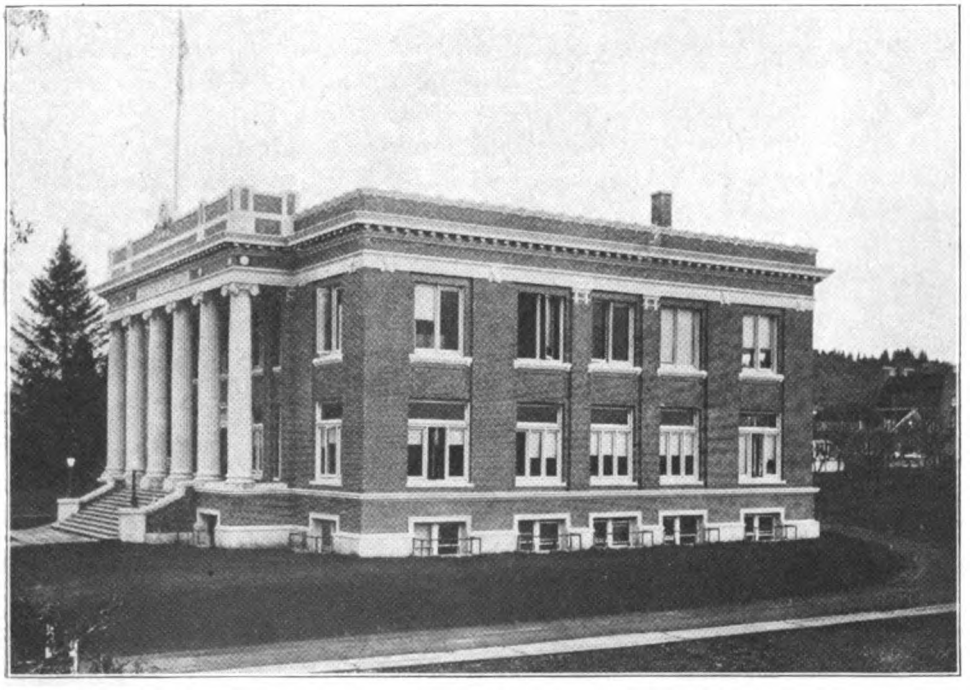
conceived in an even earlier time. Section 10 of the donation land law of September 27, 1850, granted two townships to the state for the support of a university, and this provision was noted in the state constitution, which provided (Article VIII, Section 5) that "no part of the university funds, or of the interest therefrom, shall be expended until the period of ten years from the adoption of this constitution." Even prior to this, however, an attempt was made to locate such an institution as was contemplated by the donation land act. The territorial Legislature, January 20, 1853, designated James H. Bennett, John Trapp and Lucius W. Phelps as commissioners to construct a territorial university at Marysville, as Corvallis was then called, on land offered by Joseph P. Friendly as a gift, or elsewhere in or near Marysville. But when at the session of 1854-5 the state capital was located at Corvallis, a political sop was thrown to southern Oregon in an act designating Jacksonville as the seat of the university, that town, according to a more or less libelous rumor of the time, counting not so much on obtaining permanently a great temple of learning as on securing the expenditure of a few thousand dollars for a building which might be conveniently converted into a courthouse when the university plan failed, as almost everyone expected that it would! This act of location was, however, repealed January 15, 1856, without having benefited either Jacksonville or the rest of the state. The ten-year clause of the constitution had expired and the issue of location was again brewing when, in 1872, a movement for a public high school was initiated at Eugene City by citizens who had had a foretaste of academic education in the ill-fated venture of the Cumberland Presbyterians. The plan grew and matured into one to persuade the Legislature to found a State University and locate it at Eugene. A corporation, called the Union University Association, was formed with a capital stock of $50,000, that sum being the estimated cost of a site and building which it was proposed to present to the state. Twenty thousand dollars of this sum was subscribed by the citizens of Lane County, though not without some difficulty, in view of the sparse population and relatively small resources of the community, and the Legislature passed an act giving permission to Lane County to levy a general tax sufficient to supply the remaining $30,000. In this manner the present site was selected and purchased from J. H. D. Henderson for $2,500, and the first building, afterward christened Deady Hall, was erected by the people of Eugene and Lane County. The University was opened for the reception of students in September, 1876, and the first class was graduated June 2, 1878. The original incorporators of the Union University Association were J. M. Thompson, J. J. Walton, W. J. J. Scott, B. F. Dorris, J. G. Gray, J. B. Underwood, J. J. Comstock, A. S. Patterson, S. H. Spencer, E. L. Bristow, E. L. Applegate and A. W. Patterson. From the beginning thus made the school has developed until it is justly ranked with the best of collegiate institutions, under Dr. P. L. Campbell, the president.

From the small beginnings which have been noted, both the State University and Oregon Agricultural College have since grown amazingly. The demand for a broader curriculum has been met at various times by the addition of scientific, technical and professional courses. A night law school was established in Portland in 1884 as an adjunct of the University and this was superseded in 1915 by a three-year law school at Eugene. Willamette University, long the leader among institutions of collegiate rank in the state, was first to establish a medical school, which was removed to Portland from Salem in 1878 and absorbed by

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VILLARD'S HALL, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE

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the State University in 1887. The development of medical education in Oregon is indeed one of the most interesting phases of the entire movement. In an early day there were no laws for the regulation of medical practice and many of the early physicians lacked professional schooling of any kind. With the growth of the medical school of the University there has been corresponding legislation in the public interest and increasingly high professional standards have been attained. In 1921 a gift of $163,000 to the medical school was announced by the General Education Board, a Rockefeller endowment, which made available a similar amount appropriated by the Legislature for buildings at Portland, and this, with the coöperation of Multnomah County in hospital construction, has made Portland the undoubted medical and hospital center of the Pacific Northwest.

A noteworthy feature of public education in Oregon has been its practically uninterrupted expansion. Recent reports of the work of the University are pregnant with meaning in this particular and deserve especial consideration because they heighten the contrast with former times. Whereas in 1872 citizens were of two minds as to the duty of the state to furnish any education, the University, like the Agricultural College, has carried education to the homes of the people and to adults as well as youths. Thirty-five members of the University faculty, for illustration, delivered 204 lectures in eighty-one communities during 1920; correspondence schooling was extended to more than one thousand pupils of all ages; classes covering a wide range of professional, vocational and cultural topics were conducted in a number of important centers under faculty instruction and miscellaneous service extending over the broadest possible field was made available. The Extension Division, including instruction by correspondence, which was established in 1907, together with summer sessions at Eugene, made the utmost resources of education available to practically every resident of the state.[26]

Another event of importance in the history of education was the establishment in Portland of Reed College, made possible by a munificent bequest of Mrs. Amanda Reed on her death in 1904, in fulfillment of her own desires and of the expressed wishes of her husband, Simeon G. Reed, who died in 1895, and who had figured prominently in the development of steamship and railroad communication and in the improvement of livestock conditions in the state, as has been told. The question of the particular kind of institution to be founded having been submitted to experts, it was concluded that the greatest educational need of Portland was a college of liberal arts and sciences. The construction of Reed College was begun on a sightly campus overlooking the city on the

[26] Research work, both scientific and sociological, is also an interesting departure from the former restricted conservatism of academies and colleges. Even the most advanced of the early pioneers of education in Oregon would be surprised no doubt to know that five important social surveys have recently been made by the University Extension Division, one of which, a study of rural life in Lane County, in co-operation with the Home Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church, attracted national attention, and another of which, a survey of mental defect, delinquency and dependency in Oregon, was the first of its kind ever made. Studies of the public schools in a typical semi-rural community, of child welfare work in Oregon and of the needs of seamen in the Port of Portland were also made. The student of the larger aspects of education, which are believed to have reached an exceptionally full fruition in this state, is referred to numerous exhaustive publications on the subject issued by the extension divisions of both the State University and the Agricultural College.

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southeast. Classes were opened in temporary quarters September 11, 1911, the corner stone of the first building was laid May 11, 1912, and the college began its first year in its own buildings September 12, 1912. Its first president was Dr. William Trufant Foster; its present president is Dr. Richard Frederick Scholz.

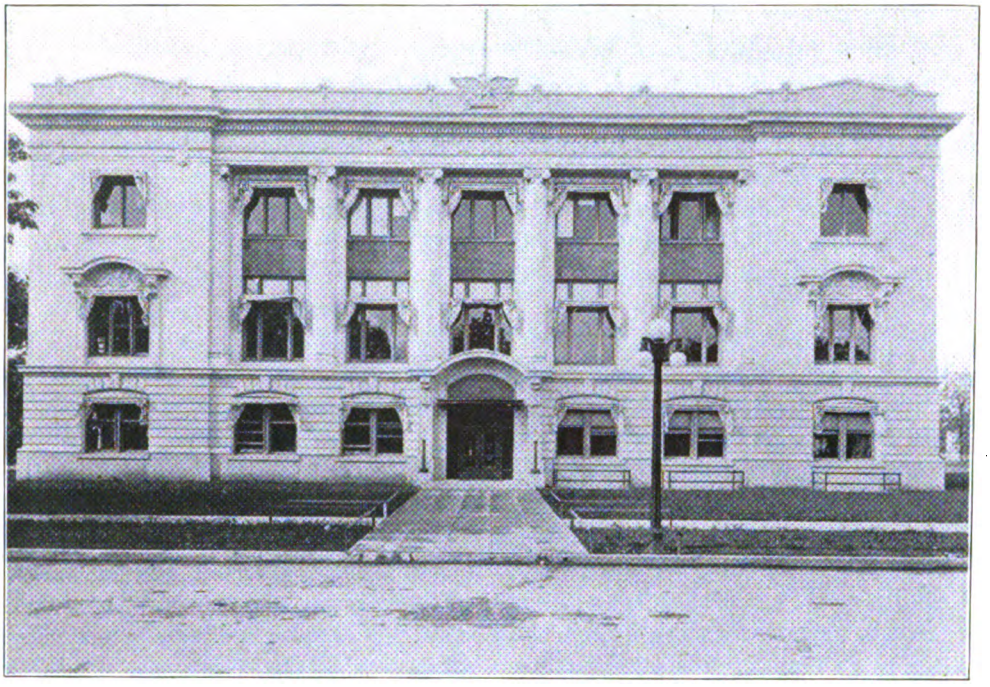
An educational function of particular interest has meanwhile also been performed by the Portland Museum of Art, a foundation created by the gifts of individual citizens of Portland. It has erected a fine building which now houses an important collection of oil paintings, examples of classic statuary in plaster, photographs of paintings from the great museums of the world and a library of art, in addition to which the institution maintains a school of art, with a three-year course and a system of prizes. The University of Oregon has also developed a noteworthy department which gives especial attention to architecture, painting, modeling and domestic arts.

A further phase of education has been the growth of libraries, of which the Oregon state library, like the state schools, has developed far beyond the conception of its originators.[27] Congress by the first law for the government of the territory (the enabling act of August 14, 1848), appropriated $5,000 for a library to be maintained at the seat of government. J. Quinn Thornton in his memorial to Congress had asked for an appropriation of double that amount to be expended in the purchase of a library to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, Legislature and officers. No restrictions were made as to the character of the books to be purchased, and these rapidly assumed a miscellaneous character, as is evidenced by the annual report and inventory published as an appendix to the legislative journals of 1852. The list includes "The Philosophy of Living," "Terrible Tractoration," "Goth's [*sic*] Faust," the "Works of Hannah More," "Hethergill's Sermons," "Edgeworth's Novels," "Locke's Essays," and "Dewes on Children." This library was destroyed by fire December 29, 1855, whereupon the Territorial Legislature addressed a memorial to Congress praying for an appropriation of $20,000 for a new library, but Congress granted only $500. The state government grew more generous as the value of the library as an instrument of popular education became better understood, however, and the state library has kept pace with the growth of public libraries elsewhere. An excellent law library is maintained, principally for use of the Supreme Court at Salem. The Legislature in 1919 revised the law for the creation and governing of public libraries, and introduced a far-seeing provision empowering counties and incorporated cities to establish libraries, or to contract with existing libraries, and to levy taxes for their support. Nine county libraries have been founded since this law became effective. There are now sixty-one public libraries in the state with facilities for the distribution of books, and there are only two towns of

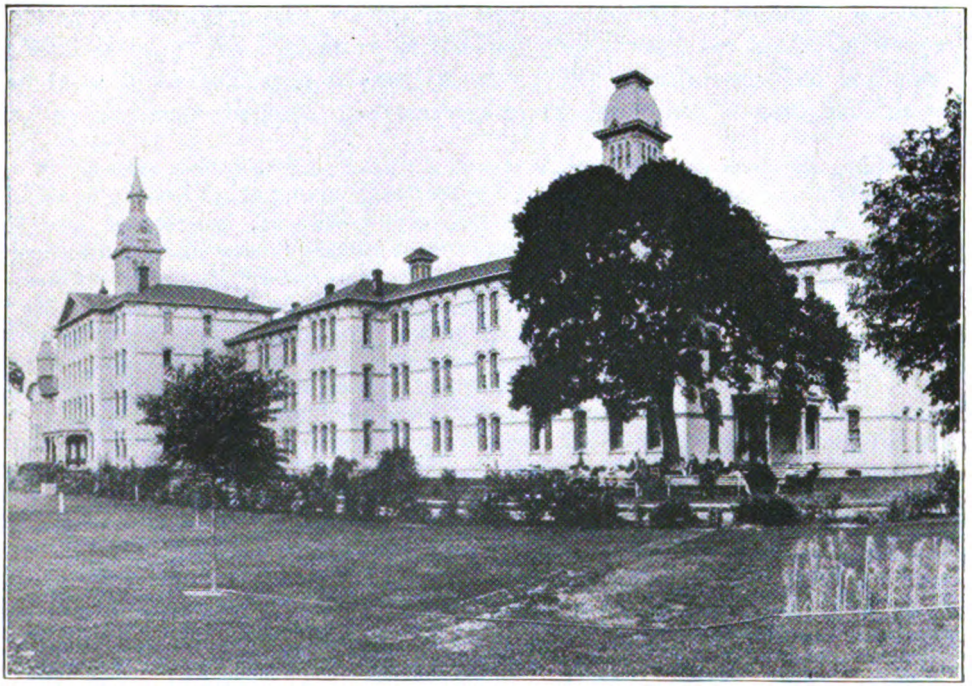
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[27] For Samuel R. Thurston's part in establishing the congressional library, see his diary in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 156. Thornton's Memorial is reprinted in Or. Pioneers Transactions, 1882, p. 51, and his explanations about this library at page 65. The second corporation authorized in Oregon was by Act of the House of Representatives of the Provisional Government, August 19, 1845, to incorporate Multnomah Circulating Library, at Willamette Falls. (Or. Acts and Laws, 1845, Phemister, p. 32. See Chapter XXVIII, supra.) Some of the Hudson's Bay Company officers, 1830-4, had contributed to a fund and had brought from England books and magazines which they sent from one of the company's posts to another. (T. C. Elliott, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 255.)

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SUPREME COURT AND STATE LIBRARY, SALEM



OREGON STATE HOSPITAL, SALEM

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more than 1,000 population which have no public library. The general acceptance of the system is shown by the demand on the state library for books for traveling libraries which are maintained at more than seven hundred stations throughout the state.[28] At Portland, the Multnomah Law Library was incorporated as a stock company by members of the bar in 1892; but of late years it has been partly supported by money received from litigants in the courts of Multnomah County. It is maintained at the county courthouse. In that city, also, is located the Portland Public Library, the largest library in the state, which was originally founded and was for a long time conducted as a voluntary association supported by membership dues.

The modern normal school, or institution for the especial training of teachers, also had its inception in Oregon in a relatively early time, a period corresponding, indeed, quite closely with the dawning of realization of the importance of the public school system. There was an interesting meeting of the teachers of the schools of Oregon, both public and denominational, at Portland December 28, 1858, at which the Oregon State Educational Association was organized. A noteworthy occurrence at this meeting was the presentation by the Right Rev. Thomas Fielding Scott, then Episcopal missionary bishop of Oregon and Washington, of a resolution which set forth among other things that "the efforts for establishing local and denominational colleges, instead of uniting our means and patronage for the organizing and supporting of one institution of ample university character, are deserving of grave consideration; and whether or not it were not judicious to consider the propriety of organizing all denominational colleges in connection with the State University." The resolution also declared that the "establishment of a normal school for the training of teachers is very sensible, and that such an institution might properly be established by the legislature as the first step toward the State University and from funds belonging to that object." The organization then perfected was the first state association of teachers in Oregon,[29] and it gave impetus to

[28] The total number of volumes in the Oregon State Library available for general circulation on October 21, 1920, was about 190,000. During the preceding year 45,836 volumes had been lent through the general loan and mail order department to individuals and groups of individuals without restrictions, in addition to loans made to local libraries and by various libraries to one another, to meet local requirements. The expansion of the functions of the public library is illustrated also by a number of new types of service. It acts in an advisory capacity and as a guide to readers and to study clubs and societies engaged in research, and in co-operation with public and private schools—a development of the first conceptions of public education which will be peculiarly interesting.

[29] The officers of the first state association of teachers were representative of various denominations, as well as of existing public schools. Bishop Scott was president; Bernard Cornelius, W. E. Barnard, J. D. Post, James H. Rogers and W. W. Parker, vice presidents; A. R. Shipley, treasurer; L. L. Terwilliger, recording secretary; C. S. Kingsley, corresponding secretary; C. H. Mattoon, G. H. Stebbins, G. C. Chandler, W. Carey Johnson and F. S. Hoyt, executive committee. The names of Bishop Scott and Bernard Cornelius in particular recall an early important enterprise in Oregon education. Bishop Scott appointed a committee in 1854 to obtain property for a school to be conducted by the Episcopal Church at Portland and a tract near Oswego was selected, where in 1856 Trinity School was opened and Bernard Cornelius was its principal. Trinity School was closed in 1865, but not until it had left a marked impression on the school life of the state and when Bishop Benjamin Wistar Morris succeeded Bishop Scott in 1869 he established a school for boys which he named, in recognition of his predecessor's eminent services to the cause of education, the Bishop Scott Grammar and Divinity School. This noteworthy institution received as its first donation a Lenten offering of a class of small boys at Ury, Pa. It was opened

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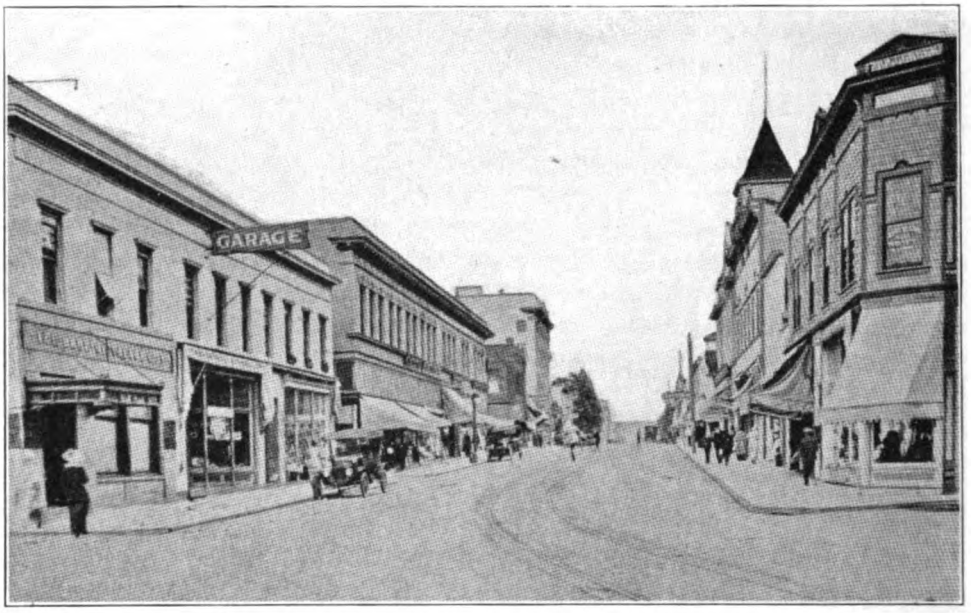
the creation of the existing normal school at Monmouth, originally Christian College, which became a state institution for the training of teachers in 1862. Other normal schools have been organized, particularly at Ashland and Weston, but the Monmouth school has survived them and is in a flourishing condition.

The history of the individual educational institutions of the state, and an account of the life work of the men and women of note who have carried on the campaign for better schools and of those who have unselfishly devoted themselves to giving instruction, imparting knowledge and inspiring a desire for study in the young, would well repay the labor of preparation. All that can be attempted here is an outline of the march of progress. Looking back over the stretch of years since the pioneer schools were established in primitive buildings and with little or no equipment either of books or other necessary articles for successful pedagogy, when pupils, young and old, had often to travel miles through bad roads or no roads at all, braving inclement weather and the danger of hostile savages, all for a few brief weeks of rude schooling,—the contrast with present conditions is the measure of the progress of the commonwealth itself. For as the communities have gained in numbers and in material wealth, as their comforts have increased and their opportunities have broadened, their schools and colleges have prospered and grown in strength and usefulness. It was James Russell Lowell who said in effect that in making education not only common to all but in some sense compulsory on all, the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled. So in Oregon. Education was made the very corner stone of the state, and the entire structure, with all of its majestic and upstanding importance, rests upon the principle established in the beginning that every possible facility would be furnished for a liberal and useful education. And who can doubt that if Oregon has gained in character and dignity of citizenship with the passing years this result is in great measure due to the schools and colleges.

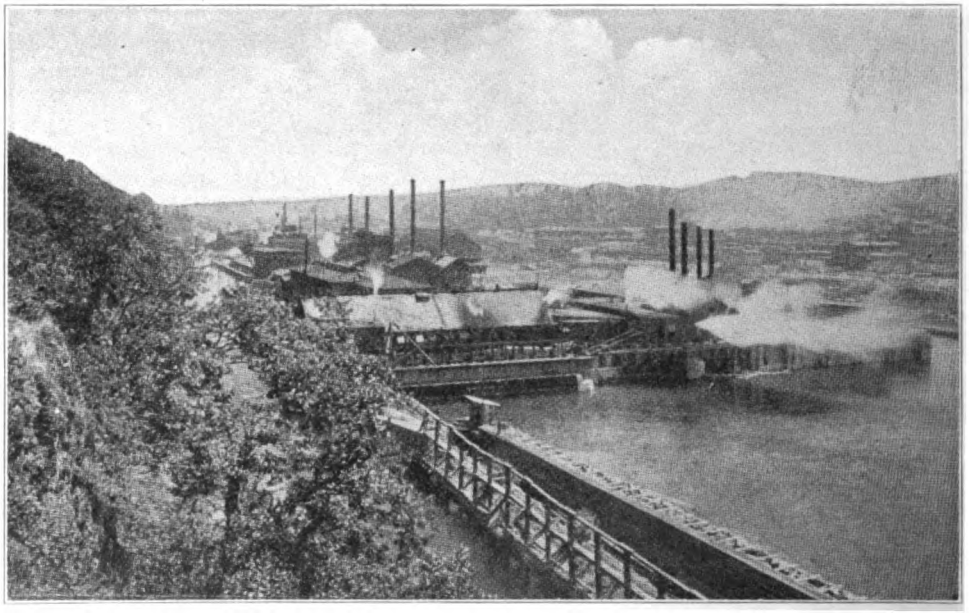
September 6, 1870, burned in 1877, rebuilt in 1879, and exercised an influence so salutary in the formative stage of the schools of Oregon that no history of education in the state would be complete without some mention of it. The Episcopal Church also established, in 1869, at Portland, a girls' school under the name of St. Helen's Hall, which has had a long and useful career. Another, Portland Academy, for boys and girls, was established by the generous co-operation of a number of public spirited citizens in 1889 under Dr. S. R. Johnson and Rev. Joseph Rogers Wilson. The Catholic schools of note at Portland include St. Mary's Academy, founded in 1859, St. Michael's College, in 1871, and St. Joseph's Parochial School for Boys, and also Columbia College.

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MAIN STREET, OREGON CITY



MANUFACTURING DISTRICT, OREGON CITY

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CHAPTER XXXIX

SOME TOWNS AND CITIES

"It would seem from this sorry catalogue," wrote Lieutenant Neil M. Howison, U. S. N., on the occasion of his official visit to Oregon about the time that the boundary issue was decided, "that Oregon cannot yet boast of her towns and cities. Even in these, however, her improvement has been great and rapid, and population comes into the capital faster than the gigantic fir trees, which have lately been its sole occupants, can be made to disappear."[1] A faithful picture is here given of the territory in 1846, at the very beginning of the period of development of towns and cities. The "capital" to which Howison alludes, is Oregon City—the pioneer urban community in all the Oregon Country, since the trading post at Fort Vancouver had never been intended for a city and Astoria was at this time, as Howison tells us, "in a state of transition, exhibiting the wretched remains of a bygone settlement, and the uncouth germ of a new one."[2] Oregon City contained some seventy houses and a population of nearly five hundred souls. Astoria had ten houses, including warehouse, indian lodges, a cooper's and blacksmith's shop, and a white population of about thirty.

Linnton, which then was an ambitious rival of Portland, stood not far from the mouth of the Willamette, on its western shore; a promising situation then because its founders were men of initiative and resource for their time, who had opened a road from their townsite to the Tuality [Tualatin] valley beyond the intervening ridge of hills, but its few inhabitants, notwithstanding their hopes, were "very poor and severely persecuted by mosquitoes day and night." Eight or nine miles above Linnton, Howison says he came "to a more promising appearance of a town," which had been named Portland, whose proprietor had devoted his capital after the fashion of the period to "opening wagon roads (assisted by neighboring farmers) into the Tuality Plains."[3] Twelve or fifteen new houses were then occupied and more were building; and "with a population of more than sixty souls, the heads of families generally industrious merchants," its prospects of increase were generally favorable. Just below Oregon City was Multnomah City, and also Clackamas City, and "a sixth spot dignified with the name of town is Salem, of which," says Howison, "too little exists to be worthy of any attempt at description."[4] There

[1] Report of Neil M. Howison, U. S. N., House Misc. Doc., No. 29, Thirtieth Cong., first session, p. 24.

[2] Id., p. 24.

[3] The road was on the route of the present Jefferson Street and Canyon Road. As early as August, 1845, Charles McKay, Robert Poe and John Flett had been appointed commissioners by Act of the House of Representatives of the Provisional Government to lay out and open a road thirty feet wide from Tuality to Sauvie's Island. (Acts, p. 17.) The road built pursuant to this Act reached the Willamette at Linnton, which was opposite the head of Sauvie's Island, and not at the site of the Linnton of the present time.

[4] Id., p. 25.

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were no other towns and few even of those agglomerations of buildings which in a new country are wont to pass loosely by the name of settlements.

Yet, upon the determination of the northern boundary and a definite political status for the whole region, a movement which amounted to almost a passion for town-building set in. Within five years the number of ambitious and striving, or rather struggling, communities had greatly increased. Oregon City had grown to about a thousand inhabitants. Milwaukie, laid off on a claim of Lot Whitcomb, had five hundred people and was a rival of both Oregon City and Portland. St. Helens, already big with plans for the construction of a railroad, was scheming for control of water transportation, too. Milton, on Scappoose Bay, not far from St. Helens, had been founded by Captains Nathaniel Crosby and Thomas H. Smith, and a number of doughty seafaring men, catching the enthusiasm of the hour, had invested considerable sums from their hard-earned savings in town lots. But their lots were inundated by a freshet and this put an end to the embryo city's hopes. No one foolishly believed, it seems, that so many cities as had then been platted were required for a population of a few thousand in the entire territory, but each group of town-builders had faith, and courage, and even confidence, that its particular venture would outstrip all the rest.

The historical distinction of being the oldest settlement in the Oregon Country was, naturally, retained by Astoria, but this pioneer community, with its sentimental associations extending to the very beginning of the era of fur trade and exploration, struggled against odds in adjusting itself to the trend of events. Nothing was more characteristic of the transition from the old order to the new than the desire of the settlers to find expression in the building of towns, which were not exclusively commercial in their aims, but also embodied rather definite social and cultural aspirations. If rivalries were engendered which were occasionally provocative of some bitterness, these had the effect on the whole of stimulating the builders to greater endeavor. Astoria deserves particular mention in this connection because it was first of the settlements to develop local animosities, since happily forgotten, and therefore first to serve as an object lesson in the futility of civic strife. There were two Astorias in the period with which we are now dealing, neither of which had learned that cooperation was desirable, if not essential to success. We have seen in previous chapters how the foundation of the town was laid with no thought that it would ever become a city, since conditions which the fur-trader fostered were unfavorable to urban, or even rural, growth in the territory. When immigration by land set in, the interior of the country was settled first, but Astoria retained a certain prestige because of its situation at the entrance to the Columbia River, and its people very early aspired to making their city the metropolis of the new territory. But the intensely individualistic nature of the pioneers, which had been manifested on many occasions, notably during their long journeys across the plains, here asserted itself again and operated at first against union of effort in a time when much might have been gained by mutual concessions. The experience of the new settlers of Astoria, although extreme, was typical. It illustrates the constant operation of conflicting forces which marked the new epoch, it explains many civic contentions which led to creation of many towns in a region economically able to sustain only a few; but it also gave play to a spirit of emulation, also essentially American, in which the town-builders

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MAIN STREET, SHEDD



MAIN STREET, LEBANON

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are seen at their best. The remarkable contrast between the Astoria of almost three-quarters of a century ago and that of the present is apparent from an account of conditions in that now-thriving city in a very early time.

From an address of Judge William Strong delivered in 1878 before the Oregon Pioneer Association [5] we have a picture of Astoria as it appeared to him August 14, 1850, when he first reached the Columbia River with his family after a long voyage around the Horn. He said: "When Astoria was pointed out as we rounded the point below, I confess to a feeling of disappointment. Astoria, the oldest and most famous town in Oregon. We had expected to find a larger place. We saw before us a straggling hamlet consisting of a dozen or so small houses, irregularly planted along the river bank, shut in by the dense forest. We became reconciled and indeed, somewhat elevated in our feelings when we visited the shore, and by its enterprising proprietors were shown the beauties of the place. There were avenues and streets, squares and public parks, wharves and warehouses, churches, schools and theaters, and an immense population—all upon the map. Those proprietors were men of large ideas, large hopes. They assured us that in no short time Astoria was to become the commercial metropolis of the Pacific coast. Some of those proprietors have passed away and gone where they are beyond the reach of hope or fear. Some remain, and though their eyes sparkle and brighten when they talk of the future grandeur of Astoria, they manifest a slight feeling of sadness and drop the subject with the remark: This may not be in our day, but it will surely come. You and I may not see it, but our children will. Astoria at that time was a small place, or rather, two places—the upper and lower town between which there was great rivalry. They were about a mile apart, with no road connecting them except by water and along the beach. The upper town was known to the people of lower Astoria as 'Adairville.' The lower town was designated by its rival as 'Old Fort George,' or 'McClure's Astoria.' A road between the two places would have weakened the differences of both, isolation being the protection of either. In the upper town was the customs house, in the lower two companies of the First U. S. Engineers under command of Major J. S. Hathaway. There were not, excepting the military and those attached to them and the customs house officials, to the best of my recollection, to exceed 25 men in both towns." After many disappointments and discouragements, with more than a fair share of the hope deferred that maketh the heart sick, the self-reliance of the residents of the city asserted itself. The feeling that the facilities for commerce if once provided would stimulate trade has been the mainspring of civic enterprise that has led to the creation in recent years of ample docks, elevators, terminals, a sea wall and well paved streets and excellent public buildings.[6]

[5] Transactions, 1878, p. 19.

[6] The Oregon Spectator of December 13, 1849, contains a review of urban development up to that time. Portland was "a place of general and active trade. Vessels usually discharge their cargoes at this point. In addition," said the writer, "we have been informed that a steam sawmill will soon be in operation there." Lexington, now called Warrenton, on Clatsop Plain, was then the county seat of Clatsop County. In contrast with the social philosophy of the present, which regards agriculture as the foundation of a sound economic structure, the Spectator observes that "the prosperity of the villages and towns of a country is the surest indication of the general prosperity of the country." Of Milwaukie it was noted: "It may be said to be the head of ship navigation on the Willamette. We are assured that any vessel that can come into the river at all can come up to Milwaukie.

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The story of the manner in which one city after another came into being furnishes a mirror of the period in which these events occurred. A curious mingling of motives is observable. The spirit of the missionaries, and especially the desire of the new settlers to obtain the facilities of education for their children, are revealed by the circumstance that when town-building had assumed the proportions of a boom—and even before that—it was proposed by a number of devoutly religious and sincerely altruistic citizens to capitalize this speculative spirit in the interest of church and school. The early history of Salem affords an interesting and romantic example of this. When the immigration of 1845, which was much larger than any which preceded it, brought a new problem of provision for the education of the children of white settlers, the trustees of the Oregon Institute conceived the idea of laying off a town and realizing a fund from the sale of lots, to be devoted to this purpose. This was done in 1846, at which time there was only one building within the limits of the Salem survey,— the residence of Rev. L. H. Judson. There being no law for holding in the name of the Institute the townsite property thus sought to be acquired, various members of the Methodist body, by agreement, altered or extended the lines of their own claims so as to protect the school. Judson in this manner surrendered 320 acres, Rev. David Leslie about 200, H. B. Brewer about 80, and W. H. Willson about 40. A little later Willson was designated in a contract with the trustees of the Institute to take over the entire claim as his own, it being intended that when he perfected title in accordance with the land laws he should surrender to the Institute all except one-third, retaining the latter fractional part for his own services. After the survey of 1846 a few lots were sold, which were paid for in wheat, and in due time the question of selecting a name arose. The indian name was "Chemeketa," freely translated as "place of rest," and this was proposed by Rev. Mr. Parrish as a name for the new settlement. But Willson pointed out that by a happy coincidence there was also a Biblical word meaning nearly the same thing, "Salem" or "Sholum"—a "city of peace"[7]—which was then decided upon. But the missionary influence diminished somewhat with continued accessions of new and sometimes irreverent and ungodly elements to the population, so that in the summer of 1853 the subject of changing the name was seriously agitated.

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* * * But this is not the only thing which recommends this place to public notice. In the rapid improvement it is making, we have evidence that its citizens possess the right kind of go-ahead American energy to guarantee its prosperity. The erection of a new building is a matter of very frequent occurrence, and gives assurance of an active, busy population. Four sawmills and one gristmill are or soon will be in active operation." Falls City, a new town just laid out by Job Hedges, Esquire, on the east side of the Willamette River, immediately above the falls and adjoining Oregon City, was the terminus of river transportation from above, and the promise was held out that "a lot will be cheerfully donated to any Christian denomination that may wish to erect a house of worship" there. Linn City was opposite Oregon City. Syracuse, on the south side of the Santiam in Linn County, Milton Hale, Esquire, proprietor, was advertised as the head of navigation on the Santiam. Lafayette City was the "shire town" of Yamhill County. Between the falls of the Willamette and the mouth of the Clackamas were Oregon City, Green Point, Clackamas City and Multnomah City, all with a combined population of some 1,200. "There are doubtless," said the Spectator, "other paper towns in this valley."

[7] See Eadie, Biblical Cyclopedia, p. 564. It is doubtful whether the name Chemeketa had this signification. The name seems to have been derived from one of the Calapooyan bands of indians so-called. (Handbook of Am. Ind., p. 243, Amer. Bur. Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part I.)

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CITY HALL AND STREET SCENE, CORVALLIS



MAIN STREET, CORVALLIS

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"Chemeketa," "Woronoco," and "Multnomah," among others, were proposed. Petitions asking that the change be made were circulated for presentation to the Legislature, and received a considerable number of signatures.

In the proceedings of the Fifth Territorial Legislature which met in December, 1853, it appears that, December 19, 1853, Mr. Colby presented the petition of R. C. Geer and others praying that the name of Salem be changed to "Thurston" or "Valena."[8] On the same day Mr. Humason submitted the petition of Chester N. Terry and others to change the name to "Corvallis" and a resolution was also introduced in the council to change the name of Marysville to Corvallis, of which more will be said in another paragraph. The rather spirited contest which ensued resulted in giving the name Corvallis to the city which now bears it. This act was passed December 20, 1853. The various Salem petitions had been referred to a select committee of the council, which submitted a report, December 21, 1853, recommending that the name be changed to "Chemawa." Action on the report was delayed until January 13, 1854, when two other amendments were offered, "Willamette" and "Bronson" being suggested, the latter without much seriousness, but ostensibly in honor of a respected pioneer resident. The name "Chemawa" was adopted by the council and the bill went to the house for concurrence, being called up January 17, 1854. The debate seems to have been the occasion of a good deal of merriment and persiflage. Mr. Simpson moved to substitute "Valena" for "Chemawa." Mr. Scott raised a laugh by moving to amend the amendment by striking out "Valena" and inserting "Pike," and insisted on a vote. On motion of Mr. Kelly "Chemawa" was changed to "Chemawah," whereupon upon motion of Mr. Simpson "Chemawah" was stricken out and "Victoria" inserted. The House's prankish mood having by this time exhausted itself, the bill was considered with due gravity and indefinitely postponed, and the name Salem has been retained without questioning to the present day.[9]

Motives that actuated the founders of Salem were conspicuous in the beginnings of other towns in the Willamette Valley. Forest Grove grew up on the site of a land claim originally located by Solomon Emerick, later a resident of the village of Cornelius, who sold his holdings to one Cary for a consideration said to have been a merchandise order on the Hudson's Bay Company for six dollars and the land passed from the possession of Cary to that of Rev. Harvey Clark, whose name has been mentioned in these pages in earlier history as a devoted independent missionary and in later annals as a self-sacrificing and far-seeing leader in education, and who gave liberally of his lands and other substance to the founding of the school which has since developed into Pacific University. Something of the same spirit was caught by William T. Newby, who settled in 1844 on a homestead on the present site of McMinnville, where he built a mill in 1853, laid out a town in 1855, which he named for his former home, McMinnville, Tenn., and made a large donation of land for the endowment of McMinnville College, with the announced purpose of supplying children with the materials of a liberal culture without the necessity of traveling far from home. Monmouth, named for Monmouth, Ill., and largely settled by members of the Christian Church, was laid off in 1855, also with the primary

[8] Valena was the given name of a young daughter of J. W. Nesmith, afterward Mrs. William H. Molson.

[9] See Journals of the House and Council, Fifth Territorial Legislature, 1853-4, passim.

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motive of founding a denominational college with the proceeds of the sale of lots. Bethel in Polk County, similarly begun, gives testimony by its name to the religious spirit of the time. Amity bears witness of the resolution of another group of peace-loving citizens to foster neighborly good feeling. In the town names of such places as Sublimity, which was named by its United Brethren founders in tribute to the scenic grandeur of its surroundings, and Philomath, to which place they subsequently removed, are visible still other evidences of the striving of the very earliest settlers for higher things. A number of these settlements, however, never attained the stature of cities, and can hardly be called towns.

The single communist experiment which is associated with the early growth of neighborhood settlements in Oregon is recalled by the name of Aurora, which was established in 1856 on French Prairie, near the Pudding River, as the result of a noteworthy movement which brought to Oregon upwards of five hundred of its most industrious and thrifty settlers. This colony, which crossed the plains from Bethel, Mo., settled at first on the shores of Willapa Harbor, in Washington Territory, but soon abandoned that location because of its lack of communication with the outside world, and settled in Marion County instead. It prospered under the management of a strong leader, Dr. William Keil, but gradually disintegrated, as idealistic enterprises are wont to do in similar circumstances, upon the death of the founder.[10]

The names of these early towns were apt to be changed whenever they proved on trial to be unsatisfactory, efforts in that direction usually not encountering such opposition as was met at Salem. Thus, Dallas, originally Cynthia Ann, not only changed its name but moved its townsite also. First situated on the highlands on La Creole opposite its present location, where it was settled in 1852, it found the existing water supply insufficient for an ambitious town and moved bodily a distance of a mile or so, in 1856. The county in which it was the principal settlement having been named for President Polk, it seemed only fair that the town should bear the name of Vice President Dallas. Marysville, first located in 1846 by Joseph C. Avery of Pennsylvania and laid out as a town by Avery in 1848, was called after Mary's River, which had been previously named in honor of Mary Lloyd, who was believed to have been the first white woman to step across that stream. But Marysville, Cal., rapidly outstripping Marysville, Ore., in popular fame after gold was discovered in

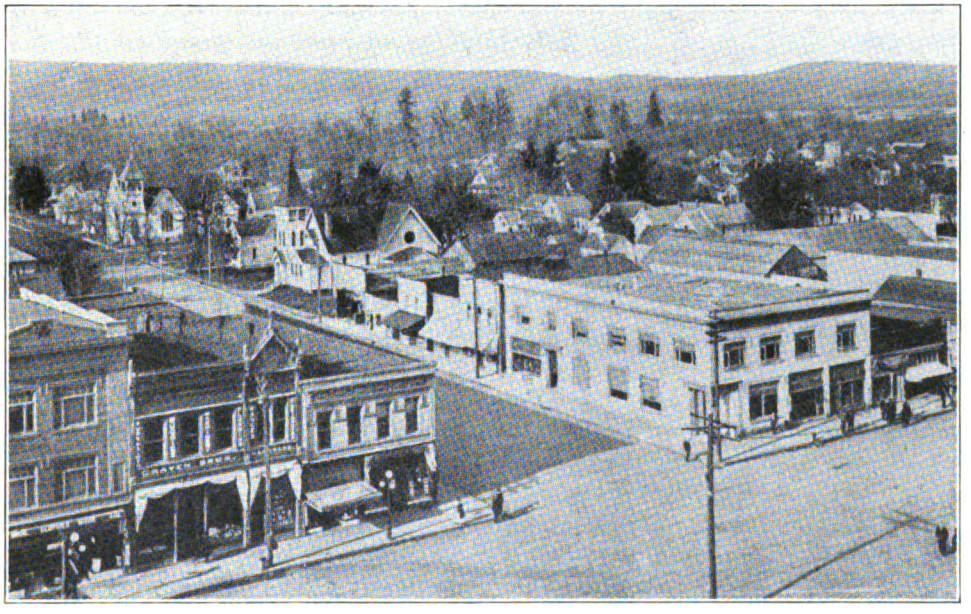
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[10] The Aurora colony was remarkable in many ways, and its leader a man of unusual individuality and character. Having become imbued with the communistic idea through his early associations in Prussia, where he was born, he saw in America a field of opportunity and initiated his experiment in Bethel, Missouri, whence he sent scouts in 1853 to the Pacific Coast. As a result four parties came West in 1855, two traveling by ox-teams across the plains with the property of the community and two coming by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Doctor Keil himself chose the site of Aurora in 1856 and named it for his third daughter. The prosperity of the colony under his management is indicated by the circumstance that, although the original Aurora site was purchased by Doctor Keil for $1,000, the communal property had so increased in value by 1870, when the colony had a population of 320, that the portion lying in Marion County was assessed at $80,000, and further holdings in Clackamas County were assessed at $40,000. Dr. Martin Giesy, a member of the Aurora party which crossed the plains in 1855, attributes the final failure of the venture to the rule that "with the next generation questions arise that the first cannot settle." (Consult H. S. Lyman, The Aurora Community, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, pp. 78 et seq.)

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POLK COUNTY COURTHOUSE, DALLAS



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF DALLAS

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the former state, a great deal of confusion resulted and mail intended for Marysville, Ore., often went astray, so that the name Corvallis, a Latin compound of Avery's own making, intended to mean "heart of the valley," was bestowed upon it by the Legislature in December, 1853, as has been noted. Becoming in 1864 the site of a school conducted under the auspices of the Methodist Church, South, which subsequently surrendered its denominational claims in order that the college might be developed into a seat of agricultural and industrial instruction under the patronage of the United States Government as well as of the state, Corvallis entered the list of Oregon communities noted for their influence in education.

Albany was named Takenah by its founders, who adopted the pleasant sounding word employed by the indians to describe the large pool or depression created by the Calapooya River as it enters the Willamette; but the habit that certain irreverent old-timers had of freely translating this a "hole in the ground" made it seem unsuitable to the purposes of the city-builders, and on petition of the citizens the Legislature in January, 1855, changed the name to Albany, chosen by Thomas Montieth, an early settler, who formerly had lived in Albany, N. Y. The history of Southern Oregon towns also is replete with examples of similar changes, more especially since the mining era, which induced the first settlement of that region, brought a shifting population that evinced little veneration for the traditions of the past.[11]

Lafayette was named by Joel Perkins, owner of the original land claim and a former resident of Lafayette, Indiana. Dayton was settled in the winter of 1848-9 by Joel Palmer and Andrew Smith and named for Dayton, Ohio, the former home of Smith; Independence was founded by E. A. Tharp, a public-spirited citizen, who chose the name in honor of Independence, Missouri. Ashland took the names of two other Ashlands—one in Ohio which was the former home of the builder of the Ashland Mills, after which the town was designated, and the Ashland in Kentucky, which was the home of Henry Clay—many of the early settlers in that neighborhood being whigs. The history of Lafayette incidentally recalls a minor tragedy in town development. This pioneer settlement was laid off in town lots in 1847, and was formally surveyed in 1848; it had a dozen houses early in 1849; and as it grew in physical proportions it was for a time still more important as the home of culture, the seat of the pioneer Lafayette Academy and the occasional gathering place of important citizens. It was the county seat of Yamhill County when the county possessed relatively large political power; it obtained in 1859 a $15,000 courthouse, which was an event worth mentioning in that period of economy in public expenditures, and in 1877 a $7,000 jail, which was an even more important occurrence in its time; but fortune ceased to smile when railroad building began and the town was not included in the builders' plans. The crowning civic calamity for Lafayette was the removal of the county seat to McMinnville in 1887.

Eugene, first called Eugene City, and Hillsboro were named for their pioneer settlers—Eugene for Eugene F. Skinner, who located a land claim on a site which included Skinner's Butte, overlooking the present city, and Hillsboro for David Hill, a pioneer of 1842, who settled on the site in 1847. Hill

[11] Waldo, for illustration, which was the original county seat of Josephine County, was first called Sailor Diggings, from the circumstance of a party of seafaring men having found rich placers there. Phoenix, a one-time rival of Jacksonville, was previously Gasburg.

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at first called his place Columbus, which was converted into Hillsborough by common agreement of the neighborhood when Hill became postmaster,[12] and the name became Hillsboro in due course of time.

Settlement of Southern Oregon was delayed, as has appeared, by the warlike character of the indians who inhabited the region, and was alternately interrupted by indian outbreaks and accelerated by the discovery of gold, the latter event attracting large numbers of daring and adventurous individuals who were quite willing to brave dangers for the sake of wealth. Scottsburg, settled by Levi Scott, who was conspicuous in the early annals of the country as trail builder for other immigrants, was founded in 1850 and became the seat of government of Umpqua County prior to the absorption of that county by Douglas. Scottsburg succumbed eventually to the superior advantages of Crescent City, Cal., as a seaport and to changes in the common route of travel which took place when the country became better known. Winchester was laid out by Addison C. Flint in 1850. Each of these towns had an important place in pioneer history. Roseburg, another pioneer town of Southern Oregon, better favored by subsequent events and especially by its location on the main line of the railroad from the Columbia River to California, was settled in September, 1851, by Aaron Rose, whose name it still bears. Roseburg soon outranked Winchester in importance, but Winchester in its time was a busy settlement, being the first county seat of Douglas County. When Roseburg became the county seat most of the citizens of Winchester moved over to the new town. Of Winchester hardly a trace now remains.

The events of particular historical interest in Southern Oregon, however, were the discovery of gold on Jackson Creek in December, 1851, or January, 1852, by two prospectors, James Cluggage and John R. Pool, and the ensuing stampede to the region. This resulted in the founding of the town of Jacksonville and the establishment of a rough-and-ready system of government based on the experience of the first miners in California which was well calculated to meet the immediate necessities of frontier justice in a territory yet imperfectly organized. Here for a time law was administered by judges elected by popular vote and known by the Spanish term, alcaldes. One of them was called upon to try a case in which a miner, who had been unable because of illness to comply with the conditions necessary to holding title to his mining claim, charged that his partner had taken an advantage of his distress and had selfishly seized the property. The alcalde rendered a decision adverse to the plaintiff, which ruling was so unpopular in the community that a public meeting was held at which a supreme alcalde was elected, before whom as a kind of court of appeals the case was retried and the complaining partner was reinstated by a decision in which in all probability the essential equities were preserved. Thus, it seems, popular opinion was given expression in judicial pronouncements then as now. The case was conducted for the respective litigants by P. P. Prim and Orange Jacobs, who subsequently attained eminence in their profession.[13] Jacksonville became also the home of the first newspaper in Southern Oregon, the Table Rock Sentinel, established November 24, 1855, by W. G. T'Vault, a

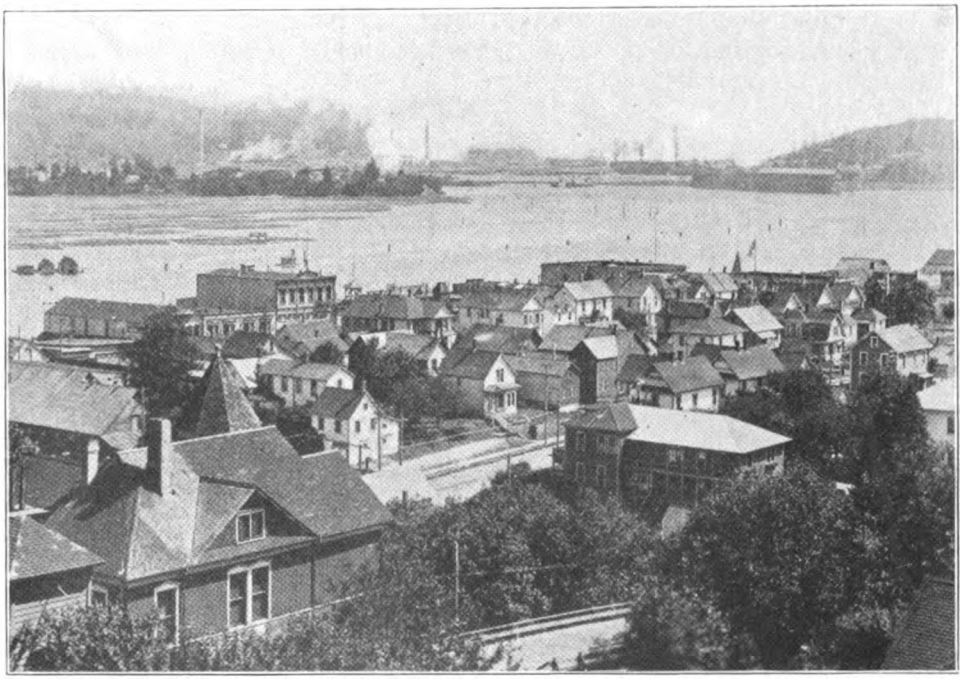
[12] The name Columbus appears frequently in the early newspapers. For example, see Oregon Spectator, January 10, 1847.

[13] Prim was later circuit judge and for one term chief justice of the Oregon Supreme Court. Jacobs later removed to Washington Territory, where he became chief justice of the Supreme Court.

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BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BAKER



MARSHFIELD FROM WIRELESS HILL

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pioneer journalist of the Willamette Valley. With the wealth accumulated from its own diggings, since it was situated near a rich mining region, and with its advantages as a trading station on the way to California, the city acquired a position of eminence in the political and commercial affairs of the territory and state. Later, the railroad having missed it by six miles, it gradually lost prestige and saw its rival, Medford, become the railroad metropolis of the section. It is now reached by a branch railroad line.

In the vast region east of the Cascades, physical conditions and the indian troubles that continued far into the decade of the sixties, combined to produce a peculiar situation, so that a need for local government preceded the creation of towns. Wasco County, when it was organized by act of the Territorial Legislature, January 11, 1854,[14] comprised all of the territory east of the Cascades and south of the Columbia River. It had as its county seat Dalles City, afterward called The Dalles; the only settlement in that spacious territory, a place that had grown up around the mission established by Daniel Lee, nephew of Jason Lee. This place had been utilized as a military post during the indian wars, and around it had clustered a group of stores developed by sutlers trading in the wake of the army, and merchants who followed the opening of the route to the mines in Eastern Oregon, Idaho and Northeastern Washington territory.[15] Baker County was cut out of Wasco. In 1862 the inhabitants of the mining camp then called Union Flat organized an election board and voted for state officers, sending the returns to the state capital as from "Baker County," which had no legal existence at that time; but while the ballots were not canvassed at Salem, it was partly as the result of this that Baker County was created by act of the Legislature, September 22, 1862,[16] when the then thriving camp of Auburn, some nine miles from the present city of Baker, became the county seat. Here, however, prior to the

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[14] Special Laws of Oregon, 1853-4, p. 26.

[15] The townsite of The Dalles was involved in litigation during many years. Under the name Wascopum a Methodist mission was begun there in 1838 under Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H. W. K. Perkins. In 1844, they left for the East, and were succeeded by Rev. A. F. Waller. In 1847 the mission was transferred to Dr. Marcus Whitman in consideration of $600, and his nephew, Perrin B. Whitman, was placed in charge. Doctor Whitman was murdered at Waiilatpu, November 29, 1847, and the mission was abandoned because of the indian hostilities, but the American Board retransferred the property to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The latter subsequently asserted title, made surveys and, after much litigation in the Department, obtained a patent. In the meantime a military reservation had occupied a part of the site, and for this and for mission property destroyed the Government paid to the Society $24,000 damages. Walter D. Bigelow took up a donation claim of 320 acres and cultivated it until 1860. In 1852 a town was in existence on part of the land formerly claimed by the Methodist Mission, and this town, under directions of Wasco County, was surveyed and laid out in lots, blocks and streets; the town was incorporated as Dalles City in 1857, and subsequently entered at the United States Land Office at Oregon City a townsite claim under the Townsite Act of May 23, 1844, in trust for the occupants. Suits brought by various plaintiffs resulted ultimately in holding that the Missionary Society had no title, and the title of various claimants was settled, whereupon the Missionary Society refunded some $23,000 to persons who had made payments in settlement of titles to lots. The name Dalles City was afterward changed to The Dalles. (For a review of this litigation, see The Methodist Mission Claim to The Dalles Townsite, by Mrs. R. S. Shackelford, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVI, p. 24, and the court records referred to therein.)

[16] Laws of Oregon, 1862, p. 112. Union Flats, now Union, is the present county seat of Union County. It was called Unionville for a time.

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organization of the new county, two miners had been poisoned and suspicion had falled on a third, who was detained by his neighbors in camp. Being tried before an extemporaneous judge and jury, he was found guilty and executed on the spot in order to save the citizens the trouble and expense of conveying him to Dalles City, 250 miles away, for trial. In this general locality also flourished in the decade of the '60s the town of Pocahontas, which received ten votes in the contest for the state capital in 1864, but which is now only a memory.

Weston, which was originally intended to have been called Westen, for no particular reason except the orthographical eccentricity of its founders, was inadvertently, though correctly, spelled Weston in a petition for the establishment of a post office there, and was formally christened at a public meeting at which the names "Prineville," "Sparta" and "McMinnville" were also proposed, "Westen" receiving more votes than all the others combined. The mention of Prineville in this connection is a reminder of the early popularity of Barney Prine, an old-time blacksmith, freighter and cattle ranchman, who settled soon afterwards, in 1868, on a ranch on which in 1871 another townsite was laid out and named Prineville, which became the county seat of Crook County when that county was created in 1882. Prineville was surveyed as a townsite at the instance of Monroe Hedges, who built a hotel there to accommodate wayfaring cattlemen. Barney Prine had a blacksmith shop there for several years and was one of the best known members of his craft in all Central and Eastern Oregon.

When Umatilla County was organized by the Legislature September 27, 1862, there was not a town within its limits, so the seat of government for a time reposed at a place then called Umatilla Landing and, somewhat later, Umatilla City. As the result of general dissatisfaction with this location, the Legislature enacted a law which was peculiar in the respect that it directed that the people of the county should declare, at the next general election, their choice between "the present location * * * and Upper Umatilla, somewhere between the mouths of Wild Horse and Birch creeks,"[17] the vagueness of the latter designation being natural enough, since in the prospective county seat town there were but two buildings, a farm residence and a shed. The voters, as was expected of them, chose the new location and a committee was appointed in accordance with the law to make a more particular designation and to select a name, the choice falling on Pendleton, as a tribute to George H. Pendleton, nominee for vice president as the running mate of George B. McClellan in 1864, Pendleton's anti-war views being shared without reservation by the predominant faction in the locality.[18] Umatilla and Wallula were the places at

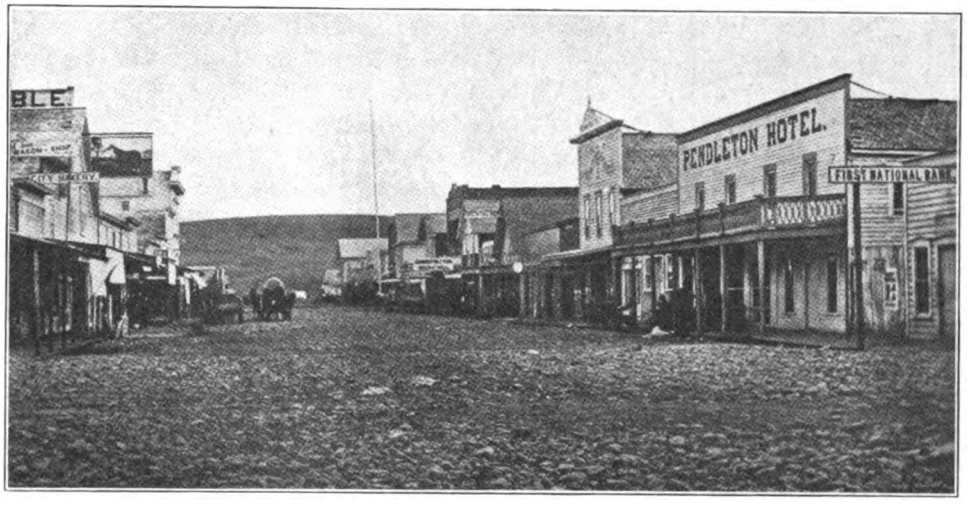
[17] Laws of Oregon, 1868, p. 59.

[18] Early attempts to force the growth of towns east of the Cascades were less successful than those in the Willamette Valley, as the experience of the first settlers of the original "temporary" county seat of Umatilla shows. The first county seat was located "at or near the Umatilla River, opposite the mouth of the Houtamia or McKay Creek," at what is known as Marshal's Station. Later a town was laid out on the Columbia below the mouth of Powder River and called Grande Ronde Landing, afterward Umatilla Landing, or Umatilla City. This was still later changed by vote of the citizens to Middleton, but it was impossible to make the place a city, though it became the county seat in March, 1865, and so remained until the election of 1868 to which reference has been made. Dependent as it was on the fickle fortunes of the mines, it had practically vanished when the removal of the county records to Pendleton sealed its fate. The house and shed "somewhere between

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JUNCTION CITY



EARLY VIEW OF MAIN STREET, PENDLETON

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the head of navigation on the Columbia River, where on alternate days stages met steamboats from Portland, in 1866. The stages operated as far as LaGrande and Uniontown, at which latter place another stage line connected, and operated thence to Boise City, Placerville and Idaho City, and there again connected with stages for Holladay's overland line.

The frontier made its last struggle for survival in Eastern Oregon, for reasons which have been suggested and in connection with which the physical aspect of the country played a large part. Here city-building was delayed until the last of all. The now-thriving town of Burns in that region was nevertheless named for a poet, and is perhaps the only city so distinguished in all the Oregon Country. Here the pioneer residents, who were herdsmen on a magnificent scale, were disinclined not only to town-building but to settlement of any kind. As recently as 1880, a homeseeker in the region found a vast area without domestic improvement, with hay uncut, horses and cattle caring for themselves but prospering in neglect. "The further we penetrated," he wrote, "the larger things grew, reaching a climax in Harney Valley, where we arrived safely in May, 1882. It was a country of magnificent distances, in which the bigness of everything impressed all first comers. Our first act was to prepare a petition for the creation of a post office. A cowboy with a good horse undertook the job of circulating it. To our great surprise he returned the petition next day, freely signed. He said his horse was a 'wonderful critter' and we believed him. We did not then know that he had signed most of the names himself. However, no objection was ever made; and so the petition was forwarded and duly approved by the authorities at Washington. I was appointed postmaster and requested to select a name for the office—one as short as possible and not conflicting with any other names in the state. What name would more readily occur to a Scotchman than that of Burns? Here in the Harney Valley was nature uncontaminated by art, and the subjects of Burns' lays, herds, cattle, sheep, birds and beasts, all around and about me. Joaquin Miller declared I was the first man to name a town after a poet."[19]

It is difficult to determine with precision the point from which Portland began to forge ahead of other cities in fulfillment of its destiny to become the metropolis of Oregon. Nevertheless it seems to have been recognized in a very early day that the site located by Overton and Lovejoy and first improved by Lovejoy and Pettygrove, possessed natural advantages in being situated very near the head of river navigation for deep sea vessels and also in having comparatively easy communication with the interior. "The situation of Portland," said the British officers Warre and Vavasour in 1845, "is superior to that of Linnton and the back country of easier access."[20] One of the real reasons for Portland's early leadership was stated by Capt. John

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the mouths of Wild Horse and Birch creeks" were occupied respectively by Judge W. J. Bailey as a residence and by M. M. Goodwin, owner of the land claim on which it stood as a place of casual entertainment for wayfarers. Judge Bailey ordered the county officers to remove the records to Pendleton and rented his residence to the county for a courthouse, reserving the cellar for a jail. Umatilla City sued to compel the officials to return, and won a preliminary round in court, on the contention that the "somewhere" clause in the law was not definite. The final decision, however, was in Pendleton's favor. (Portland City Directory, 1866. F. T. Gilbert, Historical Sketches, p. 458.)

[19] George McGowan, Burns History, Mss., Or. Hist. Soc.

[20] Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. X, p. 77.

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H. Couch in the winter of 1846 to be that "the best water on the lower Willamette was opposite the Overton claim for shipping."[21] Water transportation, and the means of reaching the tributary farming regions, were matters of primary concern, and the opinion of so practical a man of affairs as this New England mariner and merchant carried more than ordinary weight. Hall J. Kelley, indeed, had exhibited a certain appreciation of the same values when he projected his townsite at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette rivers, though he was some years in advance of his time. Kelley's location as it proved, was ill-suited to early needs because it failed to take the rise and fall of the rivers into account, and Capt. Nathaniel Crosby and his sailor associates made the same error when they planned the town of Milton. The first townsite of Portland prevailed over its numerous and active competitors because of its suitability to the needs of the particular time in which it was created, and it owes its permanent leadership to the fact that as commerce developed its waterway to the sea was kept open by dredging operations at public expense, although at times the channel was not as deep as might have been desired.

The townsite having been chosen and formally surveyed, as was done in 1844 and 1845, and a physical beginning having been made by the clearing of some land and the erection of a building or two, the personal factor in the city-building equation becomes a matter of importance. Lovejoy, for illustration, was a man of much initiative and enterprise, as also was Pettygrove. Lovejoy was a native of Groton and a graduate of Amherst College, the first lawyer to begin the practice of law in the territory and with the exception of John Ball the first to come to Oregon. Pettygrove was a Maine Yankee, a shrewd and successful merchant who had come to Oregon by way of the Hawaiian Islands, with a stock of goods. Lovejoy and Pettygrove at first laid off four streets in 1845 and platted sixteen blocks. A few of the immigrants of 1845 saw the location of the new town and approved it,—among them James Terwilliger, who acquired a claim some distance south of the first location and also bought a lot within the townsite limits. Couch, who had sailed into the Columbia as the representative of the Cushings of Newburyport, Mass., had become acquainted on various visits with both the Clackamas Rapids and the Ross Island Shoals, so that after a search for a better landing place for merchandise than the upper river afforded, and in order to save expensive lighterage, he chose Portland as the future city and selected the land claim adjoining that of Lovejoy and Pettygrove on the north. Daniel H. Lownsdale, arriving with the immigration of 1845, found a claim to his liking, being attracted thereto by a small hemlock forest which served him well in a tannery enterprise which he soon established and which was the first private manufacturing plant of any moment in Oregon.[22] William Johnson had located on the south of the Overton-Lovejoy townsite in 1842-3, thus being in all probability the first settler within the present limits of the city,[23] and

[21] John Minto, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 193.

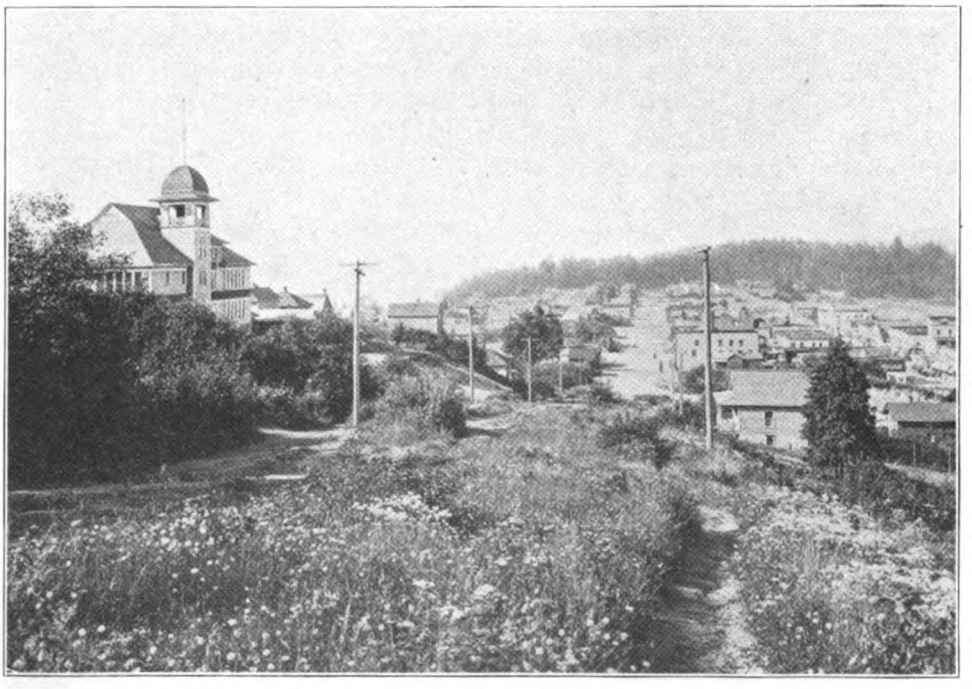
[22] For biographical note of D. H. Lownsdale, see Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 215.

[23] This is the same William Johnson who figured in the early history of the Willamette Valley. He was a former sailor of the War of 1812 and an independent trapper. His cabin at Portland was situated on land now bounded by Whittaker, Curry and Hood streets and Macadam Road. Possibly Etienne Lucier, when he first left the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1829, settled for a short while on the east bank of the Willamette

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MAIN STREET, BEND



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF NORTH BEND

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this claim afterward became the property of Elizabeth and Finice Caruthers, mother and son. Still beyond the Johnson-Caruthers location was the claim of Daniel Lunt, who sold later to Terwilliger, and south of Lunt's was the claim of Thomas Stephens, while the neighborhood of Portland Heights was claimed in 1850 by Thomas Carter, an immigrant of 1848. On the east of the Willamette James B. Stephens and Jacob Wheeler were early claimants of land along the water front.[24]

Lownsdale bought Pettygrove's interest in the townsite for $5,000 worth of leather, and Lovejoy, whose health required a change of climate, about that time sold his interest to Benjamin Stark, who had come to the territory as purser of the Toulon. The original founders of the city were now superseded, therefore, by Lownsdale and Stark, to whom were added Stephen Coffin and W. W. Chapman, and a townsite promotion company, which was then formed with Coffin as president and Chapman as secretary, proceeded to inject a new element of growth by offering lots for sale at low prices as inducements to the erection of buildings. This plan met with some success. W. S. Ladd arrived from Vermont in 1850 with plans already matured for supplying merchandise to miners, for the gold excitement was now at its height. Portland for a brief time sustained a marked loss of population in consequence of the stampede to the gold diggings, but soon regained its lost ground, and in general those who remained behind, or returned in time, were requited rather than those who trusted to more uncertain fortune in the placers of California.

A vast change for that time took place in something less than three years, as we are able to conclude upon examination of the intimate records of the day. Extracts from a contemporary diary give this picture of Portland in January and February, 1848: "Portland has two white houses and one brick and three wood-colored frame houses and a few cabins * * * We traveled four or five miles through the thickest woods I ever saw—all from two to six feet through, with now and then a scattered cedar; and intolerably bad road. * * * These woods are infested with wildcats, panthers, bears and wolves."[25] By contrast, another observer concluded in November, 1850: "You will perhaps be astonished when I tell you that Portland has become the principal town of Oregon. It now outnumbers Oregon City in houses, inhabitants, and as to business there is more done here now than there. There are now under way not less than one hundred and fifty new houses, and there have been built

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within the present Portland limits, but this is not certain. The first construction was begun by Pettygrove and Overton at about the location of 198 Front Street, but before this was complete it was abandoned and Pettygrove put up the first store, with the help of Lovejoy, at the corner of Front and Washington. Pettygrove built a wharf at the foot of Washington also. (Portland City Directory, 1866, historical sketch.)

[24] John Minto gives an account (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XI, p. 192), of a conversation he had with Stephens, familiarly known as "Uncle Jimmie," before Portland was a town. William Overton offered to sell his claim to Stephens, who was a cooper, for 300 new barrels, and would give him two years' time to make them in, which offer was not accepted. Also that Lovejoy and Pettygrove were "talking of buying Overton out, and starting a town on the land." This was the land on which Portland was subsequently built. The tract on the opposite side of the river was purchased through Judge Nesmith, as Probate Judge, by Stephens for $300, according to the story, and became East Portland. It was then the property of the estate of a Mr. Carter who had died at the hospital at Vancouver.

[25] Diary of Mrs. Elizabeth Dixon Smith Geer, January 20, 1848, and February 24, 1848. (Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions, 1907.)

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over one hundred dwellings during the last summer and fall, eighteen stores, six pub.ick boarding houses, two large churches, fifteen smaller stores. We have cut a road through to Tuality Plains."[26] The city continued to grow rapidly. Rev. Ezra Fisher, writing January 30, 1852, thus described the settlement: "Portland is the principal port in Oregon. The present population is estimated at 700 souls. It contains thirty-five wholesale and retail stores, two tin shops, four public taverns, two steam sawmills, one steam flouring mill, with two run of stones, six or eight drinking shops and billiard tables, one wine and spirit manufactory, a variety of mechanic shops and from eight to fifteen merchant vessels are always seen lying at anchor in the river or at the wharves. * * * This is the place where nearly all the immigrants by water land and from which they will go to their various points of destination."[27]

The city was now passing through that period in which first enterprises are historically significant or interesting. The first frame house, as distinguished from a cabin hewed entirely from logs, had already been erected near the present corner of Front and Washington streets by Capt. Nathaniel Crosby, who brought the lumber ready-cut from Maine. The traditional carrying of coals to Newcastle was outdone by this Yankee skipper. John Waymire had set up the first "sawmill," a whipsaw operated by hand, and William H. Bennett and associates had built the first shingle mill. The first steam sawmill, begun in 1849 and completed in 1850 by W. P. Abrams and Cyrus A. Reed, gave added force to the city's claims to being the manufacturing center of the territory. Three religious denominations had built their first churches in the settlement.[28] About this time the first experiment in civic coöperation was made, when a number of citizens, viewing with alarm the preference shown by shipmasters for Portland's rivals, subscribed a fund with which a controlling interest in the side-wheel ocean-going steamship Goldhunter was bought for $60,000, and Portland people were able to announce to the world that they now had a steamship line of their own. As an experiment in pulling together, however, it was not all that it might have been. Some of the Portland investors a little later sold their shares to representatives of the minority in San Francisco, who thus repossessed themselves of control of the Goldhunter and sent her to Central America, where she met with various mishaps, much to the annoyance of those of the Portland men who still retained an interest in her.[29] Nevertheless other vessels ceased to discriminate against Portland, as the immediate result of this display of resourcefulness, so that the effect of the venture on the whole was good. The city was now established as a port; there was a wagon road, built by private subscription and the volunteer labor of some of the residents, connecting the town with the Tualatin Valley and thereby with a

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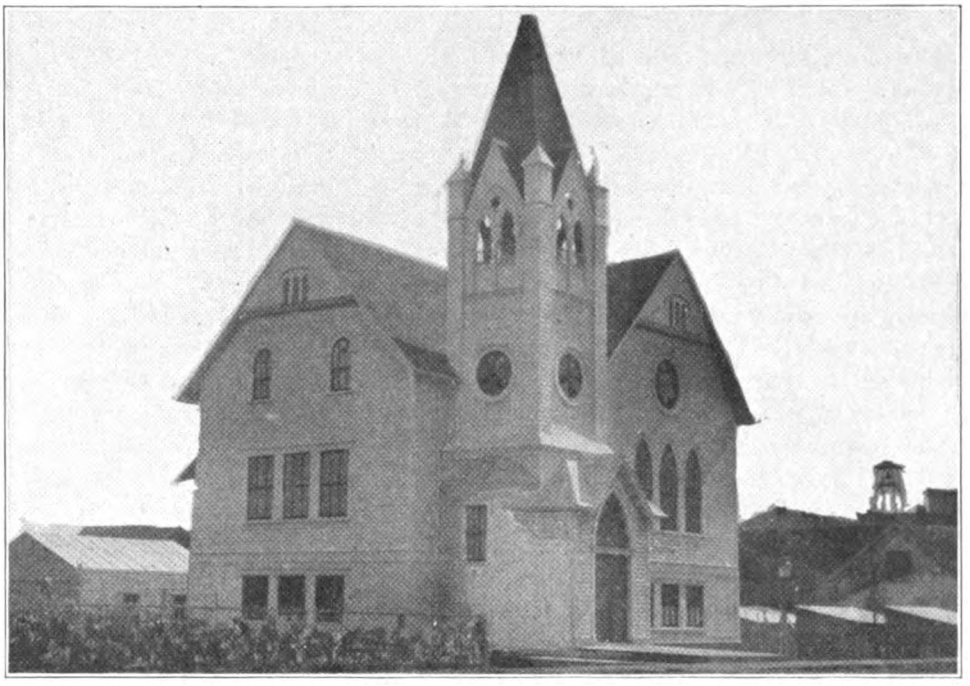
[26] Letter to Samuel R. Thurston, dated November 18, 1850. Signature missing. (Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.)

[27] Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher, pp. 334-5.

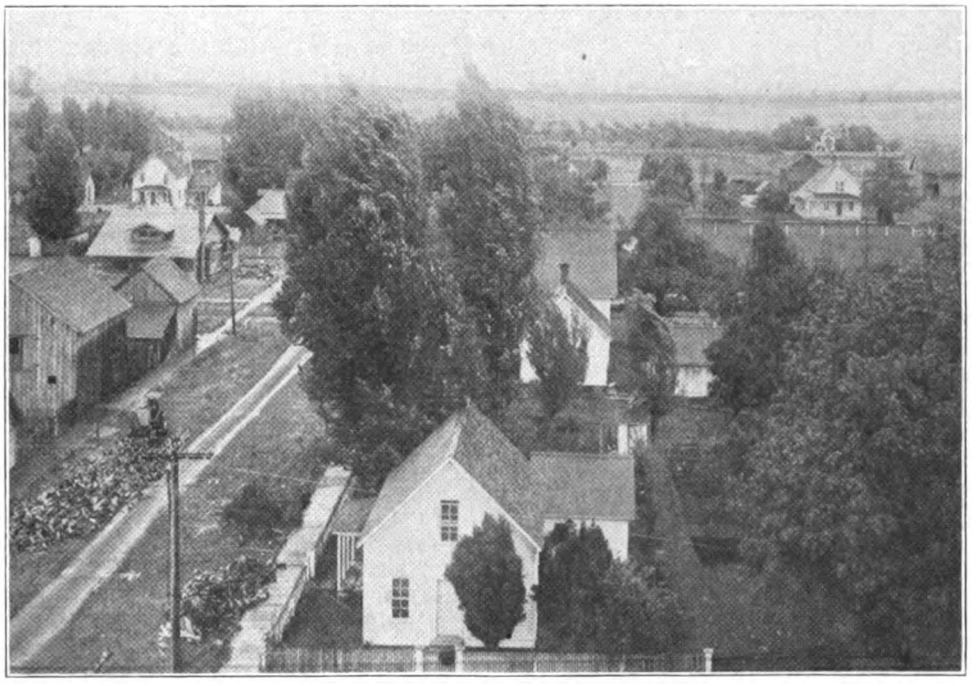
[28] Methodist Episcopal Church, at what is now the corner of Third and Taylor streets, dedicated in the autumn of 1850; Congregational Church, at Second and Jefferson streets, in 1851; Catholic Church, Third and Stark streets, begun in 1851 and dedicated in February, 1852.

[29] Later the Goldhunter was acquired by the Government, and her name was changed to Active. She was employed in survey and coast work.

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BAPTIST CHURCH, BROWNSVILLE



RESIDENCE SECTION, HALSEY

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wide reach of farming country in the western Willamette Valley; and a fair beginning had been made toward the city's present eminence.

The city was incorporated in 1851, and at the first municipal election, held April 7, of that year, H. D. O'Bryant was chosen mayor,[30] W. S. Caldwell, recorder, and Robert Thompson, Shubrick Norris, George H. Barnes, L. B. Hastings and Thomas G. Robinson, councilmen. The young city plumed itself, not without good reason, on the erection of three brick buildings in 1853, the builders being W. S. Ladd, on a location on Front Street between Stark and Washington; Lucien Snow, on Front Street between Pine and Oak; and D. C. Coleman, at the southeast corner of Front and Oak. H. W. Corbett built what was then regarded as a highly pretentious residence on the block now bounded by Fifth, Sixth, Yamhill and Taylor streets in 1854. That year was also memorable for the creation of Multnomah County, with Portland as the county seat, the citizens having been compelled before that date to travel to the county seat of Washington County, which was Hillsboro, to transact official business. The assessed valuation of city property in 1855 had reached $1,195,034 and there was a population of 1,209, which gave color to its boast that it was not only the most populous but the richest city per capita north of the California boundary. By various and rapid stages it continued to expand. The city limits were extended in 1864 to include the Caruthers claim on the south; in 1872 the Couch claim was annexed and the charter was amended to provide for the division of the city into wards and the term of the mayor was fixed at two years; there were still further acquisitions of territory with a new charter in 1882; East Portland and Albina, which had previously existed as separate municipalities, were incorporated into Portland in 1891,[31] and St. Johns was included, and then Linnton was absorbed in 1915, when the present geographical dimensions of the city were at length attained.

The city advanced rapidly in commercial importance during the indian wars of the decade of the '50s, when it was a headquarters for military supplies, and it again leaped forward with the opening of a new era of mining development in Idaho, British Columbia and Eastern Oregon in the '60s.[32] This

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[30] The mayors of Portland and the years of their accession are: Hugh D. O'Bryant, 1851; A. C. Bonnell, 1852; Simon B. Mayre, 1852; Josiah Failing, 1853; W. S. Ladd, 1854; G. W. Vaughn, 1855; James O'Neill, 1856; W. S. Ladd, 1857; A. M. Starr, 1858; S. J. McCormick, 1859; G. Collier Robbins, 1860; J. M. Breck, 1861; W. H. Farrar, 1862; David Logan, 1863; Henry Failing, 1864; T. J. Holmes, 1866; Aaron E. Wait, 1867; J. A. Chapman, 1867; Hamilton Boyd, 1868; B. Goldsmith, 1869; P. Wasserman, 1871; Henry Failing, 1873; J. A. Chapman, 1875; W. S. Newberry, 1877; D. P. Thompson, 1879; J. A. Chapman, 1882; John Gates, 1885; Van B. DeLashmutt, 1888; W. S. Mason, 1891; George B. Frank, 1894; Sylvester Pennoyer, 1896; W. S. Mason, 1898; W. A. Storey, 1899; Henry S. Rowe, 1900; George H. Williams, 1902; Harry Lane, 1905; Joseph Simon, 1909; A. G. Rushlight, 1911; H. R. Albee, 1913; George L. Baker, 1917—.

[31] The estimated population of the city and its municipal environs at the time of the consolidation of the west side with East Portland and Albina was 79,023, distributed as follows: Portland, 57,182; East Portland, 11,457; Albina, 6,897; Fulton and South Portland, 890; Mount Tabor and Russellville, 572; Sellwood, ——; Willsburg and Milwaukie, 1,025.

[32] In 1850 the town of Milwaukie boasted of a newspaper, the Western Star, and Oregon City had the Oregon Spectator. Portland people purchased a press and printing material at San Francisco in October of that year, which was brought to Portland by the bark Keokar, and the first newspaper, the Weekly Oregonian, was issued December 4, 1850, with Thomas J. Dryer as editor and proprietor. The Western Star moved to Portland in 1851,

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was a period of public enterprise, no less than of private prosperity. A fine new courthouse was built upon the site of the present structure in 1865 and completed in 1866. The Macadam Road, begun in 1858 and extending from the city limits southward, was the first of its kind in Oregon. It was followed by construction of a macadamized road from Portland to Milwaukie in 1863. Street grading was begun in 1864, and the first pavement laid by a city in Oregon was one of wooden blocks put down on Front Street in 1865. A street car line was built on Front Street, the city's principal business thoroughfare, from the foot of Flanders Street to the vicinity of Jefferson Street, in 1872. The first Presbyterian Church was begun in 1863, and completed in 1864, at Third and Washington streets, a situation then not close to the busy hum of traffic on the business streets. It was in its time considered as the finest building of any kind in the Northwest.

The beginning of railroad construction in 1868, and the opening of regular commerce by sea with New York and Liverpool in the same year, were events of large importance to city and state alike. It was a period of rising real estate values also, leading in 1883 to the culmination of the city's hopes in the completion of railroad connection with the eastern states. In August, 1873, a great fire destroyed the buildings upon twenty-two city blocks, in the district south of Morrison Street and east of Second Street. The loss was then estimated at two and a quarter millions. Although neighboring cities and generous individuals in various parts of the country promptly offered pecuniary aid when the news of the disaster was spread by telegraph, Henry Failing, who was chairman of the relief committee, sturdily declined help, and the citizens following his liberal example provided whatever funds were required for charity. The destruction of so many important buildings within the fire area seemed at the time a serious matter, but they were quickly replaced with better structures.

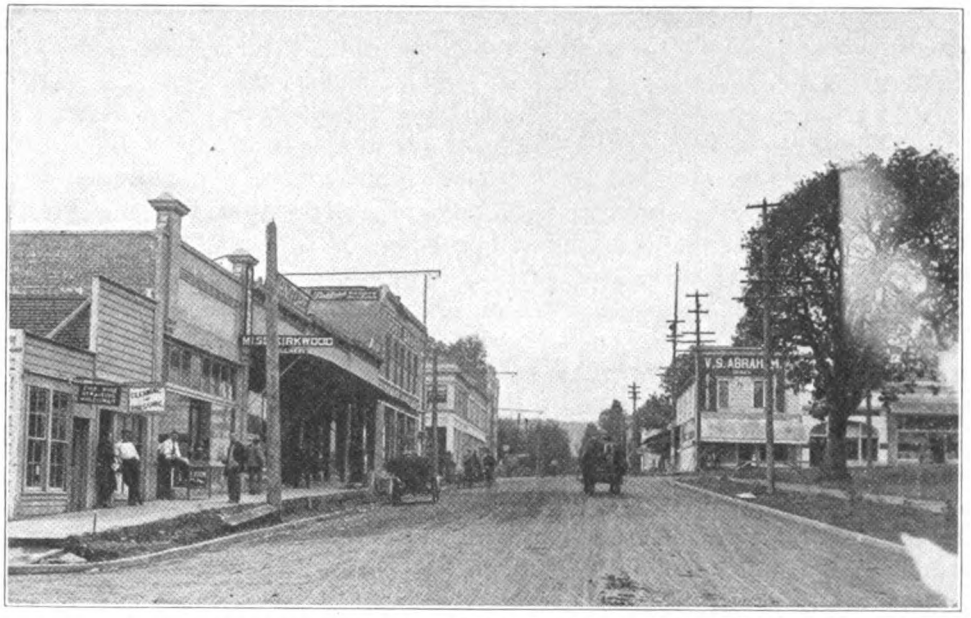
The bond between the east and the west side communities was cemented four years prior to their formal political consolidation by the construction of a bridge at Morrison Street which was opened on April 11, 1887, and was the forerunner of the number of imposing structures which now furnish adequate means of communication between these sections of the city.[33] The policy of reserving land for parks, which was instituted early in the city's history, took an interesting turn when the city in 1880 bought from Colonel A. N. King a tract at the head of Park Avenue, now called Washington Park and com-

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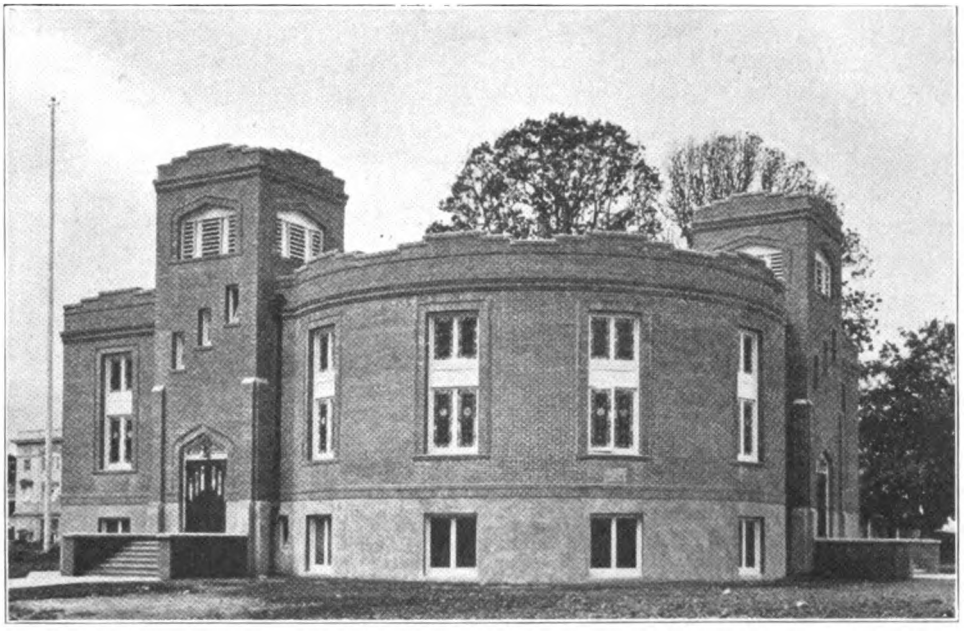
and continued there under the name Oregon Weekly Times. The first number of a daily newspaper was issued April 18, 1859, under the name Portland Daily News. It was published for a short time by S. A. English and Company. It was followed by the Oregon Advertiser, with Alonzo Leland as editor and proprietor, which continued until October, 1862. The Daily Times began December 19, 1860, and the Oregonian came out as a daily February 4, 1861. (Port. City Directory, 1866, Historical sketch.) See also note in Chapter XXXII, supra, respecting newspapers in Oregon Territory.

[33] The first Morrison Street bridge project was enjoined by Judge Matthew P. Deady of the United States Court, who held that it was a nuisance and an obstruction to navigation. In his opinion he referred to East Portland as the garden patch for Portland, and this stirred up protests from the east side residents. He compared the great commercial city on the west side of the river with "the rural population that live on the narrow strip of country between East Portland and the Columbia river and the transportation of their limited dairy and garden products to the Portland markets." (Oregonian, March 29, 1881. Hatch vs. Willamette Iron Bridge Company, 6 Fed. Rep. 780.)

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PACIFIC AVENUE, FOREST GROVE



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, FOREST GROVE

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prising with additions to the original site an area of 103 acres. The foresight of the early fathers and the public spirit of its citizens have worked together to make the municipal park system a distinguishing feature of the city's growth. Another interesting pleasure ground is Peninsular Park, including a large rose park, and still another is Macleay Park, donated to the city by Donald Macleay with but the single restriction that its natural ruggedness be maintained so far as possible. In the development of private gardens, the beauties of the many public parks have a counterpart, as also in the planting of shade trees and rose hedges along practically every residence street. A Rose Festival, organized in 1907 and continued as an annual event, not only has stimulated the planting of a profusion of roses, for which Portland's situation and climate are peculiarly adapted, but has fostered deep interest in floriculture in general.

Litigation over titles to the lands on which the city is situated was the logical outcome of the peculiar conditions under which early settlement was made. Title to the entire Oregon Country was unsettled when possession of the original townsite was asserted in 1845, and there was no law by which land could be held except such as had been provided by the provisional government, which had not foreseen urban growth. When Lownsdale bought the townsite and made Coffin his partner it was agreed that lots which had already been sold should be confirmed to purchasers so soon as the vendors should be able to obtain title for themselves. But the Donation Land Act of 1850 required that locations when made should be for the use and benefit of the purchaser only, and there was a vexatious provision that "all future contracts, by any person or persons entitled to the benefit of this act, for the sale of the land to which he or they may be entitled under this act, before he or they have received a patent therefor, shall be void." The numerous issues, technical and ethical, which arose out of this situation were adjudicated in a series of suits which occupied the attention of the courts for a decade beginning with 1863, and the essential equities were preserved in a decision by Judge Lorenzo Sawyer of the United States Circuit Court, who viewed the entire litigation in the light of the history of the period in which the issues arose, and held that in the state of society at the time Oregon was settled a town could have been built in no other way than by means of contracts made with proprietors who should agree to perfect and convey title when opportunity should offer, as had been done. This decision, in which Judge Matthew P. Deady concurred, cut a veritable Gordian knot of technicalities and restored a normal condition by confirming the titles of a large number who had erected improvements on their holdings.[34]

Another series of contests arose from the nebulous condition of the title to the water front. Lovejoy and Pettygrove had platted several blocks but had left the land immediately adjacent to the river bank for a landing place and were regarded as having set apart this frontage for general public use. In 1850, Lownsdale had a survey made and a map was drafted by John Brady, according to which the river bank was laid off in town lots varying in depth

[34] It was held by the courts that land located as townsites prior to 1854 could not be held under the Federal Townsite Act, which was not applicable to Oregon until 1854, but that the Donation Law might be taken advantage of by prospectors to obtain title. (Marlin v. T'Vault, 1 Or. 77; Lownsdale v. Portland. 1 Or. 381.)

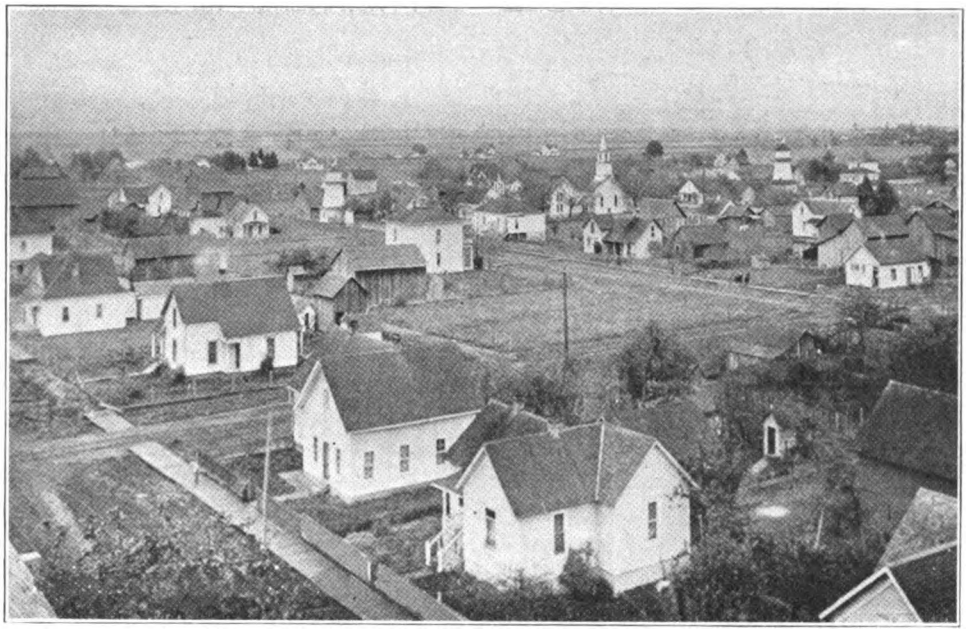
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with the meanderings of the river. The city council in 1852 adopted the Brady plat, which was the only one in existence at the time, thereby forfeiting its claim to what was then known as the levee. The Council in 1860 attempted to rescind this action and a crusade was begun against the holders of the property along the river. But a condition existed which was also peculiar to the state of civic development in that period. Under the impulse of private enterprise, covered wharves, which were necessary to the handling of goods in the winter at Portland, had been built, particularly by Captain Couch on his own claim north of the first townsite, while the municipality held out no prospect of equivalent public improvements, so that opposition to private ownership gathered little force and the crusade was permitted to lapse. The courts held, too, that there was no proof that the levee had been dedicated to public use. Coffin, however, dedicated a tract on the river between Jefferson Street and Clay, which he designated as a public levee, and which was in a different situation. The use of these premises was granted by the Legislature in 1885 to the Portland and Willamette Valley Railway for a depot site, on the ground that this was a "public use," and that the state rather than the city was the intended beneficiary. The railway company subsequently released part of it to the city.

When the chief causes of the uncertainty of land titles had been disposed of the city renewed its growth with great rapidity. Brick and stone replaced wood in the construction of buildings in the business center, more permanent public improvements were made and ocean trade was developed with the completion of the transcontinental railroads having their termini in Portland. An early attraction for people from all the surrounding country was a Mechanics' Fair which was held on the "market block" bounded by Clay, Market, Second and Third streets, and this led to the construction in 1888 by popular subscription of an imposing building in the vicinity of Nineteenth and Washington streets which for several years housed the North Pacific Industrial Exposition, and this greatly widened the circle of influence formerly exerted by the Mechanics' Fair. The building was destroyed by fire in 1910. The city charter was again amended in 1913, when a so-called commission form of municipal government was adopted, a mayor and four other commissioners succeeding to the divided authority previously exercised by a mayor and city council. The population increased to 90,426 in 1900; it was more than doubled in the following decade, being 207,214 in 1910, and again increased to 258,288 in 1920.

By this time it had become a still more important manufacturing and trading center; the manufacture of furniture and receipts of livestock adding especially to its eminence in this particular. Furniture possessing a factory valuation of $8,000,000 and livestock of the value of $20,000,000 added to the city's commercial receipts during 1920. The city also became the fourth largest agricultural implement center in the United States. With 1,100 manufacturing plants of various kinds, it represented in 1920 a striking contrast to the beginning of the period, spanned practically by the scriptural allotment of life to man, when a tannery, a sawmill and a shingle mill constituted its only manufactories. Other contrasting facts are as noteworthy. There are 773 miles of paved streets, of which 390 miles are hard-surfaced, more than are possessed by any city of equal population in the United States and more than are found in any city of any size west of the Rocky Mountains. The city owns its water system, the main source of supply for which is Bull Run Lake, which is supplied from the melting snows and glaciers of Mount Hood. The assessed

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RESIDENCE SECTION, HARRISBURG



MAIN STREET, HARRISBURG

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value of city property in 1920 was $314,127,565. These facts, which would belong ordinarily to the province of the statistician rather than that of the historian, nevertheless obtain a certain significance from the spirit of initiative and enterprise which they imply and which is plausibly traceable to the self-reliance and the individualism which necessity imposed upon the early builders of the city and the state.

To review in detail the history of urban development in Oregon would require far more space than can here be given. Each of these centers of activity and social interest has a story well worth the telling. It is men that make the state, as the poet has well said, and in the same sense it is also true that it is the men that make the towns and cities. The names of those to whose enterprise and industry progress and success are due are well worth a place in history, for civic and local commercial and social records should be preserved and made available and ready of access. But the parts played by individual men and women in building and making better their own localities, however interesting and important, are better described in narratives devoted to the special subject, and all that has been attempted here is to indicate in a general way the relationship of place history to the forward march of events of state-wide significance.

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CHAPTER XL

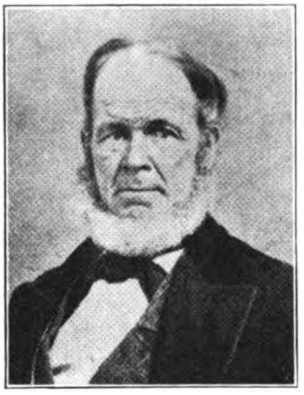
RURAL PURSUITS

The first permanent settlers of Oregon were farmers, and the prospects of successful agriculture, added to the spirit of enterprise, inspired American immigration and promoted the development of the Oregon Country. Of three important periods that may be discerned in early Oregon history, the third in chronological sequence was in all probability first in order of historical importance. The earliest of the three periods, that of the fur-trader, as will have been made plain to the reader, would never have merged into the era of permanent settlement if the fur-traders had had their undisputed way. The next or missionary period touches more closely upon its successor, yet is not identical with it, for the first missionaries came to labor among the indians and not to make the country habitable for the whites. However, in contrast with the policy of the fur-traders, they made good reports concerning the agricultural resources of the country, and this influenced immigration by permanent settlers and home-builders. With agriculture as the basic industry there came land tenure and ownership, and permanence, and finally the state as it exists today.

The Winship brothers, when they made their poorly judged venture on the bank of the Columbia River at Oak Point in 1810, which was swept away by a June freshet, became the first white tillers of the soil in Oregon. An effort by the Astor party in the following year, 1811, to plant a garden was more successful and a small space was cultivated within the present limits of Astoria, where the first farm animals ever brought to Oregon were landed, a few potatoes were planted and a small quantity of seed was sown. The animals consisted of about fifty hogs, of no particular breed, and two sheep, all of which animals had been taken on board the Tonquin at the Hawaiian Islands, and they fulfilled the purpose for which they were intended, but the first harvest from the fields was less encouraging. "We had brought with us from New York," says Gabriel Franchere in his interesting narrative, "a variety of garden seeds, which were put in the ground in the month of May, 1811, on a rich piece of land laid out for the purpose on a sloping ground in front of the establishment. The garden had a fine appearance in the month of August; but although the plants were left in the ground until December, not one of them came to maturity, with the exception of the radishes, the turnips and the potatoes. The turnips grew to prodigious size; one of the largest we had the curiosity to weigh and measure; its circumference was thirty-three inches, its weight 15½ pounds."[1]

[1] Franchere's Narrative, p. 231. The writer also describes the first planting of potatoes and its result. "With all the care we could bestow upon them during the passage from New York," he says, "only twelve potatoes were saved, and even these were so shriveled that we despaired of raising any from the few sprouts that showed signs of life. Nevertheless we raised 190 potatoes the first season and after sparing a few plants for our inland traders we planted (the next season) about fifty or sixty hills, which produced five bushels the second year. About two of these we planted the next year, which gave us a welcome crop of fifty bushels for the year 1815."

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HENDERSON LUELLING



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HOOD RIVER APPLE ORCHARD AT BLOSSOM TIME

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Agriculture lapsed with the abandonment of Astoria, to be resumed in 1825 by Doctor McLoughlin at Vancouver. It flourished, with some ups and downs, under the thrifty management of the Hudson's Bay factor, for wheat, oats and other grains and some forage grasses were sown and prospered, although corn, or maize, failed because the nights were not sufficiently warm for its successful cultivation. The full needs of the trading establishment as to wheat and flour were met by 1828, when importation of these commodities ceased. By 1835, when Rev. Samuel Parker visited the post, such was the productivity and development in ten years' time that the farm possessed 450 neat cattle, 100 horses, 200 sheep, 40 goats and 300 hogs, and there was produced in that year 5,000 bushels of wheat, "of the best quality I ever saw," and also 1,300 bushels of potatoes, 1,000 bushels of oats, 1,000 of barley and 2,000 of peas, besides a wide range of garden vegetables.[2] Fruit growing was also begun in a very small way by the first residents at the post, the first fruit trees ever grown in Oregon being produced from seeds.

The Willamette Valley became the home of the first independent settlers. Doctor McLoughlin's early desire was that it should be peopled with such of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company as on the expiration of their terms of service would prefer remaining in the country to being returned to their former homes. Etienne Lucier, a trapper for the company, who was first to indicate a wish to establish a home on the soil, obtained Doctor McLoughlin's promise of assistance, and settled in 1828 on the eastern bank of the Willamette River, perhaps opposite the subsequent site of Portland's first clearing in the forest. He abandoned his farmstead in the same year because of its remoteness from any neighbors and particularly because of its distance from religious services, for Lucier was a devout Catholic. He returned, however, in 1829, when several other discharged Hudson's Bay attaches took homesteads on what is now known as French Prairie, and he joined in establishing this settlement, which obtained additions from various sources and became the pioneer independent agricultural community of the Northwest. Stimulated by a salubrious climate and by the obvious advantages of river transportation in that very primitive era, and further favored by the unwarlike character of the Calapooya tribes by comparison with the indians of other near-by regions, they located upon land that was not heavily forested as elsewhere in the valley. Here these first farmers gathered their flocks and herds about them, dabbled a little in tillage—but only a little, since painstaking and laborious attention to detail was not much to the liking of men of the roving type—and in due time they drew attention by the very ease with which they obtained a living to the larger possibilities of farming as an industry on the northern Pacific coast.

The requirements of the British trading posts caused a steady and rapid increase in the growing of wheat, which was early recognized as a staple crop for this soil and climate and which was commended by the relative convenience of its transportation and exchange. The first surplus grain from the valley

[2] Rev. Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour, p. 185. Parker also describes the prosperous condition of the Hudson's Bay farm at Fort Colville, which he visited. "Fruit of various kinds, such as apples, peaches, grapes and strawberries, for the time they have been introduced, flourish and prove that the climate and soil are well adapted for the purpose of horticulture." Alluding also to operations at Vancouver, Parker says (Id., p. 174): "Various tropical fruits, such as figs, oranges and lemons, have been introduced and grow with about the same care that they would require in the latitude of Philadelphia."

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farmers was sold by its producers to the Hudson's Bay Company, which extended the field of its own agricultural operations also to the Willamette Valley in 1830, to Nisqually in 1833, and meanwhile to a Cowlitz farm and to Fort Colville also.[3] Crops almost phenomenal in proportion to the time and care bestowed upon them were produced at these places, and the Willamette Valley especially in the very early period became noted for the quality of its grain.[4] John Ball, who came with the first expedition of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, was the first American citizen to produce a crop of wheat in the Oregon Country, which he did on French Prairie in 1833, using seed furnished to him by Doctor McLoughlin. Ewing Young in 1835 in the Chehalem Valley and Nathaniel Wyeth in the same year on Sauvie's Island at the mouth of the Willamette engaged in general farming in more or less desultory fashion. Wyeth now had a few cattle, sheep, goats and swine which had been procured for him in the Hawaiian Islands. Jason Lee began farming in connection with the first Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley in 1835, and Doctor Whitman broke ground for crops at Waiilatpu in 1837. By 1839, the year in which the first immigrant arrived with the intention of remaining, both Lee and Whitman, but particularly Whitman, were prepared to show that the territory was well adapted to agriculture. A visitor to the Waiilatpu mission in 1839 was impressed by Doctor Whitman's apparently comfortable circumstances. "He has raised about one hundred bushels of corn, rising of a 1,000 bushels of potatoes as he thinks, though they are not yet dug—some wheat—peas, beans—beets, carrots—turnips —squashes—melons—onions—broom corn—hops—summer and winter squashes

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[3] We have Doctor McLoughlin's statement in 1832 of the produce at Fort Vancouver which for the preceding season he estimated at 1,800 bushels of wheat, 1,200 of barley, 600 of peas, 400 of indian corn, and 600 of potatoes. The headquarters had been moved to that place from Fort George in 1825, so that the development in seven years was gratifying. (Wash. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, No. 2, p. 40; also in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XV, p. 206.)

[4] The first immigrants were enthusiastic on the subject of the fertility of the ground. "The soil in this valley and in many other portions of the territory is equal to that of Iowa, or any other portion of the United States," wrote a leader of the immigration of 1843, "in point of beauty and fertility, and its productions in many articles are far superior, particularly in regard to wheat, potatoes, beets and turnips. The grain of wheat here is more than one-third larger than any I have seen in the States. There is now growing in the fields of Mr. James Johns, less than a mile from this place where I write you, a turnip measuring in circumference 4½ feet, and he thinks that it will exceed five feet before pulling time." Letter from M. M. McCarver in Iowa Gazette, dated at Twalatine Plains, Oregon Territory, November 6, 1843. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 79.)

Curiously, the exceptional plumpness of the grain to which Mr. McCarver alludes was the cause of heavy loss to the first private exporter of the commodity, Joseph Watt, when he sent a shipload to New York. "The appearance of the wheat was unusual. It was so white and plump and round that people wouldn't believe it was a healthy product of the soil. An experienced miller give it as his opinion that the wheat was damaged, that the cargo was wet and the wheat had swelled, so it was put up for sale under these discouraging circumstances, and the enterprising Oregonian who was trying to introduce the products of Oregon to the world pocketed a loss of about $8,000." (Willamette Farmer, February 4, 1881.)

Californians knew the value of Oregon wheat even in the period of the Mexican occupancy of the region south of 42 degrees. Sir George Simpson said General Vallejo, governor of California in 1840, greatly prized a field of wheat planted near Monterey, "seed for which had been obtained from the Columbia River and was highly superior to his own." (Simpson's Narrative of a Journey Around the World, Vol. I, p. 313.)

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—pumpkins &c."[5] Diversified farming, and especially the branch colloquially known as truck gardening, received a decided impetus from missionary thrift and enterprise.

The massacre at Whitman mission in 1847, and the generally unsettled conditions among the indians east of the Cascades afterward, retarded the agricultural development of the interior, but during this period the Willamette Valley grew apace, furnishing settlers from its overflow to begin the settlement of the Puget Sound country in 1845,[6] the Umpqua Valley in 1849 and the Rogue River Valley in 1852. With all these, wheat for some time continued to be the chief product, largely because of its portability, until there arose a fear of soil-exhaustion, whereupon less wheat and more of other and diversified products were grown. Meanwhile new interest was created in animal husbandry by the importation of pure bred stock and this in turn invited more particular attention to forage crops, such as red and white clover. Orchards were planted. It was discovered not only that certain varieties of flax were indigenous but that the rich soils of the valleys were hospitable to the production of an excellent fiber, so that linen became to no inconsiderable extent an article of home-manufacture some time prior to the introduction of modern machinery. The lowlands of the Willamette Valley were settled first, for social reasons, but the later immigrants who acquired homesteads in the foothills discovered that these localities compared favorably with the lowlands in healthfulness of climate, in purity and abundance of water, and in adaptability to the culture of forage crops. The turning point for agriculture in Oregon may be said to have been reached, indeed, with the introduction of animal husbandry on a considerable scale, this being made expedient by difficulty in transporting other commodities to market. Certain species of legumes were native to the country, which gave assurance that better varieties would thrive also, and red clover, now a factor of considerable consequence to Oregon agriculture, was successfully introduced in 1854 by Charles W. Bryant of Washington County.[7] Vetch was brought to Oregon by William Chalmers from New York in 1870, and it has ever since had a significant double role as forage and soil-restoration crop. The introduction of livestock and the peculiar suitability of soil and climate for animal husbandry in particular gave Oregon a conspicuous place in Pacific coast food production.

The first farm animals in the territory were the hogs and sheep brought on the Tonquin by the Astor party in 1811, mentioned by Franchere, and to these the Hudson's Bay Company made additions soon after it succeeded the Northwesters in possession in 1824-5, importing some cattle from California by sea and also three head of English Durhams of aristocratic lineage for the production of milk, butter, cheese and occasionally veal for the private table of

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[5] Diary of Asahel Munger and Wife, September 3, 1839, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, p. 404.

[6] There was a settlement at Nisqually as early as 1833. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company was organized by or "under the protection of" Hudson's Bay Company in December, 1840. The extensive farming operations were principally conducted at Nisqually on Puget Sound. Copy of the original prospectus setting out the terms of organization is reported in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIX, p. 345. See also, id., Vol. IX, p. 55 and XIV, p. 36.

[7] White clover, less important in point of bulk production, yet exceedingly useful in pastures, was brought to Oregon by J. L. Parrish, one of the reinforcement to Jason Lee's mission in 1840.

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the gentlemen at the post. Sheep were imported from California also, so that both cattle and sheep were becoming numerous in Oregon in the early '30s, but these consisted chiefly of such stock as had been procured from the Mexican settlers in California—wild longhorn cattle and hardy Spanish merino sheep, fitted well enough to yield a maximum return for a minimum of care, but hardly satisfying to the husbandmen of the more thrifty type who made up the early immigration. The first importations by Ewing Young, who broke the Hudson's Bay cattle monopoly temporarily in 1837, were Spanish longhorns, which roamed the hills of the Chehalem Valley for years after Young's death, became wild and troublesome to settlers on the outskirts of the Willamette Valley and were hunted with rifles and slaughtered on occasions for their hides, and in order to make the fields safe for women and children. More tractable species were introduced when American immigration began, the first in all probability being "shorthorns," or Durhams, which were then in high favor in the middle west. David M. Guthrie of Polk County, pioneer of 1846, was probably the earliest to introduce high-bred shorthorns, and in 1847 John Wilson brought in another herd from Illinois.[8] These cattle, which were a noteworthy advance beyond the livestock of very early times, were the forerunners of the dairy and domestic livestock industries, both of which have since obtained high rank. The succeeding immigration, especially that of 1852, brought large numbers of cows as well as oxen.

The breeding and rearing of sheep was carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company alone until a date probably somewhat later than that of Ewing Young's pioneer cattle venture. A few sheep were reported by Lieutenant Wilkes in 1841 at Waiilatpu, whence they had been taken from Hawaii for use by the early missionaries, as part of a far-seeing plan to introduce both flocks and herds as agencies for the civilization of the indian. The Nez Percés acquired a few flocks and doubtless would have done well with them if the Cayuse outbreak had not put an end to missionary work in that field. There were no sheep in Western Oregon, however, aside from the early Hudson's Bay Company importations, until 1842, when Joseph Gale made a second drive of cattle and other domestic animals from California; and by his advice Jacob P. Lease, an American settler in California, drove a flock in the wake of Gale's band of 1,250 head of cattle and 600 horses and mules. It is supposed that all of these that were not owned by Lease were intended for the farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at Nisqually and Cowlitz. These sheep were low in quality, as indeed most of the previous importations of livestock had been; they were "light of body and bone, coarse and light of fleece, of all colors of white, black, ring-streaked and grizzled, having in an eminent degree the tenacity to life common to all scrub stock, and giving their increase at all seasons, though principally in the spring. They responded quickly to any cross for improvement, especially toward the merino blood."[9]

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[8] Leslie M. Scott, Soil Repair in the Willamette Valley, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVIII, p. 62.

[9] John Minto, Sheep Husbandry in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, p. 221. Mr. Minto was a noteworthy pioneer figure in the sheep business in that state. Lieutenant Howison in his report to the Government in 1846 said that the Hudson's Bay Company owned then large flocks of sheep the breed of which it had taken every pains to improve, and mentions a flock of twenty, among others owned in the Willamette Valley by farmers. He also gave a fine view of the state of agriculture in Oregon at that time, with estimates of the amount of various crops, including 160,000 bushels of wheat in 1846. Speaking of fruits, and

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The first sheep to reach Oregon across the plains were brought from Missouri in 1844 by Joshua Shaw and his son, Alva C. R. Shaw, who settled in Polk County. The first pure-bred merino rams came from Ohio in 1851, and consisted of three head which were driven overland by Hiram Smith. A larger flock was brought in 1853 by R. R. Thompson and David P. Thompson, both of whom achieved considerable eminence in the later history of Oregon. The early success of the Shaws also induced Joseph Watt to undertake a similar venture, which he did successfully in 1848. Watt brought to Oregon with him at the same time the cards, reeds and castings for a loom and spinning wheel, which were set up at the home of the Watt family in Yamhill, and long served a highly useful purpose. The discovery of gold in California in the following year affected the sheep industry, as it did nearly every other industry in the territory, by giving a new stimulus to food production and by causing a rapid advance in the prices of commodities. Yet it checked at the same time the woolen manufacturing enterprise which Watt had had in mind when he brought his loom West with him, by discouraging investment of capital. The rush of young men from Oregon to the California mines caused at first a great depression, an unfavorable condition for projected commercial ventures.

A noteworthy incident in the history of the sheep industry which occurred soon after this relates to the shipment to Oregon of the first breed aristocrats originating in Australia. Says John Minto: "In 1857 Martin Jesse, of Yamhill County, returning from the California gold mines, heard the call for a sheep sale from the deck of a ship at San Francisco. He found on inquiry that the stock were thorough-bred Merinos from the Camden Park flock of the Macarthur Bros. of New South Wales, descended from the Kew flock of King George III of England, which were drawn from the Neggretti flocks of the Marchioness del Campo di Alange, by royal grant of the King of Spain, who only could permit exportation, for which courtesy the English King thanked the noble lady by a present of eight splendid English coach horses. The start of Macarthur's Australian Merinos were those drawn from the English King's flock and imported into New South Wales in 1804 by Capt. John Macarthur, founder of the Camden Park flock and father of the firm of brothers who sold the sheep, herein mentioned, to J. H. Williams, United States Consul at Sydney, N. S. W., for shipment to California in March, 1857. The ship had been driven out of her course and both food and water for the sheep were scarce. The latter had been given at last out of bottles and the sheep saved were saved by that means. Mr. Jesse purchased twenty head of them and transferred them to the ship he had engaged his passage to Portland on. Thus were brought the means of reproduction of the golden fleece to Oregon. They could not be watered on the ship but by drinking out of a bottle, until they were landed on the farm of Coffin & Thompson of Dayton, Oregon." [10]

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especially the variety and abundance of berries raised by the settlers at this early period, he says: "A traveler stopping at the humblest cottage on a summer day will be regaled with a white loaf and fresh butter, a dish of luscious berries, and plenty of rich milk; to procure all of which the cottager has not been outside his own enclosure." (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIV, p. 52.)

[10] John Minto, Sheep Husbandry in Oregon, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, pp. 223-4. The author mentions, among other pioneers of the sheep business at this time: R. C. Geer, of Marion County, who imported Southdowns direct from England in 1858; John Cogswell,

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Another and unexpected effect of the growth of the industry was felt when, as the result of over-production and of lack of facilities for manufacture on the Pacific coast, prices declined to unprofitable levels in the middle '50s. From 1853 until 1857 there was only one wool buyer in Portland, then the commercial metropolis, and his uniform price was 10 cents a pound for all grades. Home manufacture of cloth now became part of the routine of pioneer life, and home-spun garments were the mode, from the beginning of the period of depression until some time after the establishment of the first woolen factory, which was the outcome of Watt's persistence, and the story of which bears intimately upon the social and commercial life of the time. Watt succeeded in 1856 in organizing a corporation, which obtained a charter from the Territorial Legislature and began operations by constructing a canal by which the waters of the Santiam River were diverted into Mill Creek at a point about fifteen miles from its confluence with the Willamette River at Salem. This was in itself an ambitious engineering feat, and the concern, known as the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company, bought machinery on credit in New England, borrowed funds from Daniel Waldo and from Mr. Watt, and finished its first product, a lot of fine white blankets, in January, 1858. The Fraser River mining stampede in the spring of that year caused cessation of operations, and when the workmen returned later in the year the stock of raw wool became exhausted, while there were no funds to buy more. In the ensuing financial readjustment, an arrangement was made by which the finished products of the factory were sold to the merchants of the Territory in exchange for wool. Wages of employes were now paid in part in due bills of the company instead of cash, and "factory scrip," as it came to be known, was for a time an important circulating medium in the Willamette Valley. The cloth made by the factory bore the brand "Hardtimes," in token of the peculiar circumstances of its production, and found a ready market along the line of the Holladay stage route in Oregon and California and also in Washington Territory. The company earned large profits during the Civil war and rival mills were built at Oregon City, Brownsville and Ellendale as the result of the prosperity of the pioneer concern. Watt's operations also led to the entry of Oregon wool for the first time into Eastern markets, when the company in 1862 sold its surplus of 100,000 pounds to New England buyers. This was the first shipment of wool direct from Oregon to the East. A noteworthy incident of Watt's operations which deserves mention in this connection was his later shipment of the first cargo of wheat from the Willamette Valley to Liverpool, which constituted the first Oregon agricultural venture in the great markets of the world.[11]

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of Lane County, who imported New Oxfordshires and Hampshire Downs in 1860; Jones and Rockwell, who sold in Western Oregon in 1860 forty-five head of thorough-bred merinos, mostly of the Spanish type, but which so improved by Vermont breeders as to justify naming them American merinos, as was done. Benjamin Stark, United States senator, sent a fine Cotswold to Oregon. Archibald McKinlay, when he retired from the Hudson's Bay Company, settled in Marion County, taking with him a number of high-grade sheep from the late English importations of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company and these became the nucleus of a number of excellent flocks.

[11] The first officers of the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company were: George H. Williams, president; Alfred Stanton, vice president; Joseph Watt, W. H. Rector, Joseph Holman, E. M. Barnum and Lafayette Grover, directors; Joseph G. Wilson, secretary; John D. Boone, treasurer. L. E. Pratt, who was manager of the mill from its establishment in 1857 until 1863, says that the business was at first financed by loans from Daniel Waldo and

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Pure-bred cattle were not brought to the Willamette Valley, with the insignificant exceptions noted, until October, 1871, when two important consignments arrived under the personal supervision of their owners, Simeon G. Reed, one of the moving spirits in the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and an enterprising citizen possessing a variety of interests, and B. E. Stewart and Sons, of North Yamhill. These consisted of prize-winners at state fairs in the East, and a considerable number of them had been previously imported from England and Scotland. The Reed stock, which subsequently became the foundation of an imported pure-bred livestock industry owned by Reed and W. S. Ladd of Portland, were selected by William Watson, son of the founder of the Aberdeen-Angus line of cattle. Stewart made his own selections and both consignments reached San Francisco at about the same time. Reed chartered the steamships Oriflame and Ajax for his herds and also gave passage on board one of them to Stewart and his family and to the sheep and poultry of the Stewart importation. The remainder of the Stewart herds reached Portland on board the side-wheel steamer J. L. Stephens, after an uncomfortable passage which nearly resulted in disaster. In charge of the Reed consignment came Thomas Withycombe and a young son, James. The latter afterward distinguished himself as a leader in agricultural education in Oregon and in the last years of his life became governor of the state. The Reed and Ladd herds comprised shorthorn and Ayreshire cattle, Clydesdale and trotting horses, Cotswold and Leicester sheep and Berkshire swine, while the Stewarts brought Ayreshire, Holstein and Devon cattle and Cotswold sheep. It is not exaggeration to say that these created a revolution in animal husbandry in Oregon, for they not only furnished an important object lesson in the superiority of well-bred stock over the varieties then generally prevailing, but they also led to other shipments and to competition in the ownership of animals of good breeds, which had a lasting effect on the entire industry.[12] Ladd afterwards brought other

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Joseph Watt, on which interest at the rate of 2 per cent a month was paid, compounded semi-annually. The early financial difficulties of the company were attributed to a flood of cheap eastern goods sent to the territory by sea during the panic of 1856-7, but the issue of factory scrip overcame this handicap and by furnishing a new circulating medium was instrumental in alleviating distress in Oregon. (L. E. Pratt, History of the Willamette Valley Woolen Factory, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. III, pp. 248 et seq.) The selection of a site for a factory was attended by the usual competition between "east side" and "west side," then ever-recurrent in Oregon commercial as well as political life. When the project was first broached, in 1855, subscriptions of stock were sought and offers of a bonus solicited. The articles provided for a capital stock of $25,000 and that when $9,000 had been subscribed a meeting should be held to decide on the location. One party wished the mill placed on the Luckiamute, west of the Polk County hills, and the other desired it to be located at Salem, on the east side of the hills. The party favorable to the Salem site obtained a bonus of about $7,000 and got control of the voting stock. (James R. Robertson, A Pioneer Captain of Industry, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, p. 163.) At the time the factory was conceived, according to Watt, wool was almost worthless in Oregon and woolen cloth was exceedingly high-priced. "I thought this expense would more than compensate the difference in labor between this country and the Atlantic states," was Watt's own idea. (Letter, Joseph Watt to Matthew P. Deady, June 17, 1875. Mss. Or. Hist. Soc.) Watt says that Polk and Yamhill counties were the first liberal subscribers to the capital stock, and that he then persuaded Salem people to subscribe, "after several weeks and a good deal of labor."

12 An attempt to introduce pure-bred stock on a considerable scale had been previously made in 1855, when the Oregon Stock Importing Company was incorporated. Wayman St. Clair of Benton County was president, Ralph C. Geer of Marion, vice president, A. G. Hovey of Benton, treasurer, John P. Welch of Lane, importing agent, and T. W. Marion,

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fine animals to Oregon of various kinds, and among other enterprises established the first Jersey dairy herd in the state.[13]

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secretary. A published "abstract of intentions" stated that "the agent will proceed to Kentucky, Ohio, and New York and select a few pure-bred shorthorn Durham bulls, a few pure-bred Southdown sheep and like bred French merino sheep each year." (Oregon Statesman, July 21, 1855.) The plan failed for want of support, but several of the individuals named were active in efforts to improve livestock breeds in the state prior to the Stewart and Reed and Ladd ventures.

Durham, or shorthorn, cattle were favorites of the pioneers, the breed having become well established in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys about the time that immigration to Oregon began. Governor Gaines imported a number of pedigreed Durhams in 1852. A faction of the democratic party in the territorial period were known as "Durhamites," from a circumstance arising from a cattle deal. The story then current was that Judge O. C. Pratt, who figured prominently in the politics of the day, had sold a band of Spanish cattle which he had bought from a man named Durham, the purchaser being led to believe that he was buying blooded Durham stock. Pratt's followers were consequently called "Durhamites" by their detractors. (See W. C. Woodward, Political Parties in Oregon, p. 51.)

[13] The growth of the livestock industry is well shown by the exhibits at the Pacific International Livestock Exposition, at North Portland, Oregon, which, while from various states besides Oregon, indicate extent and variety of types assembled. The figures cover three years.

	1919		1920		1921	
	Exhibitors	Animals	Exhibitors	Animals	Exhibitors	Animals
Beef Shorthorns	21	162	39	244	21	115
Herefords	20	102	19	166	16	132
Aberdeen Angus	2	18	6	68	3	30
Milking Shorthorns	5	40	9	68	7	49
Red Polled	1	15	1	12	2	19
Total Beef	49	337	74	558	49	345
Ayreshires	3	6	7	84	5	80
Guernseys	13	130	31	136	21	160
Holsteins	23	176	38	253	38	202
Jerseys	22	138	60	309	39	214
Total Dairy	62	450	136	782	103	656
Cheviots			1	8	1	10
Cotswolds	5	32	3	38	2	35
Corriedales	4	20			2	24
Dorset			3	30	5	36
Hampshires	7	32	3	56	5	62
Leicesters Border					2	18
Leicesters English	3	11	1	8	1	9
Lincolns			3	36	7	72
Oxfords	3	17	6	44	4	34
Rambouillet	4	50	7	72	3	53
Romney			2	33	1	12
Shropshires			7	50	7	61
South Downs	2	10	4	33	4	40
Total Sheep	28	172	40	408	44	466
Berkshires	2	16	9	58	7	48
Chester Whites	5	72	10	85	12	120
Duroc Jerseys	7	90	9	98	14	154
Hampshires	2	9	4	27	6	66
Poland Chinas	8	121	11	104	16	147
Total Swine	24	308	43	372	55	535

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It was destined from the beginning that horticulture should prosper, for numerous wild progenitors of the common domestic fruits of the eastern states were indigenous to the region and throve in peculiar abundance and with amazing fruitfulness in the hospitable soil and climate of Oregon. The earliest visitors, for example, found a species of wild crab apple, Pyrus rivularis, growing everywhere in the western part of the state, an excellent indication of the suitability of the country for the production of pome fruits in general, while a species of wild plum, prunus subcordata, which grew in profusion in both Western and Eastern Oregon, similarly guaranteed the success of drupes. Native grapes and a large variety of berries abounded, particularly in the more humid localities. To these were added, prior to the beginning of immigration, a number of domestic fruits grown from seeds, concerning which there is a pleasing and romantic story. The legend says that a number of employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, faring forth from England in 1824 to aid in establishing the company's post on the lower Columbia River, were guests at a farewell dinner at which some of the young women at the reception party presented them with seeds from the fruits of the banquet table, to be planted in Oregon in memory of their parting. The injunction was literally complied with, so runs the tale, and the fruits of these trees, which were planted in the spring of 1825 in the vicinity of old Fort Vancouver, were for many years enjoyed by those who were fortunate enough to partake of the hospitality of the fur trading post.[14]

Grafted fruit trees, true to the stock from which they originated, were practically unknown, however, until 1847, when Henderson Luelling of Iowa brought to the territory by ox-team a consignment of some eight hundred one-year-old nursery trees, which were set out in the spring of 1848 on newly cleared land near Milwaukie, on the present grounds of the Waverly Country

	1919		1920		1921	
	Exhibitors	Animals	Exhibitors	Animals	Exhibitors	Animals
Goats, Angora	2	28	4	74	8	68
Goats, Milk					21	82
Belgians	4	22	4	36	5	20
Clydesdales	4	19	6	36	6	28
Percherons	6	52	12	56	10	52
Shires	5	28	13	68	6	16
Total Horses	19	121	35	196	27	116
Jacks and Jennets	1	20	2	20	2	26
TOTAL	185	1436	334	2410	309	2294

The number of entries in the respective years were:

1919 1653
1920 3471
1921 3526

The above number of exhibitors and animals does not include the Boys' and Girls' Clubs; nor the animals of the Fat Stock Division. In the latter division there have been in

1919 .....31 exhibitors
1920 .....47 exhibitors
1921 .....50 exhibitors

[14] This appears to find a basis in the diary of Mrs. Narcissa Prentiss Whitman under date September 12, 1836, in which she includes the seeds of grapes as well as apples in the story related to her on the occasion of a visit to Fort Vancouver. One of the original seedling apple trees was still standing in 1911. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 120.)

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Club.[15] The prudent venture founded the fortune of the far-sighted and enterprising horticulturist. Another before Luelling had been less fortunate, and so had missed the golden opportunity two years previously. William Barlow, an immigrant of 1845, tells how he started from Illinois with a complete assortment of the best grafted trees that Illinois could produce and transported them as far as Independence Rock, where he met several men returning from Oregon who informed him that there was "as good fruit in Oregon as anywhere in the world,"—in allusion to the seedling orchards at Vancouver and on French Prairie,—and also advised him that he would be unable to reach the Willamette Valley with his wagons. Barlow thereupon abandoned the undertaking, only to learn somewhat later that the journey with the wagons might have been made successfully. He brought with him, however, a quantity of apple seeds from which in the autumn of 1846 he sold a large number of seedling trees at 15 cents each.[16] It is worthy of record that among the varieties brought to the Territory by Luelling were several in the production of which Oregon has since attained a reputation for especial excellence. This first consignment consisted of Newtown, Baldwin, Bellflower, Rambo, Rhode Island Greening, Seek-no-further, Northern Spy, Red Cheek Pippin, White Winter Pearmain, Spitzenberg, Winesap, Golden Russet, Blue Pearmain, Gloria Mundi, Early Harvest, Gravenstein, King and Red Astrachan apples; Bartlett, Seckel, Clapp's Favorite, Early Butter, Fall Butter, Pound, Winter Nelis, and Vicar of Wakefield pears; May Duke, Black Bigarreau, Kentish, Royal Anne, Black Tartarian and Early Purple Guigne cherries; and Early Crawford, Late Crawford and Golden Cling peaches.

The fruit industry thereafter developed into one of the most profitable branches of farming in Oregon. The natural conditions favoring it are illustrated by the circumstance that one of Luelling's nursery trees bore a great red apple while still in the nursery row, a phenomenon which attracted the attention of settlers from all parts of the country. Orchards sprang up in nearly every door yard and began to exert a definite influence on the life of the people. The discovery of gold in California again was felt, when Oregon fruit found a ready sale in California at high prices, apples yielding their growers as much as $1 a pound by the box and selling at retail for $1.50 apiece. Six thousand bushels shipped from the state in 1855 returned the shippers $20 to $30 a

[15] Nathaniel J. Wyeth claimed to have set out grafted fruit trees on his claim on Wappato (Sauvie's) island at the time that he established the trading post he called Fort William. In his "Statement of Facts," dated at Cambridge, Mass., December 13, 1847, prepared in an effort to persuade Congress to recognize his title to the land in question, he says: "At this post * * * we grafted and planted apples and other fruits." No record exists other than this as to Wyeth's orchard, and it probably perished from neglect. Dr. J. R. Cardwell expressed the opinion that the grafts and stock must have come from the Sandwich islands. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 30.)

[16] Barlow thought that Jason Lee was among those who counseled against bringing the trees to Oregon, and estimated that his own error of judgment cost him $50,000. "There were no grafted apple trees in all the territory," he wrote, "and I could have made a full monopoly of all the apples and pears on the coast. Mr. Henderson Luelling, who crossed the plains in 1847, two years later than I did, with substantially the same kind of fruit trees that I had, supplied the country as fast as he could grow the trees at one dollar apiece for one-year-old trees. I paid him in 1853 $100 for 100 grafted trees. I was talking to his son a few days ago about the profits to themselves and the benefits of their importation to the country, estimating it at a million dollars. I think their own profits ran up to the hundreds of thousands. * * * Meek, his brother-in-law, built the Standard flour mill at Milwaukie out of the profits of the nursery." William Barlow, Reminiscences of Seventy Years, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XIII, pp. 277-8.

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STREET SCENES, INDEPENDENCE

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bushel. The export of 1856, by which year many young orchards which had been set out in the autumn of 1848 and the spring of 1849 were in full bearing, was estimated at 20,000 boxes. There ensued a reaction such as quite commonly follows over-production, the requirements of accessible markets were largely exceeded, which resulted in decline of prices and, as a consequence, in neglect of orchards and the admission of insect and fungus enemies. Horticulture suffered a period of depression in the decade of the '60s, which was not, however, without its practical lessons. In the quest of a product that would bear the high costs of transportation of the time, the Italian prune, now an important and profitable staple of Oregon, was introduced, the fruit-growing industry was organized, the spirit of research and experiment was stimulated and agriculture as well as horticulture entered a more auspicious era. It was moreover now realized, as had been predicted early in the '50s, that settlement in a new country by a people previously accustomed to husbandry under widely different conditions was beset with problems which required individual solution. "The experience and experiments of 'the States,'" Asahel Bush warned his readers in 1853, "are of little or no service now. Our climate, seasons and soil differ from those of all of them, and agriculture and horticulture here must be conducted upon different systems. New experiments must be tried, and new modes adopted. In a great measure everything is to be learned anew. Hence the importance of societies where interchange of opinions and experiences may be had."[17] This was apropos of a projected meeting of the farmers of Yamhill County at which, October 4, 1853, the first county agricultural society was organized, to be followed in the natural course of events by similar organizations in other counties, leading to formation in 1858 of the Fruitgrowers' Association of Oregon, which was the first state organization of the kind, and in 1860 of the Oregon State Agricultural Society, with which the Fruitgrowers' Association was then merged. The state society was sponsor for the first state fair, which was held near Oregon City in the autumn of 1861. The permanent location of the fair was established at Salem, however, in the following year.[18] These early societies were social and cultural as well as utilitarian in their aims and contributed not inconsiderably to the spread of general education and to fostering neighborly amenities.

Oregon fruit attracted much attention at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, because of its superior color, flavor and size and because it had been transported a distance of more than four thousand miles without observable depreciation. Medals and diplomas were awarded for "cherries of remarkable size and flavor," "pears, ten varieties of superior excellence and size, beauty and flavor," "apples, twelve varieties of remarkable excellence, flavor, color and size," and "prunes, four varieties, all superior, illustrating how well the state of Oregon is adapted to their culture." Particular mention was made of "a cluster of Clapp's Favorite pears containing six large and

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[17] Oregon Statesman, October 4, 1853. The annual State Fair has been kept up by legislative appropriation with great success. George H. Himes in an article on the Organization of the Oregon State Agricultural Society, says the society had its beginnings at a meeting of farmers of Yamhill County in 1853. (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, p. 317.)

[18] For details of the organization of the agricultural and pomological societies in Oregon, see History of Organization of State Agricultural Society, by George H. Himes, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VIII, pp. 317 et seq.; also Dr. J. R. Cardwell, First Fruits of the Land, Or. Hist Quar., Vol. VII, pp. 158-162. The fruitgrowers, who surrendered their separate identity in 1860, organized the Oregon State Horticultural Society in 1889.

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handsome specimens—an evidence of the remarkable fruitfulness of that variety.''[19]

The immigration to Southern Oregon following the pacification of the indians there revealed new regions whose foothills were especially suited to the production of fruit, and after railroad communication with the eastern states was established the industry was again extended. Certain localities, especially near Medford and Ashland, began to market fruit in great quantities. Commercial culture of deciduous fruits, as distinguished from production as the by-product of general farming, can be said to have originated in and to have reached its highest development in Oregon. It having occurred to certain apple growers in what is now Hood River County and in Jackson County in the decade of the '90s that grading and packing were important to retention of permanent markets, the Oregon method was now introduced to the world. This consisted in fixing definite standards of excellence, to the maintenance of which the corporate faith of unions of fruitgrowers was pledged, and it marked the beginning of a new day in marketing methods, not only for Oregon but for a large number of communities which have followed its example.

The versatility and enterprise of Oregon farmers and fruitgrowers has been exhibited almost from the beginning in an exceptional capacity for discovering the products particularly adapted to various localities, as reflected in the variety of the natural products of the state. The Evergreen variety of the blackberry, which is said to have come originally from the South Sea Islands, found a congenial habitat at the James Stephens place, in the early '50s, on the Willamette where East Portland was afterward laid out; and three or four miles farther up that stream, at Milwaukie, Seth Luelling originated the Black Republican and Bing varieties of cherries in the '60s, the latter being named for a trusted Chinese helper who bore that name. It was in this neighborhood, too, that J. H. Lambert first produced the equally good Lambert variety, which he presented to the Oregon State Horticultural Society in 1876.[20] At least four varieties of native cranberry having pointed to the possibilities of domestic culture, cranberry growing has recently been undertaken with favorable results. The abundance of nectar-producing blossoms, particularly the wild clover and wild peas, which was noticed by the earliest comers, led to a number of efforts to introduce honey bees before one was successful. The loss of a hive of bees by a member of the immigration of 1846 via the Applegate trail was then with reason regarded by its owner as a calamity because he had had a promise of $500 for a hive delivered in good condition in the territory.[21] Further attempts were thereby discouraged, until 1854, when John Davenport of Marion County succeeded and his achievement was hailed with great joy throughout the territory, since it meant a new and welcome addition to the diet of the pioneers.[22]

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[19] Reports and Awards, United States Centennial Commission, Vol. VIII, passim. ''The apples of Oregon,'' said the judges, ''on the other hand surprise by their large dimensions. Usually fruit loses somewhat in flavor with an increase of size in these far western states; but the apples of Oregon are exceptions to this rule.'' Id., Chap. XXXVI, p. 3.

[20] J. R. Cardwell, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. VII, p. 28.

[21] J. Quinn Thornton in address before Oregon Pioneers. (Transactions, 1878, p. 29.)

[22] ''SOMETHING NEW.—John Davenport, Esq., of this county has just returned from a visit to the States, and has brought with him a hive of honey bees, an enterprise hitherto supposed impracticable. The bees are apparently in good health and not less in numbers

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Somewhat similarly the production of flax, which has been mentioned, was pre-indicated by the appearance of plants of this family among the indigenous flora east of the Cascades. Lewis and Clark found the Clatsop indians using fish lines from the fiber of wild flax and were told that they had obtained it by barter with their neighbors east of the Cascades.[23] Flax-seed was brought across the plains to Oregon from Indiana in 1844 by James Johnson, was planted near Lafayette, Yamhill County, and grew well. The fiber was woven on a home-made loom in 1845, and domestic linen manufacture was practiced quite generally by the pioneer mothers. Flax has more recently proved a profitable crop in the Willamette Valley, and much is due to several who have given especial effort to establishing it on a stable basis, with a view to its industrial possibilities in the manufacture of linen products in the future. Nut culture, the success of which was forecast by a high quality of wild filbert which grew everywhere in the valleys of the state, also has become an industry of considerable commercial importance in connection with the utilization of large areas of logged-off forest lands. English walnuts are now a large and profitable product of the Willamette Valley. Agricultural progress of the territory has also been promoted by the introduction of products which at first were assumed to be unsuitable for the region. Indian corn, or maize, a conspicuous example of this, is now grown successfully in consequence of persistent scientific experimentation and research.[24]

The elevated and mostly unwatered plains of Eastern and Central Oregon, as distinguished from the grain-growing alluvial valleys, were last to be settled and for many years were chiefly given over to the production of livestock by methods which would now be regarded as economically wasteful, but which were well enough suited to their own time. These great plateaus were exclusively a range for cattle and sheep until land became relatively scarce in the western valleys. The first wheat raised in Eastern Oregon, now the granary section of the state, probably was that produced by Andrew Kilgore, near Weston, in

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than when hived for the journey. The hive in which they were confined is of the ordinary size, three sides being made of wire gauze, the fourth of boards." Oregon Statesman, August 1, 1854.

[23] Letter of Mrs. Harriet McArthur, in the Portland Oregonian, January 17, 1911. Reprinted in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XII, p. 118. Mrs. McArthur, a daughter of Senator Nesmith, says: "That they understood, in a crude way, the retting and curing of flax, is very clearly proven by examining bags made by the Wascos, Klickitats, Warm Springs, Cayuse, Umatillas and other tribes." See also History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Coues ed., Vol. II, p. 423, entry of July 18, 1805: "For several days past we have discovered a species of wild flax (Linum perenne) in the low grounds. * * * Today we met with a second species of flax (Campanula rotundifolia) smaller than the first, as it seldom obtains a greater height than nine or twelve inches."

[24] Rev. Alvan F. Waller wrote from Willamette Falls to his brother in Elba, N. Y., on April 5, 1842: "Produce of all kinds, except corn, does well here, so far as it has been fairly tried." Mss. Or. Hist. Soc. The first farmers were persuaded that corn could not be grown in Oregon for want of a long hot season. This was measurably true in the beginning, but new varieties were created which matured well within the Oregon growing season. They were the result largely of the efforts of C. L. Smith, agriculturist of the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, whose work is especially significant because it is typical of still another influence in Oregon agriculture, that of the railroad companies, which from the time of Holladay and Villard pursued with varying consistency the policy of creating traffic for themselves by instructing the farmers along their lines in improved methods of husbandry.

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Umatilla County, in 1863.[25] Dry-farming, a method by which the soil moisture of two seasons is approximately conserved for the production of a crop each alternate year, was rewarded with moderate success. It introduced into Central Oregon a new element, families that made homes on the land, built fences and set up an active opposition to the monopoly of the "cattle barons," as the owners of large herds on the ranges were sometimes colloquially called. As a supplement to dry-farming, irrigation was begun in a small way, a private enterprise of this kind being initiated in Umatilla County as early as 1869, to be followed by others which utilized the most convenient sites for reservoirs and ditches. Congress in 1894 enacted a law conditionally granting to Oregon, in common with other states, a large area of the Federal public lands for reclamation by irrigation under state supervision. This was formally accepted by act of the Oregon Legislature seven years later, in 1901. Since that time many large irrigation projects have been undertaken. Although it is evident that the streams might ultimately be able to furnish cheap power for manufactures of great importance to future generations, unless the waters are diverted for irrigation projects without merit, the relative value for manufacturing and irrigation has not been determined. There was little effective state supervision prior to 1907, and since that time speculators have succeeded in committing the state to reclamation projects of little merit. Applications were made for the withdrawal of thirty-nine projects under the terms of the law, these comprising 861,822 acres, of which twenty-one projects comprising 325,508 acres were held on further examination to be not feasible and were relinquished. Development was greatly hampered in its earlier stages by want of legal precedents and by the usual political considerations associated with large and novel public enterprises, but irrigation has been justified in principle by results accruing from a few completed projects. The report of the State Desert Land Board for 1921 shows that 75,368 acres have been patented to the state by the United States, of which 38,093 acres have been deeded to actual settlers by the state, the deeded acreage being situated on irrigation projects which will comprise some 230,000 acres when completed. The state has recently adopted the doubtful policy of lending its credit in aid of approved irrigation projects by insuring interest for a period of years upon bonded indebtedness.

A gradual change also has taken place in the extensive areas of marsh formerly inhabited chiefly by the tule-dwelling Klamath and Shasta indians. The first efforts of the state to induce improvement of these lands were provocative of political as well as legal controversy. An ingenious contention of certain of the early claimants to these lands was that a sufficient, even if very gradual, reclamation was being effected by ordinary husbandry in the use of the lands for hay and pasturage, and that, for example, the impacting of the soil by the tread of many horses and cattle reclaimed the land and constituted an essential compliance with the spirit of the statute. It was an administrative ruling at one time, in the '70s, that cutting the natural grasses on the land fully satisfied the demands of the law, which required improvement. The tendency toward subdivision of the former extensive possessions of the largest livestock owners, a greater measure of coöperation in reclamation projects of all kinds, and steadily increasing settlement of all the arable lands east of the Cascades have

[25] C. A. Barrett, in Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. XVI, p. 345.

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been among the most noteworthy developments, and the most significant in their bearing on the future, of the past decade in this extensive region.

The constructive labors of the pioneers, notwithstanding the amazing changes which have taken place in more recent times, furnish the interesting features of the annals of agriculture. Yet there is ironical significance in the fact that the lands for which these original settlers hungered, and for which they braved almost incredible hardships, and for which they endured almost innumerable deprivations to make them more fruitful, have largely passed from the possession of their descendants. This phenomenon has been viewed by an observant and philosophical early settler, who says: "In the absence of any reliable census reports, I have been obliged to rely upon regional inspection, taking a township here and there and tracing up the career of the first white inhabitant. For this purpose I have selected, for an average, 100 square miles on the east side of the Willamette Valley, in Marion County, which contains the state capital, and an examination shows that sixty-six per cent of the donation land claims have passed out of the possession of the donees and their descendants, another fifteen per cent are mortgaged for all they are worth, and for practical purposes may be considered as lost to them. Not more than fifteen per cent of the whole have been ordinarily successful in holding and improving a part of their possession and are now free from debt. Only five of all of them increased their holdings."[26] Pioneer hardships, toil and sacrifice, as has been noted, are conspicuous in the story of the building of the state. The donation land act of 1850, which marked the beginning of an epoch in the settling of the West, was liberal, and in fact the large tracts acquired by the first families were not and could not be fully improved by them. For more than a generation fertile districts were retarded in development by the fact that the land holdings were too large. But pioneer industry, if we may hope to arrive at an approximation of the cost of the high development that has since been attained, contributed its full part, and later enterprise is built upon the foundation laid by the sturdy men and women who trudged behind the ox team across the plains and mountains.

The returns of the federal census lose their prosaic quality in this association. They show that there were, in 1850, for illustration, 1,164 farms, comprising 432,808 acres, valued with their improvements at $4,908,782 in all of what was then Oregon. The number of farms in 1920 in the present State of Oregon was 50,206, their area 61,188,480 acres, and their value together with improvements $818,559,951. The very large proportion operated by their owners, by comparison with the statistics for the entire United States,[27] is noteworthy, being 39,863 farms, or 79.4 per cent in the hands of owners, to 9,427, or 18.8 per cent, which are tilled by tenants.[28] The value of all crops produced in 1919 was $131,884,639, of which $53,980,152 was accounted for by cereals, hay and forage was valued at $41,835,706, fruits and nuts at $20,373,412, and vegetables at $11,762,494. This was in addition to livestock and dairy products, poultry and honey.[29] The entire value of all farm property in 1850 was nearly equalled

[26] T. W. Davenport, An Object Lesson in Paternalism, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. IV, pp. 50-1.

[27] For the whole country the proportion is: Operated by owners, 60.9 per cent; by tenants, 38.1 per cent; by managers, 1 per cent.—Department of Commerce Bulletin of the 1920 Census, July 1, 1921.

[28] An apparent discrepancy is accounted for by 916 farms conducted by "managers," or 1.8 per cent.

[29] Receipts from the sale of dairy products, in addition to that consumed on the farm, $15,916,507; wool and mohair, $8,018,524; eggs sold, $3,740,429; honey, $241,684.

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in 1919 by the value of the prune crop alone and was largely exceeded by a number of other single commodities.

During the period described several periodicals devoted to farming and kindred interests were published and no doubt did much to cultivate high ideals and to promote better methods. The Oregon Farmer, first published in August, 1858, by W. B. Taylor and Company was edited by Albert G. Walling and continued until 1863. It was followed by the Oregon Agriculturist, a Salem publication, in 1870-2, under the editorship of A. L. Stinson. The North Pacific Rural Spirit, which was circulated for many years under W. W. Baker, editor, began at Portland about 1867, and after Baker's death was edited for a time by M. D. Wisdom, exercising a good influence. Among other publications that may be mentioned in this connection are Pacific Homestead, and Northwest Poultry Journal, both published at Salem; and also Poultry Life, Western Breeder's Journal, Western Farmer, Better Fruit, and Northwest Pacific Farmer, published at Portland.

The State of Oregon is sometimes called the Beaver State, on account of the association of the little fur-bearing animal with the early history of the Oregon Country, as well as because of its intelligence, industry, ingenuity and other admirable qualities. The plant or flower commonly accepted as characteristic here is the Oregon Grape or Mahonia. But since, among flowers, the queen of all. the rose, develops in the climate of Western Oregon to great perfection, and since the gardens at Portland have given room to many varieties, the city has come to be called the Rose City and a festival with floral parades and other features of beauty and interest has of late years been established as a regular annual event. The month of June is invariably selected for holding the Rose Festival, and prizes are awarded in competitions for excellence.

The production of floral plants, and of shrubbery, trees, bulbs and seeds is now a highly developed commercial business, dividing naturally into many groups and specialties. This and the various interests of farmer, gardener, fruitgrower, dairyman and stock grower, and others relating to the rural population have been steadily fostered and promoted by state and county funds. Local fairs supplement the annual state fair held at Salem in the autumn of each year. And the cattle industry has permanently established an organization under the name of the Pacific International Live Stock Exposition at North Portland, with a great building covering over ten acres, for the annual exhibition of domestic animals. These and other activities augment the influences that soil and climatic conditions have provided to bring the state to a full utilization of its opportunities.

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CHAPTER XLI

THIRTY YEARS (1870-1900)

The three decades beginning with 1870 were characterized by great industrial as well as political activity. The larger issues having been disposed of by determination of the American title to the region, and by the fortunate outcome of the Civil war, matters were restored to the equilibrium to which, soon or late, every American community was certain to return. The pioneers of the '50s and '60s held their ground, but were meanwhile reinforced by immigrations of a somewhat different kind. The ox-team era gave way, with the completion of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, to the age of railroad trains, steamships and telegraph lines. The frontier, which previously had advanced from the east westward, was now met by a counter-movement of population which, flowing into the Willamette Valley and the coast counties from California by sea, pressed eastward across the Cascade Mountains, sought out and filled the waste spaces which had been disregarded in the time of greater land plenty, distributed itself more evenly throughout the state, dotted the isolated valleys of Central and Eastern Oregon with pleasant homesteads, overflowed to the interior plains and wide ranges for cattle raising and sheep husbandry, and often found outlet in other forms of enterprise. Lumbering and salmon canning especially were stimulated, and both profoundly influenced development by advertising the state's resources in the East and thus giving new impetus to capital. Railroad building was carried rapidly forward and was pressed vigorously during this period, as has already been described, and one of its products was social change, due to the altered character of the immigration which it induced. Whereas heretofore the immigrants had been predominantly homeseekers, a new element was added which gave a speculative turn to adventure, populated cities and towns, sought aggressively for business opportunities, and began vigorously to exploit the natural resources of the state. The demand for rough common labor, created by railroad extension, introduced, too, a casual class differing vastly from the pioneers of the earlier period; and also resulted in an influx of Mongolians who were later to precipitate a new industrial issue in the West.

The population increased very rapidly—from 52,465 in 1860 to 90,922 in 1870, to 174,768 in 1880, and to 313,767 in 1890. Growth of population in Central and Eastern Oregon, which began in the '70s, was phenomenal in the succeeding decade. New counties were created east of the Cascades and increase of property values was relatively enormous. The temper of the people was hopeful on the whole. The state recovered rapidly from the depression caused by the Civil war, and the financial embarrassment arising from the Modoc war was soon forgotten in the general revival which was noted on every hand.

Politically, Oregon underwent a local reaction after the Civil war and

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returned the democrat organization to power.[1] The election of the republican governor, Woods, in 1866, was followed in 1868 by the election of Joseph Shoalwater Smith, a democrat, to Congress, and the Legislature of the latter year which was strongly democratic, attempted to perpetuate that party in power by gerrymandering the legislative districts in a manner calculated to enhance the chances of a democrat candidate for senator in 1870. It was then proposed also to recount the votes by which Woods had been elected, with a view to putting James K. Kelly, his democrat opponent, in office. In the bitter contest which ensued, the republicans accomplished no positive results, but they did succeed in blocking all legislative action; the session was prolonged beyond the constitutional limit of forty days; the appropriation bills, including that for the payment of the per diem and mileage of the members, failed; and on the forty-third day of the stormy session all the republican members of the House but one resigned, which left that body without a quorum, so that it automatically fell apart. Governor Woods was besought to call special elections to fill the vacancies in the House and to summon the Legislature in special session, which having an eye to his own political fortunes he quite naturally declined to do, and for two years the state departments drifted along as best they could without funds.

In 1870, Lafayette Grover, for some years chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee and a man of character and power, was elected governor by 630 majority over Gen. Joel Palmer, nominee of the republicans.[2] James H. Slater, democrat, was elected to Congress by a majority of 343 over the republican nominee, Joseph G. Wilson. Stephen F. Chadwick was elected secretary of state. Governor Woods then sent a farewell message to the Legislature in which he deprecated the idea that there was very much work to be done. "I do not think," he wrote, "that much legislation is necessary at this session." He hoped the members would get through early and go home. "Long sessions of legislative bodies," he continued, voicing a belief which generally prevails even to this day, "as a rule are not productive of good results, but, as all experience proves, are apt to be the nurseries of strifes and contentions which obscure the light of reason and produce injury and disgrace. Such, doubtless, was the opinion of the framers of the constitution of the state, since, in that instrument, the sessions, by implication at least, if not by express language, are limited to forty days." He urged a better organization of the school system, the election of a state superintendent of public instruction, and other amendments to the laws, including a revision of the criminal code to permit defendants to testify in their own defense.

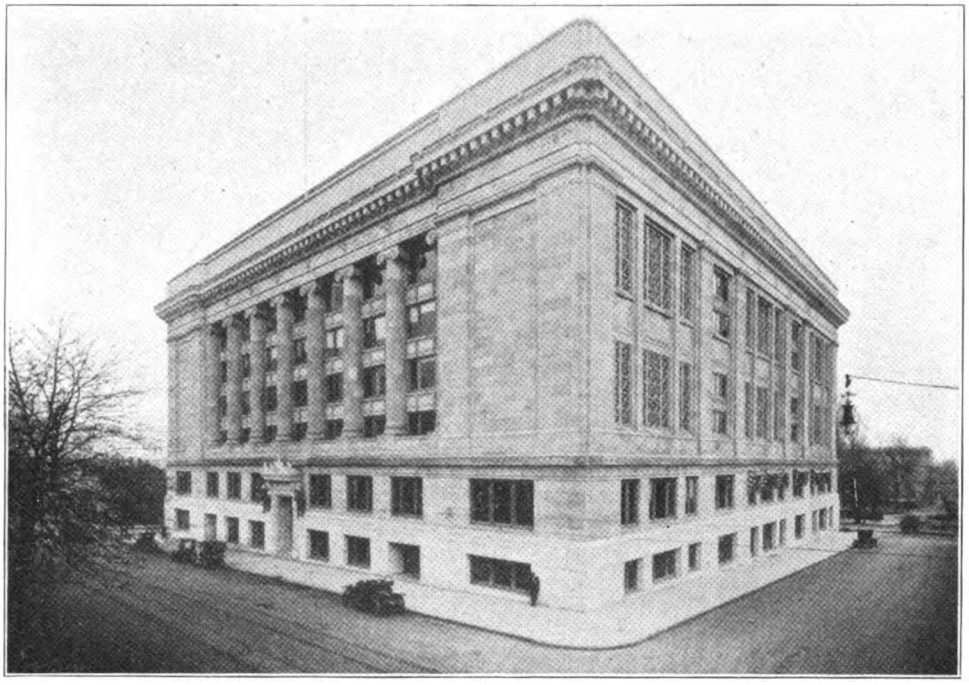
Governor Grover in his inaugural message sounded a note of warning against Mongolian labor and denounced the Burlingame treaty with China for what he termed the absurdity of its pretended reciprocity. He condemned the fif-

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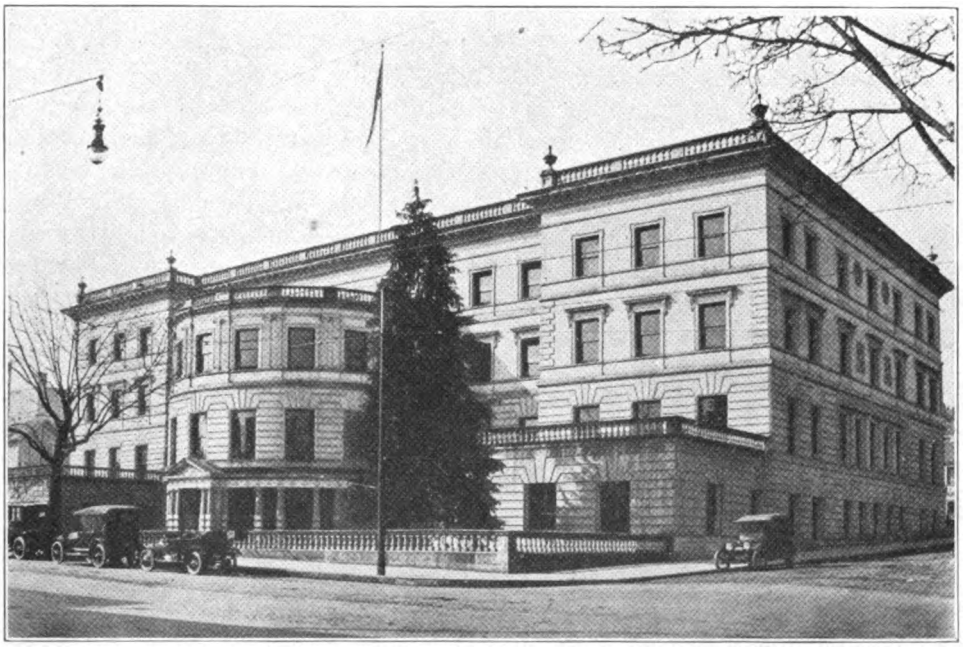
[1] The "Political History of Oregon from 1865 to 1876," is given with much detail by William D. Fenton, Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. II, p. 321, and Vol. III, p. 38.

[2] Grover received 11,726 votes; Palmer 11,096. La Fayette Grover was the fourth governor, serving from September 14, 1870, to February 1, 1877. He was born at Bethel, Maine, in 1823. After going to California in 1850, he located in Oregon in the following year. He became clerk of the circuit court in the First Judicial District, and successively held the offices of prosecuting attorney, territorial auditor, member of the Territorial Legislature, member of the Constitutional Convention, first congressman for Oregon (serving for but seventeen days.) His service as senator was from 1877 to 1883.

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MULTNOMAH COUNTY COURTHOUSE, PORTLAND



CITY HALL, PORTLAND

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teenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States on the ground that it deprived the state of the right to regulate suffrage, and the Legislature, acting on his counsel, refused to ratify the amendment, as the Legislature of 1868 also had done. This had no effect on the right of negroes to vote in Oregon, but it served to keep alive an issue which had long vexed the state. Governor Grover proposed as an alternative that a convention of all the states be called to frame amendments to the Federal Constitution. He called attention to the need of public buildings, at that time wholly lacking in Oregon. In his second message, in 1872, Grover was able to point out that "the state has no funded debt." Its government was organized upon the most economical basis, he said, and "if there is one sentiment in our constitution more prominent than another it is the mandate to be kept free from debt."[3] Increase of population, however, was shown to have off-setting disadvantages, it being discovered that there were five times as many insane and four times as many state convicts as there had been ten years before. The penitentiary now represented an investment by the state of $159,000, a considerable sum in that time. The more important acts of the Legislature of 1872 provided for the construction of a permanent and durable state house; fixed the location of the state university at Eugene; empowered the directors of a school district, on the petition of one hundred or more residents, to arrange for one or more of the common schools to be taught in German; and made a modest appropriation for the education of the blind and other appropriations for the construction of several wagon roads, one from the mouth of the Sandy River to The Dalles, another through Jackson, Grant and Baker counties, and a third through the Nehalem Valley to Astoria. The office of state geologist was also created and Rev. Thomas Condon was designated to fill it. It was abolished, however, in 1876, the repealing bill declaring that the office "is of no benefit to the people of the state." Another law of 1872 provided that the property of married women acquired by their own labor should be exempt from seizure for debts of a husband. Gen. Elisha L. Applegate was made commissioner of immigration and directed to "provide himself with maps, charts and all means necessary to a true representation of Oregon, its resources and advantages, its climate, soil, productions and institutions, to the people of the different states of the union and also in Europe in order to counteract interested misrepresentations, and to encourage immigration to our state."[4] This was the beginning of organized effort to induce European immigration to Oregon. At this session also Governor Abernethy received long-delayed compensation for his services as provisional governor prior to 1849. An appropriation of $2,986.21 was made for this purpose, of which $1,187.29 represented principal and the rest accumulated interest on a moral obligation which ought to have been discharged in early territorial days.

The state voted strongly republican in the national election in 1872, the highest Grant electors receiving 11,818 votes to 7,742 for the Greeley electors. The unreconstructed democrats, who voted for Charles O'Conor and John Quincy Adams, numbered 587. A republican, J. G. Wilson, was elected to Congress in this year by a majority of 750 over John Burnett, democrat.[5] Wilson, who

[3] Messages and Documents of 1872, p. 9.

[4] General Laws, 1872, p. 38.

[5] Wilson had 13,167 votes and Burnett 12,317 votes. Joseph G. Wilson was a native of New Hampshire. He was born in 1826, and came to Oregon in 1852. He was a graduate of Marietta College in Ohio, and died there before taking his seat in Congress, as stated.

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was a cousin of ex-Senator J. W. Nesmith and was a resident of The Dalles at the time of his election, died during the summer recess of Congress without qualifying, and at a special election October 13, 1873, Nesmith, although a democrat, was elected to fill the vacancy, defeating Hiram Smith, republican, by more than 2000 votes.[6] In 1872 also John H. Mitchell was called to the United States Senate for the first time, this being the beginning of a noteworthy political chapter involving among other things the nearly continuous presence in the United States Senate from Oregon of either Mitchell or his law partner, Joseph N. Dolph, and sometimes both of them, for more than thirty years.[7] Both Mitchell and Dolph were unusually efficient representatives in the Senate and unlike many members of that body they devoted a very large proportion of their time at Washington to the transaction of the business of the people of the state, which not only strengthened their personal popularity but accomplished much of practical good for Oregon at the capital of the nation. In this policy they constantly received the support of Oregon's delegation in the lower House, among whom Binger Hermann was a conspicuous figure in the period between 1885 and 1907, during which he served a total of eight terms in Congress, first as representative at large and later as member from the First District, when an additional representative was allotted to Oregon.

The office of state superintendent of public instruction was created during Governor Grover's administration and was filled by the appointment of Sylvester C. Simpson, who assumed its duties in January, 1873. This was followed immediately by the adoption of the uniform system of text books then very much needed in Oregon, by a better system of examination of teachers and by other reforms which vastly improved the public school system. Simpson was succeeded in 1874 by Dr. L. L. Rowland, formerly of Bethel College, who was elected by the people, as provided in the new law.[8]

Governor Grover, who made a good record during his administration of four years from 1870 to 1874, was reelected in the latter year, although by a somewhat reduced plurality. The early period of railroad construction had its influence, as we have seen, upon the political and social, as well as the industrial, life of the state. It engendered antagonisms, probably inevitable in view of the strongly marked individuality and dominating personality of so many of

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He had been clerk of the Supreme Court, and later Circuit Judge at The Dalles, and an associate member therefore of the Supreme Court. His death put an end all too early to what promised to be a brilliant and useful career in Congress.

[6] J. W. Nesmith, democrat, received 8,194 votes; Hiram Smith, republican, received 6,121. Nesmith filled the unexpired term. Although he had loyally supported Lincoln and the Union cause in the Senate, and although he had the distinction of being the only democrat in the Senate to vote for the Thirteenth Amendment, which forever prohibited slavery, nevertheless after Lincoln's death he was a friend and defender of Andrew Johnson, and opposed republican reconstruction plans. He had been nominated by Johnson as minister to Austria, but the Senate had refused to confirm. His election to Congress, therefore, on the death of Judge Wilson, a republican, was a personal triumph.

[7] Joseph N. Dolph died March 10, 1897; John H. Mitchell died December 8, 1905. For many years during the sixties and seventies they had been law partners at Portland.

[8] The discovery of the Oregon caves, now a famous resort, in Josephine County, by a hunter who was pursuing a wounded bear which took refuge in one of them, was among the occurrences of the year 1874 which deserve attention. Oregon's mysterious and beautiful Crater Lake was first discovered June 12, 1853, by prospectors, John W. Hillman and others. They named it Deep Blue Lake. But it was named Crater Lake by a party of visitors from Jacksonville, August 4, 1869. (William Gladstone Steel, Steel Points, March, 1917.)

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the leaders of the period. In addition to this the commercial panic of 1873 left its mark upon political thought and action and the "greenback" movement which then came into being, found sympathy in the rural districts of Oregon. There was in consequence in that year an independent ticket in the field which polled a considerable vote and at one time seemed likely to become a prominent factor in the political affairs. The third party in 1874 nominated for governor Prof. Thomas F. Campbell, president of Monmouth Christian College, a man of great originality and force, whose natural gift for disputatious oratory greatly enlivened the campaign. T. W. Davenport was nominated by the independents for representative in Congress, J. H. Douthitt for secretary of state and Demas Beach for state treasurer. Grover's republican opponent for governor was J. C. Tolman, county judge of Jackson County, who had been several times elected as a republican to judicial office in the southern county, which was normally strongly democratic, and who represented a sincere effort by the republicans to heal their own factional differences and to nominate their most effective man.

The democrat and republican nominees for representative in Congress in 1874 were respectively: George A. La Dow, of Pendleton, and Richard Williams, of Portland. Stephen F. Chadwick was again nominated for secretary of state by the democrats, the republicans naming C. M. Foster. The election in June, 1874, resulted in a complete victory for the democrats, but its outstanding feature was the size of the vote cast for the Independent-Granger-Greenback-anti-Holladay candidates. The strength of the parties is indicated by the vote for governor, which was: Grover, democrat, 9,713; Tolman, republican, 9,163; Campbell, independent, 6,537. Chadwick, however, ran ahead of his ticket and received 10,977 votes to 8,603 for Foster for secretary of state. La Dow died before qualifying and a special election was held in October, 1875, to fill the vacancy. The successful candidate was Lafayette Lane, democrat, son of Gen. Joseph Lane, who received 9,373 votes to 9,106 for Henry Warren, of McMinnville, republican. The feature of this election was the sudden and almost unaccountable disappearance of the strength of the independents, now represented by G. M. Whitney, of Lane County, who received but 837 votes. Sentiment for fiat money was rapidly dying out and a movement was on foot with a view to uniting the republican and independent parties. At the independent convention in this year only the counties of Baker, Benton, Clackamas, Douglas, Grant, Lane, Marion, Multnomah, Polk, Umatilla and Washington were represented. Professor Campbell was placed in nomination for the office but declined to run, and W. A. Starkweather, of Clackamas, was defeated for the nomination by Whitney, by a vote of 40 to 24. The independents this year laid much stress on economy in state government without, however, producing much proof that the administration of Grover had been unnecessarily expensive, and both the independents and republicans included planks in their platforms opposing any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian purposes, in allusion to the custom which still prevailed of fostering denominational schools by means of grants from the public treasury. The campaign was conducted in high good humor, showing that the people were not taking their personal differences very seriously. General Lane emerged from his retirement in Southern Oregon and stumped the state vigorously for his son, while participating in a series of joint debates with General Applegate, spokesman for the republicans. The campaign slogan on both sides was "Let the dead past bury its dead and the living present be devoted to fraternity among the living!"

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Returning to the reëlection of Governor Grover and to the legislative session immediately following, we note that Governor Grover once more called attention to the constitutional provision which limited the debt of the state to $50,000, and, stating that outstanding warrants payable out of revenue then amounted to $287,459, argued that "the form of the liability does not limit the binding force of this restriction." He reminded the legislators that "the aggregate of all indebtedness against the state should be within $50,000."[9] The state levy now stood at five mills on the dollar, with a military tax of one and one-half mills. He advised a levy of half a mill for building purposes, "to stand until all public buildings are completed, and to restrict, absolutely, all appropriation for building purposes to the resources of the building fund." He also advised the immediate creation of a sinking fund of half a mill to liquidate outstanding warrants. In a guarded reference to promotion of immigration by the state he said: "We need population but it will be certainly wise to act within our resources of revenue." He advised the appointment of an immigration committee of citizens who should serve without pay. Economy in state expenditures was a predominating feature of the policy of the administration. The progress of the state from 1870 to 1874 had been healthy and rapid, increase in the rate of development in material progress having been at least fourfold. Governor Grover's utterances on that question seem particularly pertinent in the present era of reckless extravagance in public expenditures, and in view of the increase of public debt since the restrictions of the constitution have been removed by popular vote. "Let us," he said, "maintain a respectable, just and prudent state government; let us lighten the public burden, practice industry and economy; encourage education and maintain our present standards of morals and religion, and all lands will send us increase."

The Legislature of 1876, meeting for the first time in the new capitol, which, however, was not completed, provided for the organization of the state university, previously created, and initiated a constitutional amendment to change the time of the general elections to November in common with other states, a change, however, which proved to be premature and therefore failed. At this session Governor Grover was elected United States senator, receiving in the joint convention forty-eight votes to thirty-three for Jesse Applegate, five for J. W. Nesmith and four for T. F. Campbell. The urge of economy was still felt so strongly that most of the bills which were introduced were defeated and those only were passed which were absolutely required to carry on the Government or which related to local interests. At this session an amendment to the constitution granting the right of suffrage to women and a compulsory education law were among the defeated measures. Among the measures passed was an amendment to the criminal code making it unlawful to sell intoxicating liquor to a minor "without first obtaining the consent of one of such minor's parents or guardian in writing," a statute of particular interest in view of the attitude of extreme hostility toward the saloon which had characterized the early pioneers. The governor in his message at this session also broached the subject of regulating railroad rates by law, and suggested a provision for a veto of single items in appropriation bills. Both of these recommendations were disregarded for the time being and the single item veto remained in abeyance until it was adopted by the people at the general election held in

[9] Messages and Documents of 1874, p. 8.

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November, 1916. On the resignation of Governor Grover to accept the office of senator, Stephen F. Chadwick, the secretary of state, became governor.[10]

Oregon gave its vote for President in 1876 to Rutherford B. Hayes, the republican nominee, and became prominent in the national controversy over the presidential office by reason of a circumstance which seemed to ardent democrats to disqualify one of its republican electors. The vote for Hayes in the electoral college stood 185 to 184, so that the determination of one vote in Oregon became a matter of widespread concern. The republican electors were: J. C. Cartwright of Wasco County, who received 15,214 votes; Dr. J. W. Watts, who at the time of his election was postmaster at Lafayette, Yamhill County, and W. H. Odell, of Salem. Watts and Odell each received 15,206 votes. The democrat nominees for elector were: Henry Klippel, of Jackson County; W. B. Laswell, of Canyon City, Grant County, and E. A. Cronin, of Portland. Cronin received 14,157 votes; Laswell, 14,149, and Klippell, 14,136. Three "Greenback" candidates received, respectively, 510, 509 and 507 votes, showing the virtual disappearance by this time of the third party movement in the state. But the contest hinged upon the circumstance that Watts held the office of postmaster in violation of Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States, which provided that "no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector." No sooner had the official canvass been undertaken, therefore, than a formal protest was filed against the issuance of a certificate to Doctor Watts.[11] A counter-protest signed by republican electors was presented contending that the governor and secretary of state, as a canvassing board, possessed only the ministerial function of ascertaining which candidates had a majority of votes, and certifying to their election. The governor heard arguments on both sides, took the matter under advisement over night and on the morning of December 6, 1876, announced that he had decided not to give the certificate to Doctor Watts but to issue it instead to Cronin, who had received the next highest number of votes.

Three certified lists of electors were accordingly issued by the governor, bearing the names of Odell, Cartwright and Cronin, and to these certificates the great seal of the state was affixed. Thereupon the candidates of both parties

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[10] A State Equalization Society was organized at Portland in 1873 by Abigail Scott Duniway and others, which kept up the campaigning for equal suffrage until it was finally adopted in Oregon in 1912, by a vote of 61,265 for, and 57,104 against. Stephen Fowler Chadwick was Secretary of State from September 10, 1870, to September 2, 1878. He was a native of Connecticut, born at Middletown in 1825, and emigrated to Oregon in 1850. He was a presidential elector in 1864 and in 1868. He was Secretary of State when Grover's election to the Senate left a vacancy in the office of Governor, to which he succeeded, and thereafter he held both offices 1877 to 1879.

[11] The protest alluded to was signed by R. R. Thompson, J. C. Ainsworth, George L. Curry, C. B. Bellinger, J. S. White, J. T. Miller, J. H. Reed, W. F. Trimble, James K. Kelly, W. H. Effinger, W. W. Thayer, B. Jennings, B. B. Acker, A. D. Shelby, T. Patterson, and the crux of the contention was contained in the following: "We claim and insist that the votes cast for the said J. W. Watts at that election amounted to nothing—the same as if they had never been cast, and he being ineligible to the said office, it is the duty of the proper canvassing officers to give the certificate of election to the three qualified candidates having the highest number of votes." Meanwhile Watts resigned as postmaster. The republicans contended that the secretary of state, and not the governor was the canvassing officer under the laws of Oregon, but that in any event the certifying officer was bound by the number of votes cast.

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for electors met at the capitol. Cronin obtained possession of the certificates of election and refused to surrender them. Odell and Cartwright proceeded to organize the electoral college and Watts, for the purpose of clearing the record, resigned the office of elector and was immediately thereafter elected by his colleagues to fill the vacancy. They then cast their ballots for Hayes and Wheeler and certified them in due form, but for the reasons stated were unable to attach the official certificate of their election. Cronin now held a meeting on his own account and, the other two electors to whom certificates had been issued refusing to coöperate with him, he then assumed their refusal to result in a creation of two vacancies, and he chose J. N. T. Miller and John Parker to fill them. The Cronin board thus constituted cast two votes for Hayes and Wheeler and one for Tilden and Hendricks, and a certificate attesting their action was issued by the governor. Both sets of certificates were sent by messenger to Washington and delivered in due time to the President of the United States Senate.

Contention over Doctor Watts' disqualification, which was admitted by some of the republicans, who did not, however, concede that the vacancy thereby created entitled Cronin to the seat, became exceedingly bitter as the possible bearing of the Oregon vote on the national issue became widely understood, and was productive of charges of chicanery in which leaders of both political parties were involved. The Tilden managers, in their deep concern over the outcome, sent to Oregon one J. N. H. Patrick, of Omaha, between whom and W. T. Pelton, nephew of Tilden and secretary of the democratic national campaign committee, at New York, a number of interesting and seemingly incriminating telegrams passed. Many of the telegrams were in cipher and the Hayes managers subsequently obtained possession of them, together with the key to the cipher. The circumstance that the telegrams signed by Pelton were sent from 15 Grammercy Park, New York, the residence of Samuel J. Tilden, gave an added personal interest to the affair, although Tilden afterward denied knowledge of the negotiations which they revealed. The entire matter was aired in the course of an investigation instituted by a select committee of the United States Senate, of which Senator Mitchell was chairman.

Patrick, upon arriving in Oregon, engaged a number of lawyers who were democrats to look after the Tilden interests and also retained the law firm of Hill, Durham & Thompson, of Portland, to represent the democrat organization in pleading before the governor and secretary of state for the denial of a certificate of election to Watts and its issuance to Cronin instead. The members of the firm were W. Lair Hill, Col. George H. Durham and H. Y. Thompson and all were prominent republicans. There was a consultation of democrat leaders, it appeared from testimony adduced before the senate committee, at which it was decided that the employment of the firm of republicans in question was desirable, particularly in view of the circumstance that Hill was editor of the Daily and Weekly Oregonian, the leading republican newspaper of the state. A fee of $3,000 was agreed upon and subsequently paid, although it appeared also that a number of lawyers who were democrats had volunteered their services without remuneration, in a pure spirit of party patriotism, and these incidents added fuel to the flame of controversy which raged for some time after the event. Difficulty was encountered also in obtaining funds in Oregon to finance the cost of certain political enterprises which Patrick, the Tilden representative, seemed to have in mind, and telegraphic appeals for money

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were made, which, also falling into the hands of the republican managers, required a good deal of explanation. The senate committee found among other things that $3,000 had been paid to Cronin, the elector to whom Governor Grover had issued a certificate, Cronin "having peremptorily refused to act as messenger or go to Washington as such unless he was paid said sum of $3,000 in gold coin in hand before leaving, said payment ostensibly to meet the expenses of his journey to Washington and return, whereas $600 would have covered all the necessary expenses of said trip."[12]

The conclusion reached by Grover, that the disqualification of Watts rendered his position on the ballot a nullity and automatically gave the election to the elector receiving the next highest number of votes, was sustained by certain English but not by American precedents, which were argued at length in the hearing before the governor, but did not pacify the republicans of the state. Largely attended indignation meetings were held in various towns, notably at Salem, on December 6, when resolutions of condemnation were passed, and it was reported that the governor's house was under guard against possible violence.[13] "It was only from the earnest solicitation by the repub-

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[12] Senate Reports, No. 678, 44th Cong., 2d Sess. Vol. I. The testimony taken before the senate committee is summarized in the committee report, including a large number of cipher telegrams which were held to incriminate the democrat managers and their agents, the republicans seeking to show that a sum of money in excess of $15,000 was placed at the disposal of the Oregon democrats to be used in carrying their point. A particularly incriminating telegram, sent in cipher and decoded by experts, was signed by Patrick and endorsed: "I fully endorse this.—James K. Kelly." The telegram as decoded read:

"Certificate will be issued to one democrat. Must purchase a republican elector to act with democrats and secure the vote and avoid trouble. Deposit $10,000 to my credit with Kountze Brothers, Wall Street. Answer."

Senator Kelly testified before the committee that he had written a postscript to the telegram without troubling himself to decode it and under a misapprehension of its contents, and the committee, in view of the senator's high standing, accepted his explanation in its report. Another cipher telegram,, signed "Governor," and purporting to have been sent by Grover, figured prominently in the proceedings. It was addressed to Tilden, was dated December 1, 1876, nearly a week before the Governor rendered his decision, and as decoded read:

"I shall decide every point in the case of postoffice elector in favor of the highest democratic elector, and grant certificate accordingly on the morning of the 6th inst."

Grover testified subsequently that the telegram had been sent without his authority and that he had never sent a code message in his life. The originals of both the Kelly and Grover telegrams, which were produced at the inquiry, were in the hand-writing of Patrick.

It was not disputed that more than $15,000 had been sent to the Ladd & Bush bank at Salem, and among other telegrams produced in this connection was one from Asahel Bush, which read: "Sabre: Can myriad be had for subject matter if needed?" It was disclosed that "myriad" was code for "$10,000." Later, Ladd & Bush received a telegram from New York stating: "Martin & Runyon have deposited medicine dollars for your account." "Medicine dollars," it was shown, meant "$8,000." Cronin fared rather worse than some of the others in the testimony, one of the telegrams which involved him being addressed by C. B. Bellinger to Ladd & Bush at Salem and reading as follows:

"Telegraph Ladd & Tilton to let Cronin have three thousand. He wants to start in the morning."

Cronin testified before the committee that Patrick had told him that "Mr. Tilden, if he is elected, will give you anything you want." "I was a little angry," testified Cronin, "and said, 'If you are acquainted with Mr. Tilden, give him my respects and tell him that he has not got anything that I would take.'" Apparently Cronin afterward came to a different way of thinking.

[13] Portland Oregonian, December 7, 1876.

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lican electors and other prominent republicans," said an Oregonian news dispatch of the following morning, "that prevents the governor from being hanged in effigy tonight." The Oregonian, notwithstanding the association of its editor with the democrat side of the controversy, expressed the indignation felt by the republicans over the governor's course, although it counseled moderation. A meeting of protest was held at Ashland, at which it was declared that the indignation of the people reached beyond the secretary of state and governor and embraced as well "all the lawyers who had presented the legal side of the case."[14] The incident left its scars upon the leaders of both political parties, for evidence that money had been forwarded to Oregon by telegraph for use in the controversy was regarded as conclusive, although it did not appear that actual bribery had been accomplished, and the ethical issues which were precipitated were long afterward a fruitful topic of political discussion. In the course of time the theory gained general acceptance that the Tilden agent, Patrick, out of desire to exaggerate the importance of his labors, had promised more than he could perform, and in view of revelations that unscrupulous men had been engaged on both sides in other disputed states, neither party was able in succeeding campaigns to make capital of the presidential election frauds of 1876.

The decision of the electoral commission in February, 1877, was in favor of the votes of Odell, Cartwright and Watts. In this decision it was maintained that the disqualification of Watts merely created a vacancy, which his colleagues were empowered to fill as they had done. The clear expression of the will of the citizens, as shown by the vote cast, was in this manner substantially fulfilled.

Lafayette Lane received the nomination of the democrat party for representative in Congress this year, but was defeated by Richard Williams, republican, the vote being: Williams, 15,347; Lane, 14,229.[15]

The state was beset on two sides during 1877 and 1878 by incidents which not only annoyed the citizens but for a time threatened to retard material development.

As early as 1876 certain bands of the Nez Percés indians began to show signs of hostility to the whites of the northeast corner of Oregon and the adjacent sections of Washington and Idaho. This tribe had prided themselves on having been the friends of the white men and in all the indian troubles of the past these indians had maintained a certain admirable dignity of demeanor and a restraint that indicated their superior character. They claimed that they had never shed white men's blood and that they desired to maintain peace. However, after the treaty of 1855 that had definitely confirmed to them their rights in a vast tract, scarce eight years elapsed until another treaty had been more or less forced upon them, whereby they had to surrender such valuable lands as those in the Imnaha, Wallowa, and Grande Ronde valleys. The

[14] Portland Oregonian, December 21, 1876.

[15] Richard Williams was one of the ablest lawyers of his time. He was a native of Ohio, born in 1836. He settled in Marion County, Oregon, in 1851, where some years later he began the practice of his profession. He moved to Portland in 1865 and died there June 19, 1914, after many years of active life. Excepting his term in congress, he did not hold political office, but he had a keen interest in public affairs and by reason of his wide acquaintance throughout the state and the strong friendships he formed, he was a man of great influence.

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increase in the number of white settlers and miners was viewed with apprehension by members of the tribe. As years went on the encroachments pressed more and more upon the lands of this tribe, and while many remained averse to war, others began to think it necessary to fight for their rights before too late. Thus it was easy for hostilities to begin, at first by acts of murder and outrage by isolated bands and groups, but later by considerable numbers led by young Chief Joseph. Gen. O. O. Howard was in charge of the district for the United States army. The first clash was in a battle at White Bird Canyon on Salmon River and a contingent of white troops were overwhelmed and beaten. General Howard quickly gathered five or six hundred soldiers and overtook Joseph and his band on the Clearwater River July 11, 1877, and after a close battle defeated the indians. They retreated eastward, and then followed a long and fatiguing chase leading through Yellowstone National Park and to various tributaries of the Missouri River, where Howard was joined by troops under Colonel Miles and the thoroughly beaten band of indians finally surrendered and were removed to Indian Territory. This ended the Nez Percés war, but the times were ripe for other indian troubles in the West, and disturbances in various directions culminated in 1877 and 1878 in another brief outbreak and campaign affecting Oregon. The Eastern Oregon group of Bannock indians, including a number of renegade Shoshones, began a campaign of robbery, pillage and murder, especially near Fort Hall in Idaho. The Bannocks first appeared in the vicinity of Steen Mountains, in Oregon, from which locality they moved northward, recruiting among the renegades of Eastern Oregon and Western Idaho as they went. They were under the leadership of Chief Egan. The entire Eastern Oregon Country was disturbed and settlers fled with their families to the settlements for safety, abandoning their flocks and herds. Federal troops, commanded by Gen. O. O. Howard, pursued them and succeeded in localizing their depredations, but not until they had inflicted heavy damage. The war lasted less than a month. In destruction of property, however, it was the most serious which Eastern Oregon had yet experienced, and that section of the state was left, financially and otherwise, in a deplorable condition, from which it did not fully recover for several seasons.[16]

In Western Oregon the people experienced annoyance of another kind not attended by casualties but tending, nevertheless, to increase the general feeling of unrest. Owing to low rates for passage from San Francisco to Portland, established by the steamship companies, there was a great influx of tramps and vagabonds from all parts of the United States who had previously congregated in California and who now came in search of pillage in a region which had been largely free from their kind. The cities and towns in particular were infested during this season by lawless and idle men who would do anything but work. This, the first crime wave of any note in Oregon, subsided gradually, being attended by a noteworthy increase in the population of the penitentiary, which latter fact may in part account for the state's recovery.

Politically, the issue of Chinese immigration now began to assume larger importance and all the party conventions of 1878 adopted resolutions touching on the question. The democrats favored "continued agitation on the subject of

[16] General Howard wrote several books relating to these wars: Chief Joseph, or the Nez Percés (1881); Autobiography (1907); My Life Experiences Among our Hostile Indians (1907): Famous Indian Chiefs I have known (1908). Lieutenant C. E. S. Wood and Captain Joseph A. Sladen, later of Portland, were aides of General Howard.

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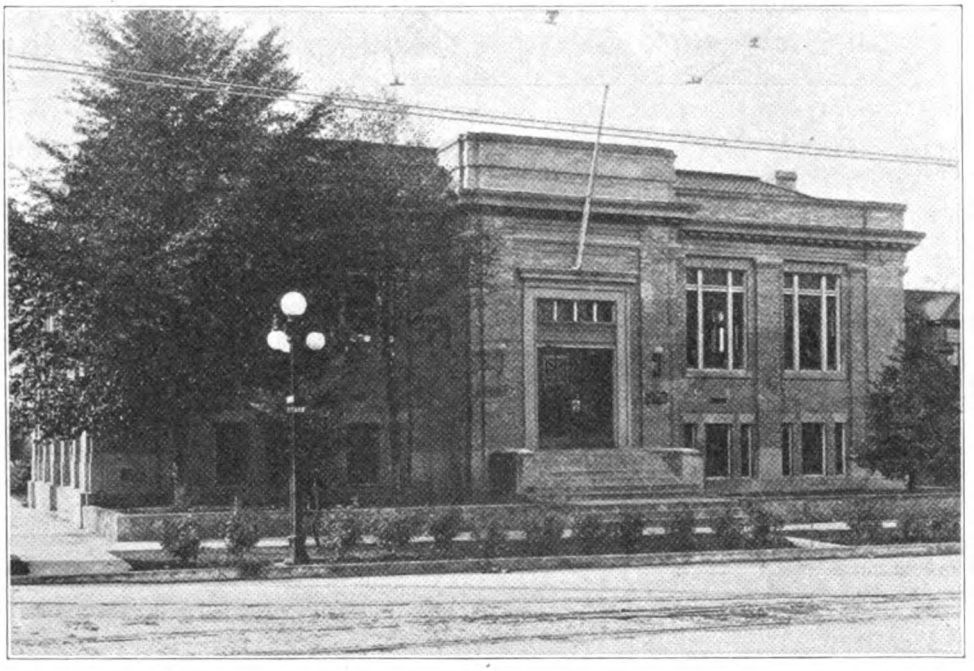
Mongolian immigration to this country until the Federal Government is moved to modify our treaties with the Chinese Empire so as to prohibit it, and thus save those of our fellow citizens who depend upon labor for support from unjust and degrading competition." The greenbackers, who also put a state ticket in the field, asked Congress so to amend the treaty with the Chinese Government as to make it a treaty of commerce and not of immigration. The republicans having in mind in particular the activities of Senator Mitchell in this behalf, adopted a plank which heartily endorsed the efforts of members of Congress from the Pacific coast to modify the existing treaty so as to restrict it to commercial purposes only. The Legislature in the following September adopted a memorial urging Congress to prohibit all immigration of Asiatic laborers and the City of Portland passed an ordinance forbidding the employment of Chinese on the streets of the city. A contractor obtained from Judge Deady in the United States Circuit Court an injunction against the enforcement of the ordinance, that jurist holding that the existing treaty with China recognized the right of the Chinese to make their homes in the United States, which implied the right to labor for a living. "If," said Judge Deady, "a state might prevent an alien lawfully in the country from working upon street improvements, it was not apparent why it could not prohibit him from engaging in any other kind of labor." This view was subsequently upheld by Justice Field.[17]

William Wallace Thayer, of East Portland, a law partner of Richard Williams, being nominated by the democrats for governor, was successful at the election in June, 1878.[18] Thayer's administration was marked by genuinely constructive effort to organize the state's finances and to reform the land laws. During this period a considerable transient debt which had accumulated under previous administrations was paid off or refunded. Construction of the state insane asylum was almost completed, as the result of which the care of the insane, previously committed to private individuals was taken over by the state. Thayer's republican opponent was C. C. Beekman, of Jacksonville. The greenback party nominated for governor Martin Wilkins, who, however, received fewer than 1,400 votes in a total poll of about 34,000. John Whiteaker, first governor under statehood, was nominated by the democrats for Congress and, notwithstanding his negative Civil war record, was elected by a plurality

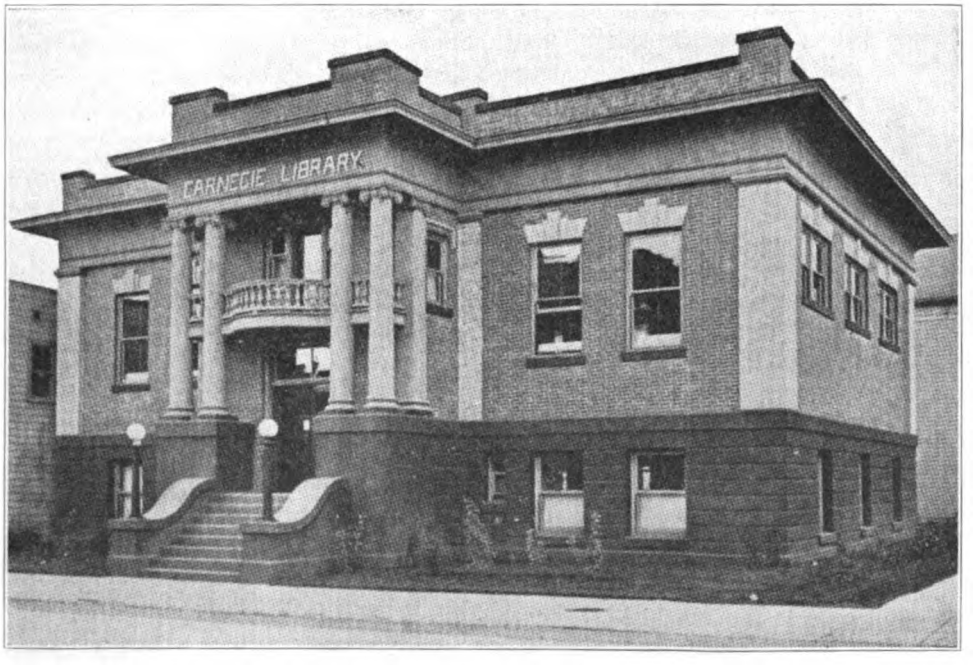
[17] Baker v. Portland, Fed. Cas. No. 777, decided by Judge Deady July 21, 1879; and on rehearing before Justice Field and Deady, District Judge. August 21, 1879 the ruling was reaffirmed and Justice Field delivered a concurring oral opinion. Some attention to the effect of treaty rights was given by Judge Deady, July 21, 1876, in the case Chapman v. Toy Long, et al., Fed. Cas. No. 2610, in which he held that local mining regulations prohibiting Chinamen from working mining claims, and the provision of the state constitution forbidding Chinamen from holding real estate or mining claims, would not be given force as against a treaty with China granting the same privileges as to the most favored nation.

[18] W. W. Thayer was the sixth governor of Oregon, and afterward served as Supreme Judge (1884-1890). He was a man of simple tastes and unpretentious demeanor, and while he was a consistent democrat he was so fair to his political opponents that he had the support of many who did not belong to his party. He was born in New York in 1827. His brother Andrew J. Thayer had gone to Oregon and had settled at Corvallis, where he afterward became circuit judge. At his instance William Wallace Thayer left New York and arrived in Oregon in 1862. He went from there to Lewiston, Idaho, but moved to Portland in 1867, after which time he resided in that city until his death, October 15, 1899. He was a law partner of Richard Williams under the firm name of Thayer and Williams, for many years, and was one of the ablest lawyers and best loved citizens of his times.

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of 1,151. His republican opponent was Rev. Harvey K. Hines, one of the later Methodist missionaries, and the greenback nominee was Prof. Thomas F. Campbell. Whiteaker has the distinction of having been the last democrat elected to the lower house of Congress from Oregon. He was succeeded in 1881 as representative-at-large by Melvin C. George,[19] who served two terms and gave place in turn to Binger Hermann, who was elected in 1885.

In 1891, by reason of increased population, a second representative in the lower house was allotted to Oregon, and the state was divided into two districts. Hermann was elected as the first representative from the First district and served two terms, from 1893 to 1897, and after a lapse of six years, in the course of which he served a term as commissioner of the United States general land office, he was returned to Congress from the First district and remained there four years more, retiring in 1907.[20] A third representative in Congress was allowed the state after the census of 1910, by authority of which the Legislature in 1911 divided the state into three districts.[21]

The Legislature in 1878 elected James H. Slater, of LaGrande, former representative in Congress, as senator, being moved somewhat by geographical considerations, especially as the recent indian disturbances in Eastern Oregon had directed attention to past neglect of that section and created sentiment in favor of its recognition. The legislative session of this year, 1878, was noteworthy also for the encouragement which it gave to the enlargement of the civil rights of women. In the few years immediately preceding, some progress in this direction had been made by the enactment of the bill which rendered a married woman's individual property immune from levy to satisfy a husband's debts, and a women's sole-trader law had been enacted. But it was urged by the proponents of woman suffrage, who were now becoming exceedingly active, that these concessions must be comparatively valueless until the sex should receive a further measure of political emancipation. The Legislature of 1878 extended the ballot to women on school questions and road interests, and their individual property rights were further secured. The lawmakers turned a deaf ear, however, as they had done in 1876, to the plea of the women's organizations for the submission of a suffrage amendment to the state constitution which would eliminate the word "male" from electoral rights. The Legislature in 1880 further amended the code by repealing those laws which imposed civil disabilities upon the wife which did not rest upon the husband, by granting the wife the right to sue alone in the courts for redress of personal grievances and by providing that the wife should succeed after the husband's death to the same control of the estate and of the children as the father previously had exercised. The much-sought suffrage amendment to the constitution now had better fortune, passing both branches of the Legislature

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[19] Melvin Clarke George was fifteenth representative-at-large from Oregon, covering the period from March 4, 1881, to March 3, 1885. Before that he was state senator from Multnomah district, 1876-80, and after retiring from congress served as school director at Portland for several years, and as Circuit Judge, and as a member of the bridge commission. He is a native of Ohio, born May 13, 1849, in Noble County of that state. He practices the profession of the law at Portland.

[20] Binger Hermann lives at Roseburg where he practices law, Besides his terms in congress and his service as commissioner of the general land office, he has held many state offices in Oregon. He is a native of Maryland, where he was born February 19, 1843.

[21] A list of more recent officers will be found in the appendix.

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and being approved by the governor. The provision of the constitution requiring concurrence in an amendment by two successive Legislatures as a condition of its submission to the electors was fully complied with by the adoption of this amendment by Legislature in 1882, the vote in its favor in the latter year being exceptionally large—twenty-seven ayes and seven noes in the senate and forty-seven ayes and nine noes in the house. The voters of the state, however, rejected the amendment at the general election in June, 1884, by 28,176 to 11,223.

The state republican convention in 1880 declared its preference for James G. Blaine for President, as it also had done in 1876. The vote of Oregon in the presidential election was given in 1880 to the Garfield electors, who received 20,618 votes to 19,950 for the Hancock electors. The greenback ticket, headed by Gen. James B. Weaver for President, received scanty recognition, only 226 votes in all. In 1884 the Blaine electors received pluralities in excess of 2,000; in 1888 the Harrison electors carried the state by about 6,700. Though party fortunes fluctuated in the selection of state officers, Oregon remained in the republican column where national issues were involved. This is qualified, however, in the election of 1892, when one elector who received the endorsement of the democrat and peoples' parties, was successful, and three republican electors also were chosen. The democrat organization in this year was virtually destroyed by the third party movement, which relegated the democrat ticket to third place. The contest in 1892 lay between the republican and peoples' party candidates, and the relative voting strength of the parties was nearly in the ratio of 35,000 republicans, 14,000 democrats, 26,000 peoples' party. In 1896, however, when sound money was the chief issue, and the state democrat organization had to all intents and purposes lost its identity in the overwhelming third-party character of the free silver obsession, the forces of conservatism rallied successfully so that the republican, or McKinley, electors, defeated the electors on the combined peoples' party, democrat and silver-republican ticket by pluralities ranging from 1,829 to 2,040.

The light of a new prosperity seemed to break with the dawn of 1880. Every region received new accessions of population. Multnomah County, chiefly owing to the growth of Portland and the towns immediately surrounding it, almost trebled in the number of its inhabitants, from 25,203 in 1880 to 74,884 in 1890. Moreover, it is observable from the Federal statistics of agriculture that a very large proportion of the farms in the state, 13,870 out of a total of 16,466, in this year were operated by their owners. Portland, the leading city of the state, in 1880 had a population of 21,523, including 5,484 Chinese; Salem was the second city, with 4,100 inhabitants; East Portland third, with 3,918, and Astoria fourth, with 2,753, of whom 1,000 were Chinese. Efforts to induce immigration were redoubled in view of the early approach of completion of the transcontinental railroad, and for the first time there was serious discussion of methods for attracting pleasure-seeking tourists to the country. It was suggested, and the thought seemed to find favor, that a practical way to increase the permanent population would be to emphasize the existence of a low rate of taxation. In 1884, for example, it was shown that the average of all public taxes in Oregon was but $6.40 per capita by comparison with $14 per capita in California, while the public debt of all kinds was but $2.40 per capita by comparison with $32 per capita for California.[22] These facts, being

[22] Portland Oregonian, January 1, 1885.

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widely advertised, no doubt were an influential factor in the great growth and prosperity of the state during the decade under review. Six thousand laborers were working to push through the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's line. Oregon products were being proudly exhibited in San Francisco and other cities. Trade by sea was growing, ocean-going tonnage being about trebled from 1871 to 1881. Export of salmon, by which the state was achieving distinction, also increased. Shipments of wheat and flour to Great Britain in 1880 amounted to nearly five million dollars in value and it was estimated that the wheat crop of this year was at least two hundred thousand tons in excess of home requirements. The one fly in the ointment of the people's satisfaction with the outlook was continued want of adequate transportation facilities, more than three-fourths of the grain crop being held at the close of the year on this account. The value of farm products, including livestock, was almost thirty million dollars.

Zenas F. Moody, republican, of The Dalles, was elected governor in 1882 over Joseph S. Smith, of Portland, the democratic nominee, by a majority of 1,412.[23] M. C. George was returned to Congress by a majority of 2,365 over W. D. Fenton, of Yamhill County, democrat. A bitter fight against Senator Mitchell resulted in a deadlock in the Legislature in September, the republicans being divided, with a majority obstinately supporting Mitchell. On the seventy-fifth ballot, in the last hour of the last day of the session, Joseph N. Dolph, who had come to Oregon in 1862 as a member of the military expedition of volunteers sent to protect the immigrants of that year and commanded by Medorem Crawford, was elected, receiving fifty-one votes to thirty-six for all the other candidates. Senator Dolph was reelected in 1889.

A change in the tenure of state offices was brought about by act of the Legislature altering the date for the canvass of election returns, so that terms now began in January instead of September, and the Legislature which under the old law would have met in September, 1884, began its session on January 12, 1885. The term of Governor Moody was, through operation of the same act, extended to January, 1887. This session was also memorable for another prolonged contest over the United States senatorship, John H. Mitchell as usual being the central figure in the controversy. The Legislature was divided politically as follows: Senate, 17 republicans and 13 democrats; House, 35 republicans and 25 democrats; joint ballot, 52 republicans and 38 democrats. The democrats supported James H. Slater on the opening ballot, but in the course of the session bestowed a complimentary ballot each on practically all of the party leaders. The republicans failed to agree upon a candidate, but the majority supported Solomon Hirsch, who received a maximum of 34 votes, and a republican minority, which at one time attained the strength of 19, voted for Governor Moody. Sixty-eight ballots were taken without result, and the session ended in a deadlock. The governor called an extra session, which assembled November 9, 1885, and, November 18, elected Mitchell, who received 55 votes to 20 for James H. Slater, democrat, and 13 for George H. Williams,

[23] Moody was originally a resident of Massachusetts, born at Granby, May 27, 1832, and moving to Oregon in 1851. He followed the profession of surveyor and served for a short time in 1861 as a volunteer for the protection of Washington, D. C., where he then lived. In 1862, he returned to Oregon and after following several pursuits permanently located at The Dalles in 1869, where he engaged in business. He was a member of the Legislature in 1881, and was elected speaker of the House. His death occurred March 14, 1917.

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republican. Mitchell's election was aided, however, by the democrats, 17 of whom voted for him.

Early in the decade of the '80s, owing to the large influx of Chinese laborers resulting from the extensive railroad construction, which, however, in all probability would not have been possible without their aid, anti-Mongolian agitation was rife throughout the Pacific coast. Not only were a very large number of Chinese by comparison with the population of the Northwest engaged in these various forms of labor, but they were also entering domestic service and in some instances were employed as farm hands.[24] The disturbance was particularly acute on Puget Sound, where, as the railroads were completed and the coolie laborers were discharged, the latter flocked in great numbers to the cities in search of other employment. The whole coast was aroused, agitators took the stump to preach exclusion, the Federal Government authorities were openly accused of laxity in enforcing the amended immigration law and the smuggling of Chinese into the country became a widespread practice. When, to those who had been dismissed from the Northern Pacific and Oregon Railway and Navigation lines, were added other thousands from Canada who had surreptitiously crossed the border to engage in mining and in public work of all kinds, hostility became intense and in several quarters exceeded the bounds of law and order. There were riots in Seattle in November, 1885, which caused President Cleveland to send ten companies of regulars there from Fort Vancouver. The Chinese were driven from Tacoma and so intimidated that they did not return for many years afterward. The infection spread to Oregon about February, 1886, in which month a crowd of considerable dimensions celebrated Washington's Birthday by holding a street parade and public anti-Asiatic demonstration. In March, 1886, a camp of Chinese at Albina was raided by hoodlums. Company B, First Regiment, Second Brigade, of the Oregon State Militia, locally known as the Emmet Guards, was disbanded for refusing duty in connection with these disturbances, ten members, however, being excepted from the general warrant of condemnation pronounced upon the organization. A Pacific coast anti-Chinese convention was held in Portland at which resolutions were adopted requesting the Chinese to retire peaceably from the city within thirty days and to "remove themselves to San Francisco or some other suitable place where they are wanted by the people." The convention declared a boycott on the Portland Oregonian and the Portland Telegram and "blacklisted" their advertisers, these newspapers having been vigorous in editorial denunciation of all lawless manifestations. A new National Guard organization, Company K, composed of a large number of the most prominent citizens of Portland, with E. H. Merrill as captain, was organized to fill the gap caused by the ignominious mustering out of the Emmet Guards. The events which immediately followed served to bring to public notice Sylvester Pennoyer and to obtain for him a notoriety, which, in connection with his public utterances upon questions relating to Government land and other public questions, resulted in his election as governor in June, 1886, as the democratic-peoples' party candidate. Mayor Gates, of Portland, called a mass meeting at the court-

[24] "The forces employed by the several companies form a total of over 25,000 railroad men, mechanics and laborers, including 15,000 Chinamen, and the total disbursements on all accounts reach fully four million a month." Memoirs of Henry Villard, Vol. II, p. 302.

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house to be held March 16, 1886, with the purpose of organizing the conservatives of the city into a vigilance committee for the protection of the property and lives of the Chinese and others, matters now having reached such a pass that those who favored upholding the law were presumed to run great personal risk. The Gates' meeting was, however, captured by a crowd, who elected Pennoyer their chairman and declared a Chinese boycott. Mayor Gates, thus finding himself excluded from his own mass meeting, held another in one of the other rooms of the courthouse, which meeting elected the mayor as chairman and appointed a vigilance committee of fifteen to coöperate with the proper authorities and adopt measures to preserve the peace. The excitement thereafter gradually subsided, the disposition of the people of Portland being largely law-abiding notwithstanding the general opinion that the Asiatics should be excluded from the country by lawful means, as fully and as soon as possible.

The democrat party availed itself of Pennoyer's new-born popularity at this juncture, as has been intimated, by nominating him for governor, and he was elected June 7, 1886, receiving 27,901 votes to 24,199 for Thomas C. Cornelius, nominee of the republicans.[25]

The people in 1887 voted down three amendments to the constitution. These were: Statewide prohibition, 19,972 no, 7,985 yes; empowering the Legislature to fix the salaries of state officers, theretofore established by the constitution, 35,628 no, 5,993 yes; changing the date of the state election from June to November, 22,760 no, 19,947 yes.

Governor Pennoyer was reelected in 1890 by a vote of 38,319 to 33,786 for David P. Thompson, of Portland, republican. This year a third party, known as the union party, formed by a fusion of prohibitionists, greenbackers, and other dissatisfied elements, appeared in the field and nominated a ticket for all state officers except governor and justice of the Supreme Court, which were referred to an executive committee. The committee afterward endorsed the democrat candidates for governor and the Supreme Court, who were Governor Pennoyer and B. F. Bonham. The entire republican ticket, with the exception of governor, however, was successful at the polls and the Legislature elected in that year was overwhelmingly republican. Pennoyer, therefore, was governor for eight years, during which time he was almost constantly in the public eye by reason of numerous eccentricities, and attracted even nation-wide attention. All of the legislatures during his term of office were dominated by the opposite political party, a condition which was not at all distasteful to a man of his peculiarly belligerent and somewhat vain-glorious temperament. In his first inaugural address he defied the State Supreme Court, declaring that it had no right to pronounce a legislative act unconstitutional and asserting that a registration law previously enacted but held unconstitutional by the court was, notwithstanding the court's action, "in full force and effect." When President Cleveland offered advice as to the maintenance of order during a general railroad strike in 1893, Pennoyer replied by telegraph: "If you will attend to your business, I will attend to mine." He declined to make a journey to the boundary of the state to welcome President Harrison on the occasion of the latter's tour of the country, declaring in substance that if the President wanted

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25 Sylvester Pennoyer was a lawyer, schoolteacher and lumber manufacturer. He went to Portland in 1855 from his former home at Groton, Tompkins County, New York, where he was born July 6, 1831. He died at Portland, May 30, 1902.

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to see him he could call on him at his office in the State Capitol. This extravagant assertion of the governor's state rights predilections he carried to an even more amusing extreme by proclaiming Thanksgiving Day in 1894 a week later than the date fixed by President Cleveland, so that Oregon had two Thanksgiving days in that year. One of the outstanding acts of his administration was the passage of a law in 1891 creating the office of attorney general, which, oddly enough, was an important office that had not been provided for by the state constitution. Pursuant to its provisions the governor appointed George E. Chamberlain, then a resident of Albany, who had served as member of the Legislature and as district attorney. He was elected attorney general by the people in 1892 and served until 1895. With the impetus gained from this preferment he was elected governor in 1902, taking office in January, 1903, and was reelected in 1907, then resigning in 1909, when he was elected United States senator by the Legislature. On the expiration of this term in the Senate he was reelected by the people. He was retired in 1921 after having served a total of 22 years as attorney general, governor and United States senator. President Harding, although of another political faith, then selected him as a member of the United States Shipping Board, a position which he still occupies.

The passage of the state's first irrigation law and the enactment of the Australian ballot system were noteworthy events of the year 1891. John H. Mitchell was reelected to the Senate in that year on the first separate legislative ballot, receiving the united support of his party in both houses and a total vote of 63 to 25 for Bernard Goldsmith, the democrat candidate. In succession to Senator Dolph, whose second term expired in 1895, George W. McBride, a younger son of James McBride, the pioneer, was elected. Dolph was bitterly opposed for reelection by a minority of the republicans, the election of McBride taking place at the last moment of the session of the Legislature. In 1897, when Senator Mitchell's term once more expired a peculiar situation arose, owing to a conflict of opinion between the state and national republican organizations on the currency issue. The republican national convention of 1896, which nominated William McKinley for President, declared for the gold standard, but the republican members of the Oregon Legislature elected in June, 1896, were previously committed by the republican state platform to bimetallism. A sufficient number of the members of the Lower House to prevent organization absented themselves when the Legislature met in January, 1897, so that no session was held, no laws were passed and no senator was elected. William P. Lord, republican, who was elected governor in 1894 when he defeated Nathan Pierce, the people's party candidate,[26] appointed Henry W. Corbett, of Portland, United States senator in an effort to complete the task which the Legislature had left undone, but the United States Senate refused to seat Mr. Corbett, holding that the appointing power of the governor

[26] Major William Paine Lord served through the Civil war with distinction, and then resigned. Later he was in the regular army as an officer. He located at Salem, Oregon, in 1868, where he practiced law. He served there as city attorney and state senator. He was elected to the supreme court in 1880, where he continued until 1894. He then served as governor 1895-9. He was afterward minister to Argentina. He died at Salem, February 17, 1911. His career as judge and as governor was especially notable, and he was considered one of the ablest judges of the Oregon Supreme Court.

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existed only where the Legislature had not had an opportunity to act.[27] The state in consequence was represented by only one senator, Mr. McBride, until the election of Joseph Simon, of Portland, which took place at a special session of the Legislature in October, 1898.[28]

The event which overshadowed all others in the administration of Governor Lord was the Spanish-American war followed by the Philippine insurrection, in which the name of Oregon was doubly distinguished by the achievements of its soldiers and the performance of the battleship named after the state. The magnificent war vessel, The Oregon, was summoned in March, 1898, from Puget Sound to assist in the destruction of the Spanish fleet then besieged on the southern coast of Cuba. Leaving Puget Sound March 6, and San Francisco March 19, the vessel, commanded by Capt. Charles E. Clark, made the voyage around the southern extremity of South America and joined the Atlantic Squadron May 26, having steamed a distance of more than eighteen thousand miles, of which 4,726 were made without stop, a record which even to this day is regarded by naval experts as remarkable. She reached her destination just in time for the naval battle of Santiago, in which she fired the first shot.

Oregon men were assigned to the first Philippines expedition and were first of all the National Guard organizations to disembark in the islands in support of Admiral Dewey in his possession of the position which he had won by the May Day battle of Manila Bay. When war with Spain was declared the National Guard of Oregon consisted of the First Regiment, of seven companies, in Portland; also the Second Regiment in the Willamette Valley and Southern Oregon, eight companies; a Third Battalion in Eastern Oregon, and three separate companies. The brigade was commanded by Brig.-Gen. Charles F. Beebe. Col. Owen Summers commanded the First Regiment and Col. George O. Yoran, of Eugene, the Second. The National Guard was widely popular throughout the state, its morale was good, its training excellent, and its equipment above the average of National Guard organizations. On the first call to arms, April 25, 1898, but one regiment was apportioned to Oregon and there was intense competition for the honor of serving under the flag. The entire guard was now consolidated into one regiment, which was designated as the Second Oregon, in deference to the service of the old First Oregon in the Civil war. Its general officers were chosen with an eye to efficient organization by Governor Lord. Summers was made colonel; Yoran, lieutenant-colonel; C. U. Gantenbein, formerly lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment, senior-major; Percy Willis, formerly a major of the Second Regiment, second major, and Philip G. Eastwick, Jr., of the First Regiment, third major. All the men were in camp and under arms at Irvington Park, Portland, which was named Camp McKinley, by May 4, and were sent to San Francisco in relays about the middle of May. Relying on the approximate completeness of the regimental equipment furnished by the state, but omitting provision for the particular service in the tropics to which the Oregon guardsmen were about to be assigned, the Federal authorities chose the Oregon regiment immediately as one of the com-

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[27] Senator Corbett died at Portland, March 31, 1903. At that time he was President of the Lewis and Clark Fair Association.

[28] Senator Simon had several times served as member of the State Senate and as presiding officer of that body. He served one term as United States senator, and afterward as mayor of Portland, where he resides.

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mands to constitute the first army of occupation of the Philippines. The men sailed on two transports, May 25, 1898, within a week after their arrival at the Presidio at San Francisco, and in consequence of the haste with which they were despatched, endured an exceedingly uncomfortable voyage to the Philippines, where the first men of the entire American expedition to disembark were nine companies of the Second Oregon, who landed July 1, 1898.[29]

When the Spaniards surrendered Manila, August 13, 1898, their commanding officer asked that a well-disciplined force be placed inside the walled city, and nine companies of the Oregon regiment were chosen among other military units for this service. Here for about six months and until the revolt of the native Filipinos occurred, the Oregon men performed exacting guard duty and did otherwise excellent service in reforming the sanitary conditions of the old town.

Meanwhile on the President's second call for volunteers the state was permitted to raise only enough men to serve as replacements to bring up the Second Oregon Regiment to a full war footing. The new recruits, numbering 313, experienced many difficulties on the way, served under numerous commanders, were unsystematically uniformed and equipped, and at San Francisco endured with soldierly fortitude a severe ordeal of encampment on cold, wet ground, where many contracted pneumonia and several died. Finally, in October, they embarked for Manila, where they arrived in November, 1898, in time to take part in the suppression of the Filipino rebellion which broke out, February 4, 1899. The entire Oregon regiment now aided in putting down a general uprising inside of the city, which began February 22, 1899, and the regiment received an official compliment for highly meritorious service. From this date the Oregonians were constantly engaged, frequently against superior numbers of natives, and always coming out victorious. Six companies of Oregon men were detailed with a flying column which ascended the Pasig River, where at all points they found the enemy heavily and cunningly fortified. Seven companies were attached to the expedition of General Lawton up the Rio Grande de Pampanga, with Colonel Summers in command of the provisional brigade which formed the advance column. On the occasion of the Lawton expedition a civilian named W. H. Young, a man of exceptional courage and skill as a scout, organized a picked body of volunteers known as Young's Scouts, among whom were several volunteers from Oregon.[30]

Oregon men participated in the capture of San Isidro, an important enemy station, May 17, 1899. On May 28, 1899, just a year after the message had been received that this contingent would be part of the first expedition to sail to Manila from the United States, they received the welcome news that they were to be sent home. When the regiment reached Manila ready for the return voyage, all were much reduced, not less than fifty per cent suffering from some form of illness induced by exposure in the tropics. The regiment joyfully embarked for home in June, 1899, except seventy-five men who asked for and

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[29] The first person in the regiment to touch the soil of Luzon was Colonel Summers himself. The first battalion to disembark was the First Battalion. The first company was Company K, Captain Elmer O. Worrick. The first enlisted man, Private McKenna of Company L.

[30] These men were: James Harrington, Frank High, Company G; E. E. Lyons, M. W. Robertson, Company B; James B. O'Neal, M. B. Huntley, Company L; ——— Scott, Company —. Lieutenant James E. Thornton, of Company B, led these scouts after Young himself was wounded. The detachment rendered service of great value.

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received their discharges at Manila. The home-coming heroes were met at San Francisco by Governor T. T. Geer, of Oregon (who meanwhile had succeeded Governor Lord), and his staff and a large delegation of Oregon citizens, and the returned soldiers were mustered out there. Their total casualties had been 67 dead and 87 wounded, a high percentage of the number engaged under the conditions of warfare at that time. Seven received medals of honor for distinguished service.[31]

[31] The casualties in detail were as follows: Died of disease, forty-three; killed in action, thirteen; died of wounds, three; killed by accident, one; drowned, one; missing, three; died in San Francisco before formal muster, three; total, sixty-seven. Wounded in action, five officers, eighty-two enlisted men. The regiment traveled nearly 8,000 miles to the scene of combat. It repeatedly received official commendation. A tribute of particular interest was that of the German Consul of Manila, an experienced soldier of the European school who visited the field of action at Malabon after the Oregon troops had charged across the field, March 25, 1899. "When he looked at the formidable works from which the Filipinos had been driven by infantry he asked what troops had done the work. Being informed that it was the Second Oregon volunteers he said simply: 'I take off my hat to the American volunteer.'"

Five of the recipients of honor medals, Lieut. James E. Thornton and Privates Edward E. Lyons, Marcus W. Robertson, Frank C. High and M. B. Huntley, served with Young's Scouts. The other two were: Sergeant-Major John W. Marshall and Private Gilbert F. Smith. A bronze statue commemorating the service of the Oregon troops in the war, and dedicated to the Oregon men who had given their lives for their country, was after the close of the war erected in the square opposite the county courthouse, in Portland.

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CHAPTER XLII

POPULAR LEGISLATION

The initiative and referendum are in essence methods by which the people of the state may make or veto laws by direct vote. Supplemented by the direct primary law, the corrupt practices act and the recall of public officers, the whole constitutes a plan, not only for the enactment of laws and changes in the constitution, but as well for the nomination, election and control of public officers. This plan is sometimes designated as the Oregon System, not because it originated there, but because it has reached its highest development in that state, and because the method of enacting laws and amending the constitution has been made use of more often there than in all others of the American states.[1] Its obvious effect is to make the constitution more amenable to change and greatly to limit representative government. It must be reckoned with as an historical fact of importance.

While, therefore, it is beyond the scope of this work to discuss these enactments in detail, or to consider advantages or disadvantages, or even to inquire wherein these Oregon measures differ from those of somewhat similar character elsewhere adopted, it may be pointed out that the fundamental confidence that lies at the root of popular legislation is the assurance that the people acting as a whole and directly upon legislation are more likely to act right and to decide right than are their selected delegates in the Legislature or council chamber. This feeling may be traced to the distrust of legislators arising from many causes and many experiences of the past, but also to the apprehension that great corporations or persons of wealth, or powerful political groups, may have undue influence upon members of the legislative assembly. It may be, also, that an additional motive for supporting the direct legislation plan in the first place was the hope that by this method certain social or political legislation, such for example as the single tax, might have success where it would have no prospect of adoption at the hands of the Legislature.[2]

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[1] Constitutional provisions for the Initiative and Referendum were adopted in South Dakota, in 1898; Utah, in 1900; Oregon, in 1902.

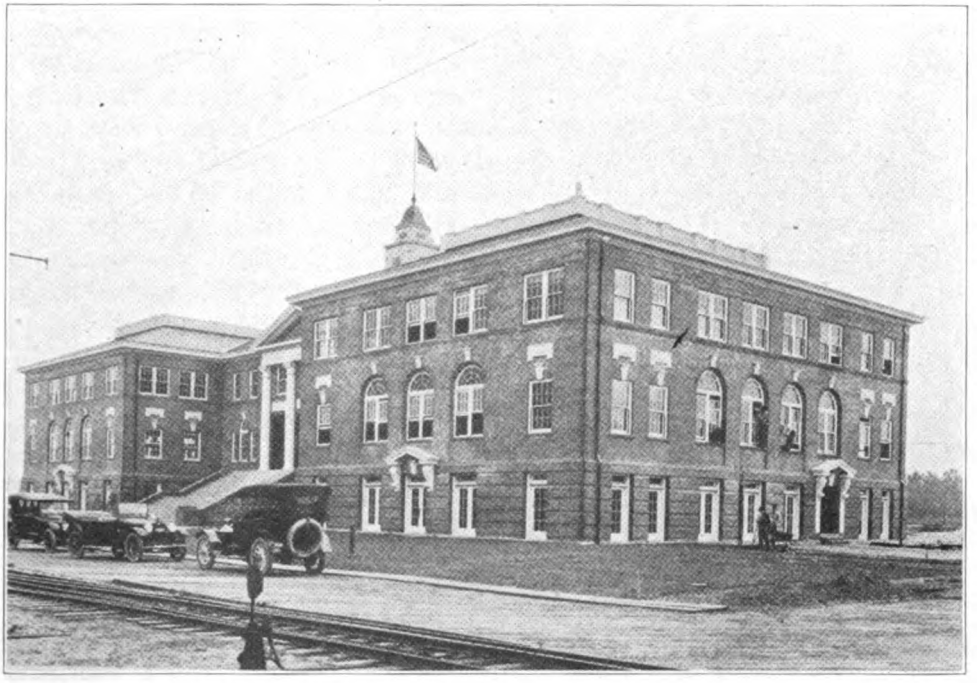
[2] The Oregon Voter, February 12, 1916, referring as authority to Report of Single Tax Conference, N. Y., November 19-20, 1910, pp. 21-22, said of one of the most active advocates of the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the Oregon Constitution:

"W. S. U'Ren told of his experience as a single-tax propagandist before he learned that mere propaganda is not the line of least resistance: 'I read Progress and Poverty in 1882,' he said, 'and I went just as crazy over the single tax as anyone else ever did. I knew I wanted the single-tax, and that was about all I did know. I thought I could get it by agitation, and was often disgusted with a world that refused to be agitated for what I wanted. In 1882 (sic) I learned what the initiative and referendum is, and then I saw the way to single-tax, not because I was any the less in favor of it, but because I saw the first job was to get the initiative and referendum, so that the people, independent of the Legislature, may get what they want rather than to take what the Legislature will let them have. We have laid the foundation in Oregon, and our Legislature cannot draw a dead line against the people. We have cleared the way for a straight single-tax fight in Oregon. All the work we have done for direct legislation has been done with the single-tax in view, but we have not talked single-tax because that was not the question before the house.' "

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But whatever the purpose or whatever the motive, the adoption of the plan was made possible by the keen competition of party and faction. At the time of its acceptance by the Oregon Legislature the republican party was split into nearly even factions. Moreover, these factions then each had approximately the same voting strength as the democrat party in the state elections. There was a strong bid by these three groups for the votes of persons favoring or supporting the initiative and referendum, and each therefore competed in advocating in platform resolutions and by means of promises of candidates the adoption of the new proposal. There was at that time no organized opposition.[3]

The plan itself was derived, somewhat remotely, from Switzerland. It had some precedent in the method long in use in Oregon and other states of submitting concrete questions to the people for an expression, such as whether or not a constitutional amendment would be adopted, or whether or not stock should be allowed to run at large in a given locality. The innovation consisted largely in allowing private persons to require that an act be submitted to a vote by the electorate, and this without first proposing it for vote in the Legislature.

The first step in political reform may be said to have been taken when in 1891 the state adopted the Australian ballot system, and this was followed in 1899 by a registration law that required the registry of voters. These two laws, both enacted by the Legislature, no doubt served to correct many abuses in political party elections, concerning which there was during the decade of the '90s much to criticize. And it is a fact worth noting, that in Multnomah County, where most of the evils complained of existed in relation to primary elections, in frauds and corrupt practices, in controlled conventions, and in party management that was open to the charge of despotism, it was by legislative act passed in 1902 that the principles of the Australian ballot and the registry act were there applied to primary elections of all political parties; so that such grounds for complaint were in a fair way to be forever abolished there when the initiative and the referendum legislation went into effect by vote of the people June 2, 1902. The latter was an amendment to the constitution and was promptly followed by the direct primary law, which was adopted by popular vote in 1904, and which had the effect, although perhaps that was not the intention of its sponsors, to make nominations by party conventions unpopular.[4] This, again, resulted in disintegration of party solidarity, for with the passing of the convention there was no longer a method of adopting a platform of party principles by delegates under the representative plan so common in the United States; and furthermore each candidate under the direct primary became the author of his own declaration of principles and therefore

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[3] The following is from an editorial in the Oregonian of May 29, 1902, just before the June election at which the amendments were approved by the people of the state:

"That the referendum amendment to be voted on in June will be adopted is a certainty—unless the voters overlook it. There is but very little opposition to it; both the leading political parties are committed to it, and there is a good deal of active work in various parts of the State in support of it. Failure of it could be due only to inattention on the part of the voters. To assure its adoption, there must be recorded for it a positive majority of the votes cast at the election."

[4] A republican state convention held at Portland in June, 1910, nominated a state ticket headed by Hon. Jay Bowerman for governor, but he was beaten at the election, since which time the party has refrained from nominating candidates by convention.

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less a member of a party standing for a political theory than a candidate willing to make a strong independent bid for popularity and votes.[5]

Agitation for the adoption of the initiative and referendum in Oregon was begun, about 1892, by a small group of citizens, who, later, were active in the organization of the Direct Legislation League. In the campaign preceding the general election in 1892, these people directed their efforts toward accomplishing the election to the Legislature, which convened in January, 1893, of men pledged to support legislation favorable to the initiative and referendum. They met with only slight success that year, although they did secure about 14,000 signatures to a petition asking the Legislature to favor a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum.[6] Following the legislative

[5] The preamble of the direct primary law expressly recognized the importance of political parties, although undoubtedly the effect of the act is to weaken party organization. It has even been claimed that members of one party have voted as members of another in the primaries to influence selection of party candidates. The following is from the preamble:

"Under our form of government, political parties are useful and necessary at the present time. It is necessary for the public welfare and safety that every practical guaranty shall be provided by law to assure the people generally as well as the members of the several parties, that political parties shall be fairly, freely and honestly conducted, in appearance as well as in fact. The method of naming candidates for elective public offices by political parties and voluntary political organizations is the best plan yet found for placing before the people the names of qualified and worthy citizens from whom the electors may choose the officers of our government. The government of our State by its electors and the government of a political party by its members are rightfully based on the same general principles. Every political party and every voluntary political organization has the same right to be protected from the interference of persons who are not identified with it as its known and publicly avowed members, that the government of the State has to protect itself from the interference of persons who are not known and registered as its electors. It is as great a wrong to the people, as well as to the members of a political party, for one who is not known to be one of its members to vote or take any part at any election or other proceedings of such political party, as it is for one who is not a qualified and registered elector to vote at any State election or take any part in the business of the State. Every political party and voluntary political organization is rightfully entitled to the sole and exclusive use of every word of its official name. The people of the State and the members of every political party and voluntary political organization are rightfully entitled to know that every person who offers to take any part in the affairs or business of any political party or voluntary political organization in the State is in good faith a member of such party. The reason for the law which requires a secret ballot when all the electors choose their officers, equally requires a secret ballot when the members of a party choose their candidates for public office. It is as necessary for the preservation of the public welfare and safety that there shall be a free and fair vote and an honest count as well as a secret ballot at primary elections, as it is that there shall be a free and fair vote and an honest count in addition to the secret ballot at all elections of public officers. All qualified electors who wish to serve the people in an elective public office are rightfully entitled to equal opportunities under the law. The purpose of this law is better to secure and to preserve the rights of political parties and voluntary political organizations, and of their members and candidates, and especially of the rights above stated." (Laws 1905, Ch. I, p. 8.)

[6] William S. U'Ren, undoubtedly the most efficient advocate and promoter of direct legislation, gave the following account of the beginning of the movement in Oregon. "A. D. Cridge in the Oregon Vidette and Max Burgholzer, a native of Switzerland, in the Pacific Farmer, advocated the initiative and referendum in newspaper articles in Oregon as early as 1886. I settled in Oregon in 1890. Alfred Luelling gave me the first copy I ever saw of J. W. Sullivan's work on direct legislation in Switzerland. I had heard of the initiative before. The Milwaukie Farmers' Alliance on my motion asked the state executive committee of the Farmers' Alliance to take the matter up and invite the State Grange, the Portland Chamber of Commerce, the Portland Federated Trades, and the Oregon Knights of Labor

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session of 1893 the Direct Legislation League forces continued their activities, but were unsuccessful at the regular session of the Legislature in 1895, the hold-up session of 1897 when the house failed to organize, and the special session of 1898.

The first attempt to secure the adoption by the Legislature of a proposed constitutional amendment granting the initiative and referendum powers to the people of the state was made at the session of the Legislature in 1895. In that year Robert G. Smith, representative from Josephine County, introduced House Joint Resolution No. 8, the text of which follows:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 8

RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE, THE SENATE CONCURRING, That the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Oregon be and the same is hereby proposed: That section 1 (one) of article XVII (seventeen) of the constitution of the state of Oregon be and the same is hereby abrogated, and in lieu thereof section 1 of article XVII shall be as follows:

ARTICLE XVII

"Section 1. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or house of representatives, and if agreed on by a majority of all the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment shall, with the ayes and nays thereon, be entered on their journals, and it shall be the duty of the legislature to submit such proposed amendment or amendments to the electors of the state in such manner and at such time, and after such publication, for not less than two months, as may be deemed expedient, in not less than six newspapers. If the majority of the electors shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments, or any of them, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of this constitution."

The resolution was referred to the committee on resolutions.

During the closing days of the session, the resolution was considered by the house under special order of business and failed of adoption on final vote. The resolution was favored by twenty-four members of the house; seventeen voted negatively, and nineteen were absent when the vote was taken.

Another attempt to secure the adoption by the Legislature of a similar proposed constitutional amendment on the initiative and referendum was made

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to combine in appointing a joint committee of one from each organization to agitate and educate for the initiative and referendum in Oregon. I think this was in November, 1892. The invitation was accepted by the state executive committee of the Farmers' Alliance; the Portland Chamber of Commerce never acknowledged the invitation. The first committee was composed of Hon. W. D. Hare, of Hillsboro, from the State Grange, chairman; Hon. W. S. Vanderburgh, from the Knights of Labor; A. I. Mason, from the Portland Federated Trades, and W. S. U'Ren, secretary, from the Farmers' Alliance. The Federated Trades was afterwards represented on the committee at different times by Charles E. Short, T. E. Kirby, and G. G. Kurtz, all of Portland. These men constituted the committee until September, 1898, when a state non-partisan direct legislation league was organized. O. C. Sherman, of Salem, was elected president, and there was an executive committee of seventeen members. In the fall of 1900, I think Mr. Sherman went to Washington, D. C., and a little later Hon. George H. Williams accepted the presidency of the League; Judge Williams was the first man so far as I know to propose the system in the United States. He offered a resolution for that purpose in the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857. Judge Williams was president of the League until the amendment was accepted by the people in 1902." (Gaston's Hist. of Portland, Vol. 1, p. 565.)

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at the special session held in 1898. During that session C. J. Curtis, representative from Clatsop County, by request introduced House Joint Resolution No. 5, which was a more comprehensive amendment than that originally presented at the 1895 session. However, the resolution proposing this amendment did not long survive the opposition to its consideration in the house. No sooner had the resolution been read than upon motion of L. B. Reeder, representative from Umatilla County, it was killed by indefinite postponement, and, under the rules of the house, the subject of the resolution could not again be considered during that session. The full text of the resolution offered by Mr. Curtis follows:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 5

"RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE, THE SENATE CONCURRING, That the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Oregon be and the same is hereby proposed:

"Section 1 of article IV of the constitution of the state of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 1. The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in the legislative assembly, subject to the supreme power of the people to propose and enact any law, and to reject any bill as herein provided. The legislative assembly shall consist of a senate and house of representatives. The style of every bill shall be, "Be it enacted by the people of the state of Oregon." The legislative assembly shall have power to refer any bill to the legal voters of the state for approval or rejection. Five thousand legal voters of the state shall have the right and power to propose any bill or constitutional amendment to all the legal voters for approval or rejection; this shall be done by initiative petition, which shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Three thousand legal voters shall have the right and power, by referendum petition, to require the submission to all the legal voters for approval or rejection of any bill passed by the legislative assembly. The legislative assembly must refer to all the legal voters for approval or rejection, every increase in any appropriation of public funds, every increase in the salary of any public officer, and every new appropriation of public funds. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than thirty days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. All elections on state laws shall be at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. No measure referred to the legal voters shall become a law unless it shall be approved by the majority of the votes cast thereon. Until laws are enacted especially providing for the enforcement of this amendment, the secretary of state shall be guided in referring measures under this amendment by the general election laws and this act referring this amendment to the electors for approval or rejection."

Prior to 1902 the constitution of this state in effect provided that an amendment to the constitution might be proposed in the senate or house of representatives and, if agreed upon by a majority of all the members elected to each of the two houses, should be submitted to the succeeding session of the Legislature which also had to approve the proposed amendment by a majority vote

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of the elected members of each of the two houses before it became the duty of the Legislature to submit the amendment to the electors of the state for ratification.[7]

By the time the twentieth legislative assembly convened January 9, 1899, advocates of the initiative and referendum had mustered a considerable following among the people throughout the state and at the same time had been instrumental in bringing about the election of a great many members of the Legislature who had pledged themselves as legislators to support a constitutional amendment giving to the people of the state the initiative and referendum.

On the opening day of the 1899 session, J. L. Kruse, representative from Clackamas County, introduced in the house the requisite resolution which paved the way for writing the initiative and referendum into the constitution of the state. It was House Joint Resolution No. 1, and read as follows:

"RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE, THE SENATE CONCURRING, That the following amendment to the constitution of the state of Oregon be, and the same hereby is proposed:

"Sec. 1. The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and a house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent. of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety), either by petition signed by five per cent. of the legal voters, or by the legislative assembly as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the state shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be, 'Be it enacted by the people of the state of Oregon.' This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measures. The whole number of votes cast for justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the secretary of state, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers

[7] Const. Art. XVII, Sec. 1.

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shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

On January 27, 1899, the resolution was reported favorably by Representative C. J. Curtis, chairman of the committee on resolutions to which it had been referred, and on the same day it was adopted by the house by a vote of forty-three to nine, eight absent. The resolution was immediately transmitted to the senate where it was read and, on motion of Senator Howe, was referred to the committee on revision of laws, also on January 27. Four days later the resolution was reported back to the senate favorably by Senator Percy R. Kelly, chairman of the committee. Senator William Smith, of Baker and Malheur counties, moved that the senate concur in the adoption of the resolution. The senate did concur by a vote of twenty to eight, two absent.

Practically no opposition was offered to the ratification of the initiative and referendum amendment by the twenty-first legislative assembly which convened January 14, 1901. In addition to approving the proposed constitutional amendment, this same Legislature enacted a law providing for the submission of the amendment to the voters of the state for their approval or rejection at the general election in June, 1902. In the house, the initiative and referendum amendment was approved by the 1899 session, was called up by its author, Representative J. L. Kruse, of Clackamas County, on January 16, 1901, and was adopted.

Only one dissenting vote was cast against the adoption of the resolution when it came before the senate at the 1901 session. That vote was cast by Senator Theodore Cameron of Jackson County. The resolution was considered and adopted by the senate on motion of Senator George C. Brownell on the afternoon of the same day that it was adopted by the house.

As already indicated, the 1901 session of the Legislature not only ratified the adoption of the amendment by the preceding session of the Legislature but it also enacted a law providing for the submission of the proposed constitutional amendment to the voters of the state at the next ensuing general election for their approval or rejection. The bill (S. B. 89) was introduced by the late Senator George C. Brownell of Clackamas County, and, as enacted, provided as follows:

"AN ACT submitting to the electors of the state of Oregon at the general election to be held on the first Monday in June, 1902, the pending proposed constitutional amendment.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OREGON:

"Section 1. That the governor of the State of Oregon be and he is hereby authorized and directed to cause to be submitted to the legal voters of the State of Oregon, at the general election to be held on the first Monday of June, 1902, the following proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State of Oregon: House Joint Resolution No. 1 of the legislative assembly of 1899, the same having been agreed to by a majority of all the members elected to each house of the legislative assembly of 1899, the same being an amendment to Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution of the State of Oregon, and it shall be designated as 'Initiative and Referendum Amendment,' and there shall be written or printed on every ballot, 'Initiative and Referendum Amendment' and the words 'Yes' and 'No.'

"Section 2. That the poll books for said election shall be properly ruled

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and lettered so as to allow the votes upon said amendment to be fully and completely counted, recorded and canvassed.

"Section 3. That every county clerk shall, within thirty days after said election, or as soon as all the votes within his county are returned, counted and canvassed, transmit to the Secretary of State an abstract of the vote cast in his county at said election upon said amendment so proposed, and the Secretary of State shall canvass the votes for the various counties and publish the result thereof within thirty days in at least ten newspapers published in this state.

"Section 4. It shall be the duty of the governor of the State of Oregon, and he is hereby required, to cause this amendment to be published without delay for five consecutive weeks in one newspaper published in each judicial district of this state, such newspaper to be designated by each governor."

At the general election held June 2, 1902, the constitutional amendment giving to the people the initiative and referendum was adopted by the electors of the state by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. About seventy-two per cent. of the voters participating in the election voted upon the measure, the total number of ballots cast at the election being 92,920 in number.

When the next succeeding session of the Legislature convened in January, 1903, a law was enacted for making effective the provisions of the initiative and referendum, entitled: "An Act making effective the initiative and referendum provisions of Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution of the State of Oregon, and regulating elections thereunder, and providing penalties for violations of provisions of this act." By the provisions of this basic act the form of petitions was prescribed. Every sheet for the petitioners' signatures was required to be attached to a full and correct copy of the title and text of the measure proposed, but the act allowed the petition to be filed with the secretary of state in numbered sections for convenience of handling. County clerks were authorized to compare such signatures with the signatures of electors appearing upon the registration books and blanks in his office, and to certify as to his belief regarding their genuineness, but the secretary of state was given final powers of revision and correction. The secretary of state was directed to decide in the first instance whether or not the petition entitled the parties to have the proposed measure referred to the people, subject to an appeal to the Supreme Court. A proclamation was to be issued by the governor announcing the filing of the petition and with a brief statement of its tenor and effect, and the proclamation was required to be published in each judicial district four times in four consecutive weeks. An interesting provision of this law was the following:

"Section 6. The secretary of state, at the same time that he furnishes to the county clerks of the several counties certified copies of the names of the candidates for state and district offices, shall furnish to said county clerks his certified copy of the titles and numbers of the various measures to be voted upon at the ensuing general election, and he shall use for each measure a title designated for that purpose by the legislative assembly, committee, or organization presenting and filing with him the act, constitutional amendment, or petition for the initiative or the referendum: Provided, that such title shall in no case exceed twenty words, and shall not resemble any such title previously filed for any measure to be submitted at that election, which shall be descriptive of said measure, and he shall number such measures; and such titles shall be

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printed on the official ballot in the order in which the acts referred by the legislative assembly and petitions by the people shall be filed in his office. The affirmative of the first measure shall be numbered 300 and the negative 301, in numerals, and the succeeding measures shall be numbered consecutively 302, 303, 304, 305, and so on at each election. It shall be the duty of the several county clerks to print said titles and numbers upon the official ballot, in the order presented to them by the secretary of state, and the relative position required by law. Measures proposed by the initiative shall be designated and distinguished from measures proposed by the legislative assembly by the heading, 'Proposed by Initiative Petition.' "

Another unique and original feature of the law was the following:

"Section 8. The secretary of state shall, not later than the first Monday of the third month next before any general election at which any proposed law or amendment to the Constitution is to be submitted to the people, cause to be printed a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted, with the number and form in which the question will be printed on the official ballot. The paper to be used for the covers of such pamphlets shall be twenty by twenty-five inches, and fifty pounds weight to the ream. The persons, committees, or duly authorized officers of any organization filing any petition for the initiative, but no other person or organization, shall have the right to place with the secretary of state for distribution, any pamphlets advocating such measure, not later than the first Monday of the fifth month before the regular general election at which the measure is to be voted on; any person, committee, or organization opposing any measure may place with the secretary of state for distribution any pamphlets they may desire, not later than the first Monday of the fourth month immediately preceding such election; as to pamphlets advocating or opposing any measure referred to the people by the legislative assembly, they shall be governed by the same rules of time, but they may be placed with the secretary of state by any person, committee, or organization; Provided, that all such pamphlets shall be furnished to the secretary of state in sheets of uniform size, as follows: Size of pamphlet page to be six inches wide by nine inches long; size of type page to be twenty-six ems pica wide by forty ems pica long, set in long primer or ten-point type, and printed on sized and supercalendered paper, twenty-five by thirty-eight inches, weighing fifty pounds to the ream. All such pamphlets shall be furnished to the secretary of state at the sole expense of the persons interested, and without cost to the state. In no case shall the secretary of state be obliged to receive any such pamphlets unless a sufficient number is furnished to supply one to every legal voter in the state, but in such case, he shall forthwith notify the persons offering the same of the number required. The secretary of state shall cause one copy of each of said pamphlets to be bound in with his copy of the measures to be submitted as herein provided. The title page of every such pamphlet shall show the official numbers for and against, and the ballot title of the measure to which it refers, and whether it is intended to favor or oppose such measure, and by whom it is issued. The secretary of state shall distribute to each county clerk, before the second Monday in the third month next preceding such regular general election, a sufficient number of said bound pamphlets to furnish one copy to every voter in his county. Every registration officer, after the receipt by the county clerk of such pamphlets, shall deliver to every voter thereafter as he is registered, one copy of the same, and said registration and

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delivery shall be a part of the official duty of every officer who registers voters, and his registration fee or wages shall be full compensation for this additional service. The secretary of state shall not be obliged to receive or distribute any pamphlets advocating or opposing any measures unless the same shall be filed with him within the time herein provided."

One of the provisions was to the effect that any person signing any name other than his own to any such petition, or signing the same more than once for the same measure at one election, or who was not at the time of signing the same a legal voter of this state, or any officer or any person wilfully violating any provision of the statute, was subject to be punished by a fine not exceeding $500, or by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court before which such conviction shall be had.

The law, as adopted in 1903, making effective the initiative and referendum provisions of the amended Constitution remained in force undisturbed until the convening of the twenty-fourth regular session of the legislative assembly, when by the provisions of Chapter 226, Laws of 1907, it was materially changed. The form of petition was then revised and the governor's proclamation announcing the filing of a petition was dispensed with. A ballot title was directed to be prepared by the attorney general which should express in not exceeding one hundred words the purpose of the measure. The principle of acquainting the voters of the state through strictly official channels with the text of all measures referred by the legislative assembly or proposed by the initiative, as well as with the most persuasive arguments for and against such measures, the efficacy of which was recognized and more or less imperfectly applied in the original law of 1903 by providing for the forwarding of the voter's pamphlet through the various county clerks and registration officers, was developed in the law of 1907 by centralizing the direct distribution of the pamphlets to all voters with the secretary of state, whose office facilities for such a service were complete.

Then, again, the scope of the law was extended so as to provide for the exercise of the initiative and referendum in the cities and towns throughout the state in the matter of municipal affairs as they might relate to charter amendments or ordinances. The law of 1907 also dispensed with the certification of the signatures to initiative and referendum petitions by the county clerks of the respective counties in which the signers of such petitions might reside, and provided for an affidavit of some person as to the signing of such petition.

The corrupt practices act, as already mentioned, was approved by the people at the general election June 1, 1908, and impinges upon the law making effective the initiative and referendum provision of the Constitution only to the extent that any moneys expended by persons or organizations in favor of or opposing measures before the voters shall be reported, the same as moneys expended in behalf of a candidate for nomination or election to any office within the gift of the people.

The law of 1907, as it relates to the initiative and referendum, remained in effect without revision until the year 1913, when the Legislature made some further amendments thereto. At this time the form of petition was further changed, and instead of permitting the verification of the signatures on the back of the sheets of the petition it was prescribed that the necessary affidavits be made on the face thereof. There were further amendments as to the form

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in which the pamphlet copies of the measures for distribution among the electors of the state should be printed. No further changes were effected until at the session of the Legislature in 1917, when, in view of the apparent fraud which was found to have been practiced in placing a number of measures before the people, the certification of the signatures to initiative and referendum petitions by the county clerks of the respective counties of the state in which the signers to such petitions might reside, was restored as provided for in the original act of 1903. It was also provided that whenever a measure was proposed by a person or organization, the full text thereof should first be filed with the secretary of state, who, in turn, was required to request a ballot title of the attorney general, which ballot title must contain the names of the sponsors for the measure, a short distinctive title not in excess of ten words, and a general title not in excess of one hundred words. This ballot title is to be printed upon the copies of the measures accompanying the sheets of the petition for signatures so that it may appear thereon during the period of circulation, thus insuring that at all times the measure may be known under the same title. Prior to this time sponsors for a measure, for convenience, would select a short title by which it was generally known during the period of the circulation for signatures. But confusion was inevitable when, as sometimes happened, under that earlier law, the official ballot title prepared by the attorney general was different from the tentative designation applied to the proposed measure during the circulation for signatures. Popularly the measure was known by one title; on the ballot a different description confronted the voter. The law as it now stands avoids any possible confusion and is the means of a measure being known under one title from its inception until its final disposition by the people.

Based on the total vote of 165,752 cast for justice of the Supreme Court at the general election in November, 1920, 13,260 signatures, or eight per cent. thereof, are required in order to initiate a measure at the 1922 election; 8,288 signatures, or five per cent., to refer a measure in the same election, and 41,438 signatures, or twenty-five per cent., for a recall election against any public official elected from the state at large. If the official sought to be recalled was elected from a political subdivision of the state, then the petition demanding his recall must bear the signature of a number of electors equal to twenty-five per cent. of the vote cast for justice of the Supreme Court at the last preceding general election in the district from which the official sought to be recalled was elected.

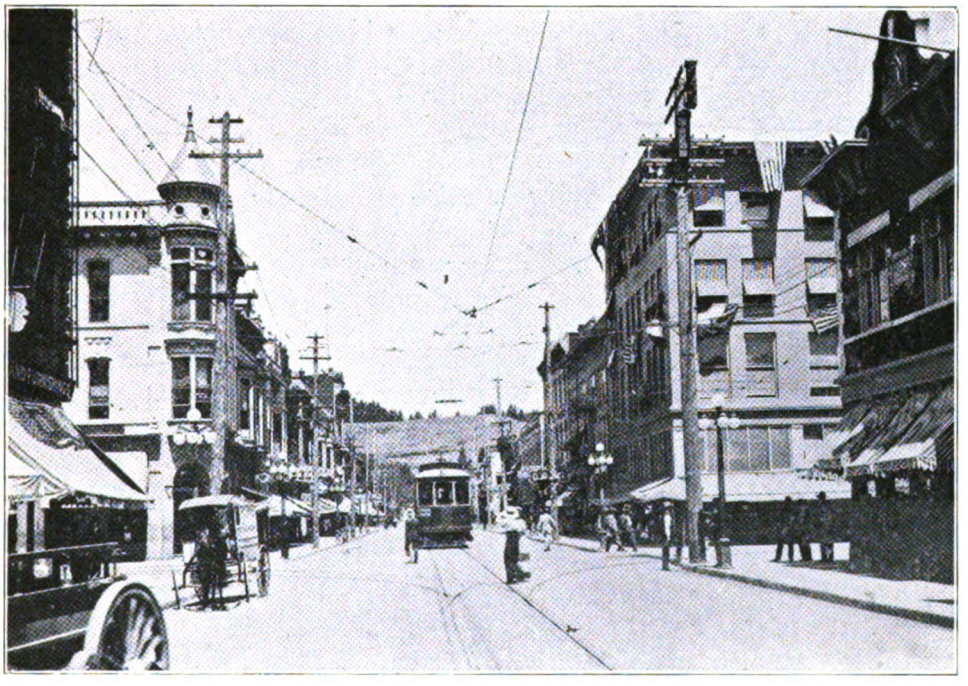
Since the adoption of the initiative and referendum constitutional amendment in 1902, a total of ninety-eight proposed constitutional amendments and one hundred and fifteen measures have been passed upon by the people. Of the ninety-eight constitutional amendments, fifty-two were initiated by the people and forty-six were referred to the people by the Legislature. Forty-three of the ninety-eight constitutional amendments were approved by the electors of the state and fifty-five were rejected. Of the forty-six constitutional amendments referred to the people of the Legislature, twenty-four were adopted and twenty-two were rejected. Of the fifty-two constitutional amendments initiated by the people, thirty-three were adopted and nineteen were rejected.

Of the one hundred and fifteen measures submitted to the people, seventeen were referred by the Legislature, eighty were submitted by initiative petition, seventeen were submitted by referendum petition and one was submitted by

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OAK STREET, HOOD RIVER, 1920



WILLAMETTE STREET LOOKING NORTH FROM NINTH STREET, EUGENE

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state tax commission under Chapter 150, Laws of 1917. This last enumerated measure was defeated by a vote of 41,364 to 56,974. Only forty-six of the one hundred and fifteen measures were approved by the voters, the other sixty-nine being rejected.

Of the seventeen measures referred to the people by the Legislature, ten were approved and seven were rejected. Of eighty measures submitted by initiative petition, the voters of the state enacted twenty-eight and rejected fifty-two.

The referendum has not been so extensively employed in this state as has the initiative. To date the referendum has been invoked by the people against only seventeen measures enacted by the Legislature, and in nine instances the action of the Legislature was approved by the electors of the state.

Under the initiative and referendum, proposed constitutional amendments rejected by the people at one election, have frequently been resubmitted by their proponents at the ensuing and subsequent elections. For a time this practice was followed so extensively that there was some agitation for the submission by the Legislature of a constitutional amendment placing some restriction on the frequency with which a proposed constitutional amendment or measure rejected by the people at one election, might again be submitted to the voters of the state under the initiative and referendum. Such an amendment, however, was never actually proposed. That it was not submitted was probably due to the generally accepted theory that no restriction should be imposed against the maximum use of both the initiative and referendum by the voters of the state at any and all times.

The most frequent resort to the initiative was that of the advocates of single tax. Aside from three local attempts to introduce this radical change in taxation in as many counties, all of which were unsuccessful, the voters of the state have been called upon at five general elections between 1908 and 1920 to pass upon single tax as a state-wide issue in one form or another. The adverse vote against single tax increased after the first submission of the question. In 1908 the vote was 32,066 for and 60,871 against, while in 1920 the vote was 37,283 for and 147,426 against. The vote against single tax was even greater at the election of 1916 when 43,390 votes were cast for the amendment and 154,980 were polled against it.

Equal suffrage was submitted at four successive biennial elections before women finally received the constitutional right to vote in this state. The question was first submitted in 1906 when a constitutional amendment was initiated. It was rejected by a vote of 36,902 to 47,075. Another constitutional amendment was initiated and submitted at the general election in 1908. It, too, met defeat by a vote of 36,858 to 58,670. Two years later a constitutional amendment permitting women taxpayers to vote was submitted under the initiative but it was decisively defeated, the vote being 35,270 for and 59,065 against. But the women would not admit defeat and in 1912 again resorted to the initiative and submitted another constitutional amendment which was approved by the voters of the state by a vote of 61,265 to 57,104.

Seven constitutional amendments either increasing the compensation of legislators or prolonging the length of session of the Legislature have been submitted to the electors of the state and by them rejected in elections held between 1908 and 1921. The first of these amendments was proposed in 1908 and provided for an increase in the compensation of members of the Legislature from $120.00 to $400.00 per session. It was defeated by a vote of 19,691 to

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68,892. Four years later the people by a vote of 31,020 to 71,183 rejected a constitutional amendment proposing that the state senate be abolished. In 1914, a constitutional amendment fixing the compensation of legislators at $5.00 per day was defeated by a vote of 41,087 to 146,278. The last proposed amendment of this character was submitted to the people at the special election in June, 1921. It extended the length of a regular session of the Legislature from forty to sixty days, fixed the compensation of members at $5.00 per day and $3.00 for every twenty miles traveled, and prohibited the introduction of any bills after the fortieth day of the session, except appropriation and emergency bills, except by consent of four-fifths of the members present on roll call. This proposed amendment was defeated by a vote of 42,924 to 72,596.

A constitutional amendment creating the office of lieutenant governor was beaten decisively in each of three elections held in 1912, 1914 and 1919. But, at an election in 1920, the people adopted an amendment providing for a successor to the governor by a vote of 78,241 to 56,946. Formerly the order of succession to the governor, fixed by the constitution, in case of death, resignation, removal or inability of the governor to serve, was, first the secretary of state and then the state treasurer. The order of succession to the gubernatorial office as provided in the 1920 amendment to the constitution, is, first, the president of the senate, and, second, the speaker of the house.

The question of abolishing or restoring capital punishment in this state was vigorously contested in three elections. In 1912, an initiative measure abolishing hanging was defeated by a vote of 41,951 to 64,578. In the election two years later capital punishment was abolished by the adoption of a constitutional amendment by a vote of 100,552 to 100,395. After an experience of six years, the people of the state in 1920 adopted a constitutional amendment restoring capital punishment by a vote of 81,756 to 64,589. This constitutional amendment, however, contains the provision that the trial jury may in its verdict recommend life imprisonment in lieu of the death penalty.

This method of legislation has been used upon various other important measures submitted to the people in the same manner, including local option and prohibition, direct primary, extending initiative and referendum to all local, special and municipal laws, recall of public officials, corrupt practices act, permitting three-fourths jury verdict in civil cases, establishing state normal school, providing for popular expression of choice for President and Vice President, requiring voters to be citizens of the United States, empowering the governor to veto single items or emergency clause, fixing maximum limit on state and county bonded indebtedness, enacting soldiers' bonus and educational aid bills, and providing for women jurors. A full list of the constitutional amendments and laws voted upon, with the dates and a statement of the number of votes cast, is set out in the appendix.

No attempt has been made to compile statistics showing the extent to which counties and municipalities have applied the initiative and referendum in the administration of their affairs. However, this method of direct legislation has been quite extensively employed by many of the cities and counties of the state. For instance, in connection with the special election of June 7, 1921, initiative, referendum or recall elections were held in seventeen of the thirty-six counties of the state. A total of twenty-eight local measures were passed upon in the seventeen counties at that time. Official figures on the results in each county follow:

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Coos County—$300,000 road bonds: Yes, 2,873; No, 735.

Curry County—$165,000 road bonds: Yes, 662; No, 52.

Deschutes County—$50,000 road bonds: Yes, 1,153; No, 901.

Douglas County—$1,100,000 roads bonds: Yes, 3,448; No, 1,750.

Grant County—Referendum county salary bill: Yes, 257; No, 1,167. $440,000 road bonds: Yes, 1,193; No, 397.

Hood River County—$350,000 road bonds: Yes, 1,257; No, 898.

Josephine County—County salary bill: Assessor, Yes, 276; No, 1,087. School Superintendent, Yes, 340; No, 1,050. Stock running at large in Fruitdale precinct: Yes, 48; No, 27.

Lane County—Recall of County Commissioner Harlow: Yes, 3,210; No, 4,648. For county commissioner: M. H. Harlow, 4,600; L. N. Roney, 2,195.

Lincoln County—$343,240 road bonds: Yes, 1,374; No, 380. Establishing county high school: Yes, 986; No, 710.

Multnomah County—Appointment Port of Portland Commissioners by governor: Yes, 17,307; No, 12,889.

Sherman County—County fair tax: Yes, 346; No, 249.

Umatilla County—County salary bill: Yes, 988; No, 2,379.

Union County—County salary bill: Yes, 506; No, 1,987.

Wallowa County—County salary bill: Yes, 317; No, 1,007.

Wasco County—County salary bill: Yes, 1,292; No. 1,752. Salary Justice of Peace, The Dalles: Yes, 1,255; No, 1,715. $800,000 road bonds: Yes, 3,533; No, 1,299.

Wheeler County—$140,000 road bonds: Yes, 605; No, 195.

Yamhill County—$50,000 road bonds: Yes, 2,135; No, 2,202. City of McMinnville: Annexation, Yes, 913; No, 76. Improvement bonds, Yes, 498; No, 363. Charter amendment, Yes, 677; No, 444. Dance ordinance, Yes, 392; No, 624.

The initiative has, as already stated, frequently been used as a means of adopting city ordinances, and of amending city charters, particularly at Portland. There have been amendments voted by districts organized as ports, principally for harbor development and improvement. The right to amend such charters, being reserved to the people of the municipality interested, when exercised in some cases has given rise to interesting legal questions as to the conflict of authority between state and local enactments, but these, though at first debatable, have finally clarified themselves through recent decisions of the Supreme Court.[8]

Almost at once after the initiative and referendum amendment was adopted

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8 An amendment to Art. XI, Sec. 2, of the Constitution, approved by vote of the people at the election November 8, 1910, provides: "The legal voters of every city and town are hereby granted the power to enact and amend their municipal charter, subject to the constitution and criminal laws of the state of Oregon, and the exclusive power to license, regulate, control or to suppress or prohibit, the sale of intoxicating liquors therein is vested in such municipality; but such municipality shall within its limits be subject to the provisions of the local option law of the state of Oregon." In its original form this amendment, and an amendment to Art. IV, Sec. 1a, were adopted by popular vote June 4, 1906, and the latter, which broadly reserved the initiative and referendum powers to the legal voters of every municipality and district as to local, special and municipal legislation of every character, in and for their respective municipalities and districts, was held by the courts to be modified by the language of the former, the two being construed together. There have been many decisions of the supreme court construing and reconciling these provisions.

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its validity was challenged in the courts. The first suit, which was in the Circuit Court at Portland, resulted in a decision by the judges sitting in banc that the amendment was invalid, but the decision of the Supreme Court on appeal reversed this and the amendment was decided to have been properly adopted. Among other suits challenging its validity were cases which raised the question whether the method of adopting laws by direct vote of the people was republican in form of government within the meaning and effect of the Federal Constitution. But although these cases were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States for final determination the validity of the amendment was sustained.[9] The system, nevertheless, may not have reached its final form in Oregon. Such changes as have been made have not radically altered the original scheme, but have usually been slight modifications calculated to make it more practical and useful, and to perfect details of procedure, and doubtless as time and experience of this and other states develop defects further improvements will be adopted.

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[9] Kadderly vs. City of Portland, 44 Or. 118; Kiernan vs. City of Portland, 57 Or. 454, 223 U. S. 151; Oregon vs. Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Co., 53 Or. 162, 223 U. S. 118.

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CHAPTER XLIII

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

While it is not deemed desirable to attempt a survey of current events, or to detail the successive steps by which the state has advanced in population and industrial wealth, the preceding pages have shown enough of the early history of agriculture and enterprises of a commercial character to indicate the solid foundation upon which the great development rests. If the products of the soil furnish the real basis of permanent social institutions, it is likewise true that as the scope of farming and kindred occupations has been enlarged, the state has gained in strength. Wheat, wool, salmon, lumber and other local commodities are now the elements of what has grown to be a great commerce.

So far as recent political administrations are concerned it will perhaps be sufficient to refer to the information collected in the appendix, where the names of the officers with the dates of their incumbency will be stated. It remains to add that during the last few years a spirited and concerted effort has been made to improve transportation conditions, and this has been attended with good results not only in stimulating railroad and steamship activities but in constructing many miles of excellent roads. These factors no doubt will grow in importance as time goes on.[1]

The easiest way to reach the Oregon Country originally was by ship. When the pioneer movement started, wagons became the principal vehicle for importations from the eastern states to Oregon, and while these prairie schooners of limited capacity would seem to have had hardly sufficient space for the ordinary effects of a family, yet it was found that they actually brought in some of the most important early necessities of business and industry. When the first whites arrived, they found the Columbia River and tributaries being used by the indians for convenient transportation between seaboard points and the interior. In the earliest settlement and use of the Oregon Country, this method of transportation was the principal means of communication.

The commercial distributive business of the Pacific Northwest for years gravitated to Columbia and Willamette River towns. These streams served all of the Northwest, excepting small areas in the Puget Sound basin. In all other parts of the great Oregon Country, aggregating more than 300,000 square miles, the natural flow of commerce was toward the river and its tributaries where the cost of transportation was less than was possible along any other routes. These conditions made it possible for the jobber and manufacturer established on the Columbia and the Willamette rivers to serve advantageously the settlers who went into the Willamette Valley, or to Southern Oregon, and as well to serve the growing number of settlers who were populating the plains of Eastern Oregon and Washington.

When the mining excitement developed full force in California and later

[1] The substance of this chapter was furnished by Mr. W. D. B. Dodson of the Portland Chamber of Commerce.

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led to discoveries of value in the Northwest, the towns on the rivers again demonstrated that their location made them necessarily the most important distributive centers. California for several years offered the principal outside market for fine fruits, excellent vegetables and superior cereal products that were produced in the Oregon Country. The miners of the South were too busy to produce from the land, and as the growing population required heavy supplies of food, a most profitable business developed. A foreign trade of considerable proportions in and out of the Columbia river grew up, although the dangers of the bar, and the shoal water at various places along the river itself proved obstacles to permanent success. Commerce gradually came to require vessels of deeper draft than those which could be accommodated.

By 1913, the United States Army Engineers' plan of jetty improvement at the mouth of the Columbia River had commenced to take tangible and substantial form. The south jetty that year was completed for a distance of about seven and a half miles and it was found that a deep, wide channel had formed to the north of this jetty as the latter extended to the sea. Immediately after completion of the south jetty, the north jetty work was undertaken and this was finished during the European war period. The result of these two important improvements, concentrating the current discharge of the Columbia River to a limited area, has been to establish a deep, wide channel, improving every year since that time. The most recent surveys show across the bar area a depth of forty-two feet at mean lower low level of water and approximately fifty feet with the average tide. The width of this deep channel is nearly a mile, with a considerable area on either side nearly as deep as the principal channel.

As soon as the bar entrance work was finished, attention was directed to the river channel between Portland and the sea. As already stated, in the earliest days of navigation this channel was only fifteen feet deep at controlling points. By 1919, however, the joint work of the United States Engineers and the Port of Portland Commission had secured a depth of thirty feet at zero stage of the river, with a minimum of 300 feet width of channel at river bars. Further deepening and widening of this channel is under way, as the Port Commission and the business men of Portland have set their mark for a thirty-five-foot depth at zero stage of the river, and a minimum of 500 feet width on every river bar.

While the effort was being made to finish the wide and deep channel for ships entering the Columbia River, the people of the ports organized in a community plan to recover the percentage of shipping of the Northwest that they had once enjoyed, and that had been taken from them through the adverse conditions mentioned. Community sentiment became keenly aroused, extraordinary laws were advocated for the strengthening of the Port of Astoria and the Port of Portland, the Commission of Public Docks was created to build water front facilities at Portland, and a fund of $10,500,000.00 was voted. As a result of various improvements, and growing out of this new spirit, the Columbia River ports found themselves by 1921 handling a volume of commerce greater than the entire volume handled by the State of Washington. They were making rapid gains each year in the total values, and were establishing conditions that insured a permanent commerce through foreign shipping.

Production of wheat in the Northwest began at Vancouver and in the Willamette Valley, Fort Colville and the Walla Walla mission. Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company, had encouraged his employees to

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produce their requirements as to food, but it was only as the Willamette Valley and the Walla Walla agricultural regions were settled and organized, that wheat cultivation was taken up upon a large scale. The marketing of this product grew within a few years to be a most important industry. Wheat and flour have been the most valuable export commodities of the Northwest for years. The quantity sent abroad annually has recently reached the volume of from 1,000,000 to 1,250,000 tons. In the earliest days this commodity was always the form of wheat in the grain, but as the milling industry for local consumers developed, the manufacture of flour for the export trade also took form. This export trade of flour was at first chiefly for Oriental countries, mainly China, but in due course, shipments of flour to Europe and other foreign countries seeking breadstuffs from the Pacific Northwest were taken up in cargo quantities.

In the earliest period of exporting wheat from the Northwest, the Columbia River ports controlled the business. Sailing ships of a light draft were the usual medium for export trade during the first two or three decades of the business. With the completion of railroad construction across the mountains to Puget Sound, an intense rivalry ensued as to the principal exporting point of wheat and flour. In the cereal season of 1915-16, the Columbia River ports handled 13,000,000 bushels of wheat and flour reduced to a wheat basis, compared with 16,000,000 bushels handled by Puget Sound ports. But in the cereal year of 1917-18 there was shipped from Puget Sound ports 13,000,000 bushels as against 16,000,000 bushels from Columbia River ports. For the cereal year of 1919-20, the Columbia River, under the new order of shipping conditions, had 21,000,000 bushels, as compared with 17,000,000 bushels from Puget Sound ports, and for the cereal year of 1920-21, the Columbia River shipments aggregated 29,000,000 bushels, as against 11,000,000 bushels from all of the Puget Sound ports. The recent increase in the quantity of this commodity handled through the Columbia River is due in part to a change in railroad freight rates, and in part to harbor and channel improvements. These figures indicate that the old order and the natural order which prevailed for so many years, is reasserting itself and that the line of movement for the great commodities of the interior which was made use of by the aborigines, as well as by the first white settlers who came to the Northwest, is again being reestablished under a progressive, fostering and constructive campaign being carried on by the ports of the Columbia River.

The manufacture of lumber began as early as the milling and shipping of wheat in the Oregon Country. Sawmills for the production of the boards needed to build houses and for general use, very soon began to take the place of the hewing axe and the hand whipsaw. The first settlers on viewing the Oregon forest were prone to regard it almost with a sense of consternation. It was so dense, the trees were so large and the cost of cutting and clearing was so heavy, that the pioneers who came to Oregon for land regarded the stupendous forest area as a detriment rather than as an asset. By the time the sawmills began to operate on a considerable scale and an appreciable market was found for Northwest lumber products, first in California, and then abroad, there was some appreciation of the value of this dense forest, but it is only in recent years that the stupendous stand of timber within this state and neighboring states, carved out of the original Oregon Country, could be fully appreciated as one of the greatest industrial sources of wealth that was given any western state.

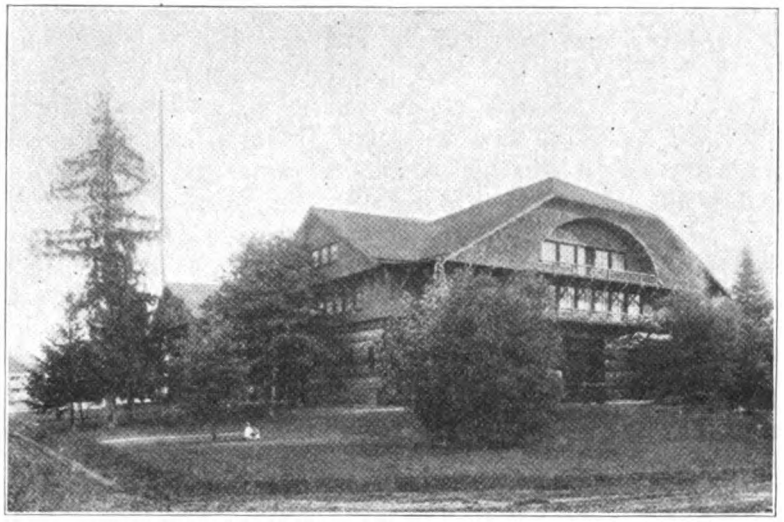
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Carefully prepared figures by the United States Forestry Department indicate that in the Pacific Northwest there is a stand of, roughly, one thousand billion feet of commercial timber. Most of this is west of the Cascade Mountains in the states of Oregon and Washington. The latest figures of the Forestry Department in Oregon indicate that Oregon alone has about 493,000,000,000 feet of this Northwest stand, or, roughly, nearly one-half of the total. There is about another 100,000,000,000 feet of this timber growing in adjacent states that will have to be marketed in large measure through Oregon seaports and over Oregon railroad lines. This gives to the trade district approximately 600,000,000,000 feet of commercial soft woods.

In making comparisons, it is found that this stand is approximately the total that was found of yellow pine in all of the southern states when first cutting of the forest began and, in the aggregate, is superior in quantity to the pine found in the Great Lakes region when the white man first invaded that territory with a sawmill. The stand of timber in Oregon and vicinity constitutes almost one-third of the old growth commercial stand of softwoods remaining in the United States. With a resource of such enormous quantity, very large payrolls and large movements of heavy commodities and commerce are inevitable. For many years, however, Oregon's development of lumber has been relatively slow. While the state has a greater amount of commercial timber than the State of Washington, the logging and manufacture of the Washington product has been well ahead of the same industry in Oregon. This is to be attributed very largely to the fact that the extensive deep water frontage afforded by the Puget Sound waterways gave a higher total of commercial timber immediately adjacent to or on tidewater, than could be found in the State of Oregon. In this timber Oregon has an asset of such possibilities as to assure for this state for the next sixty-five or seventy years, the leading position in all lumber manufacture of the United States. On the basis of a cut of lumber at the rate of seven and a half to eight billion feet a year in Oregon, it is estimated that the industry may easily continue for sixty-five or seventy years, in which period a very satisfactory reforestation may be attained if the work is carried on carefully and young growth protected from fire and other devastation. With Oregon producing between seven and eight billion feet of lumber a year, the volume available for commerce will be, in general terms, at least 10,000,000 short tons. A study of the market conditions of this country and the world at large by the best informed lumber men in the business today, indicates that of this about 5,000,000 tons will go by water and approximately the same amount by the railroads. Confidence is felt by the most careful students of the situation that lumber alone from Oregon will, in the near future, become the greatest commodity for shipment by both water and land that is sent from any western state, and should make Oregon the premier railroad and shipping center of the West, so far as volume of commerce goes.

The first pulp paper in appreciable quantity made on the Pacific coast was produced in Oregon. This infant industry took the form later of mills at Oregon City where cheap water-power was available, and later at a large plant at Camas, Washington, across the Columbia River from Multnomah County. These paper manufacturing operations have extended somewhat until a good production now is had in the State of Washington and the industry seems destined to rapid expansion. The production of pulp and pulp paper now in the Pacific Northwest on the American side of the international boundary is not

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FORESTRY BUILDING, PORTLAND



LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION GROUNDS, PORTLAND

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to exceed 200,000 tons a year. However, the Forestry Department has ascertained, after careful study of the raw material resources in Oregon and Washington, that the industry could be made to yield 1,500,000 tons a year and not consume the raw material faster than it would repropagate under a fair, fostering policy. In view of the fact that Alaska is estimated to be capable of producing a million tons of pulp paper a year on a perpetual production basis, and Oregon and Washington one and a half million tons a year, it is clear that these two general territories will supply the United States with the quantity now imported from Canada, when the manufacture in Oregon, Washington and Alaska is brought up to the maximum.

The discharge of the Columbia River is almost equal to that of the Mississippi, while the area drained is, roughly, about one-fifth of that of the Mississippi Basin. The Columbia's tributaries plunge from the highest points of the Rocky and Cascade mountains to the sea level within a very short distance. The higher altitudes of the Rocky and Cascade mountains have perpetual snow, constituting excellent reservoirs for supplying the summer flow of streams, and in the lower reaches of the Pacific Northwest, particularly west of the Cascade Mountains, the winter rains with practically no freezing weather produce an excellent supply of water for power purposes. Thus the Columbia basin has within its area territory bountifully supplied with winter and spring rains on one side, and other territory that during the winter months stores vast quantities of snow and ice which melt during the summer to give flood waters in the Columbia proper in June and July. Competent engineers have estimated the power possibilities of the Columbia Basin as a whole, at 22,000,000 horsepower, and if extensive reservoiring is undertaken beyond the continuous flow of streams, this power production may be greatly extended. Only about one-third of a million of horsepower of this total has actually been harnessed for industrial uses, leaving practically all the great potentiality for future development. Taking the usual formula for conversion of average coal into continuous horsepower of energy, the waterpower of the Columbia River would be equivalent to approximately one-half of the annual coal production of the United States. As only about one-half of the coal of the nation is used for power purposes, it might safely be said that the potential of hydro-electric energy in the Columbia River is equal to practically all of the power that is used for industrial and transportation purposes in the entire country. That a resource of such magnitude must become a great factor of the future, is evident. In whatever measure electricity spreads through industry, and in whatever measure the fuel supplies of the earth are depleted and become higher of cost, the great natural power resources of the Columbia are enhanced in value accordingly.

In the earliest days of Oregon settlement, the carding, spinning and weaving of wool was undertaken as a necessity. This hand method of manufacturing wool was later supplanted by power plants. Oregon today has a larger wool manufacturing center than any other place on the Pacific coast, which industry grew out of the earlier efforts of the pioneers. Experts of international reputation in wool fabrics have declared that the territory west of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon and Washington has the most remarkable combination in the way of climate, water and natural power that can be found in the world for woolen fabric production. The climate and water in the Willamette Valley have been compared with the Stroud Valley in England, the waters containing

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no substances that react on the surface of the wool unfavorably and the atmosphere being of a mild, humid character—the conditions required for producing the softest and best woolen fabrics. A long distance from the greater consuming centers of the nation and the higher labor costs of the West are the two factors that seem to have prevented a very great expansion of the woolen industry in Western Oregon, and these must, in due course, be overcome. The raw material supply of woolens within what was formerly known as the Oregon Country, and Utah and Wyoming, will reach above 50,000,000 pounds, while the conditions for importing wools from Oriental countries or Australasia are excellent because of the large offering of lumber to those regions and the bidding of the ships for return cargo.

Oregon has already made substantial progress in developing a furniture and higher grade wood manufacturing industry. Furniture of modern times depends somewhat upon the successful production of veneers. Veneers require a softwood core stock, and in the larger uses a hardwood surface. In the unprecedented stand of commercial softwoods found in the Oregon district, are the needed stocks for any possible expansion of veneer manufacture. The hardwoods that may be had from the oak forests of Japan and Siberia and the mahogany forests of the Philippines, Borneo, Java and Sumatra, and the Latin-American mahoganies of Central America and Mexico, assure all possible varieties and grades of hardwoods that are needed for the development of a very large veneer manufacture in this region. With the resultant production of the different classes and types of furniture, music boxes and other instruments, it would seem quite certain that this important industry must thrive in the Oregon Country in the coming years. Already the furniture manufacture of Portland is larger than in any other city of the Pacific coast, and substantial progress is made annually in its further development.

Even in the days when ships were not visiting the Columbia River harbor frequently, Portland dominated the business of selling and distributing goods to the interior. The largest jobbing houses have been developed here. These firms cover a very extensive territory outside of the present State of Oregon. As a distributing center, it would seem that the coming years are certain to enhance the position of Portland very materially on both land and water.

Illustrating the remarkable growth that has taken place in seventy years, the following details are given:

RIVER AND HARBOR DEVELOPMENT AT PORTLAND

The physical improvement and maintenance of the port and channel approach are administered by the Port of Portland Commission. The Portland terminals and their facilities, operation and maintenance are under the jurisdiction of the Commission of Public Docks. These commissions are made up of citizens who are serving without remuneration, and the funds are derived from taxation. Approximately six miles of municipal and privately owned docks provide for berths of all types of ocean-going vessels, and over $15,000,000 has been expended for municipal improvements alone on channel, harbor, drydocks and terminals, so that there are at present four municipal terminals with docking space sufficient to berth over a score of 500-foot vessels at one time, and there are seven privately owned docks with a total capacity of over 30,000 tons of cargo. At the same time there are eleven privately owned grain and flour docks

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along the harbor, with a total storage capacity of 231,550 tons of sacked grain. The lumber interests at this port maintain eight lumber docks with over a mile of berthing space for vessels, while the combined crude oil storage capacity of the private fuel docks is 422,913 barrels and for refined oil, 156,259 barrels. There is in addition adequate coal bunkering and loading facilities, and one of the few mechanical car dumpers in use in the world is located at Municipal Terminal No. 4. There are also eleven modern steel tanks for handling and for storage of vegetable oils and molasses at that terminal. The port has two modern drydocks, one of 10,000 tons and one of 15,000 tons capacity, together with repair shops, and also owns and operates three large dredges for harbor development and channel maintenance. The harbor depth is maintained at from 32 to 60 feet throughout the harbor at low water along a frontage of 26.8 miles. The river channel will accommodate vessels of 30-foot draft at low water and during nine months of the year 5 to 15 feet deeper draft. This channel has a minimum width of 300 feet, with a width at times of 500 to 600 feet. The harbor widths are from 1,200 to 1,600 feet. These figures apply to the Portland harbor. The harbor development at Astoria is on a similar scale. The smaller ports, such as Tillamook, Yaquina and Coos Bay, have expended considerable sums for deepening the waterway and avoiding bars at the mouth of the harbors.

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT

In the ten years prior to 1915, when war conditions interrupted railway construction in America, there had been an expenditure of $275,000,000 in new railway contracts for expansion or rehabilitation in the district. Of this the Southern Pacific Company built in Oregon 13 branch and feeder lines and cut-offs, totaling 353 miles in length and costing $35,000,000. In the same time this company spent $10,000,000 in additions and betterments to existing lines. During the same ten-year period the Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway Company also built from Spokane, and branch and feeder lines centering at Portland were built or purchased by the same company, giving a total of 925 miles of line at a cost of $101,498,000. In the same decade the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, which already had 2,091 miles of line, built or reconstructed 24 branch and feeder lines, totaling 775 miles in length, a large part of which was to tap tributary territories. The cost of this building is estimated at $109,220,256.21. Likewise, the Northern Pacific Terminal Company, jointly owned by some of these railroads, has an investment at Portland of $11,000,000 and owns 26 miles of track in that city and its environs. In addition to the trunk lines which are the main arteries of rail traffic, there are 15 independent railways in Oregon, most of which have been built to furnish already established communities with outlets to main lines, their length varying from 5 to 80 miles each, and they total 463 miles, with a construction cost of $18,520,000. There are 2,000 miles of logging roads in Oregon, built, owned and operated by lumber manufacturers and logging concerns.

FACTORIES

The statistics of Oregon manufacturers, compiled from census reports of Oregon Bureau of Labor and the Federal Census Department, are as follows:

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NUMBER OF FACTORIES AND OUTPUTS BY CLASSES

	Total Number Plants.	Number Reporting Output.	Val. of Output of Plants Reporting.
Logging	126	117	$14,557,833.72
Sawmills and planers	259	233	52,040,421.66
Sash, door and furniture factories	54	40	5,689,898.43
Creameries	77	68	10,722,716.71
Flour, feed and cereals	106	61	36,475,251.37
Fruits, vegetables and fish	65	56	16,087,086.03
Meat packing	21	15	13,469,747.25
Woolen mills and wool scouring	11	9	5,936,547.02

PEOPLE EMPLOYED, CAPITAL INVESTED AND WAGES PAID

	1919.	1914.	Pct. Increase.
Number of establishments	2,707	2,320	16.7
Persons engaged in manufacture	68,004	35,449	91.8
Proprietors and members of firms	2,540	2,189	16.0
Office employes, salesmen, etc.	6,905	4,431	55.8
Workmen in plants (avg. number)	58,559	28,829	103.1
Primary horsepower	303,751	219,222	38.6
Capital invested	$439,982,000	$139,500,000	215.4
Salaries and wages (all plants)	94,986,000	26,615,000	256.9
Material used (all plants)	206,206,000	63,258,000	226.0
Value of output (all plants)	366,783,000	109,762,000	234.2

JOBBING TRADE

It is estimated that there are 160 jobbing houses which handle approximately half a hundred distinct lines of merchandise. The principal lines handled are drygoods, groceries, hardware, flour and cereals, farm implements, furniture, automobiles, shoes, men's furnishings, ladies' ready-to-wear, home furnishings, knit goods, silks, toys and stationery, paper, woodenware, crockery, harness, saddlery and plumbing supplies, candy, aluminum cooking utensils, rubber, paints, varnishes, steel products, stoves and electric appliances.

PAPER MILLS

Paper mills produce news print paper, wrapping paper, tissue paper, toweling, paper bags and chip board. This industry employs some 3,000 men, with an annual output of 175,000 tons. It is estimated that the wood used annually in these mills, which consists of spruce, hemlock and fir, covers 250,000 cords, and there is an annual payroll of $3,500,000, and a capital invested of approximately $25,000,000.

SALMON

The growth of the salmon business is indicated by the fact that in 1866 the number of cases packed was 4,000, at a value of $64,000, whereas in 1920 the pack was 518,445 cases, at a value of $6,531,617. This includes the annual catch from coastal streams, which are usually sold as fresh fish, but are represented by their equivalent in packed fish. These coastal streams include the Rogue, Umpqua, Coos, Siuslaw, Alsea, Yaquina, Siletz, Nestucca, Tillamook and Nehalem rivers, besides the Columbia River. Owing to the wise protective legislation and work of propagation, Oregon is showing a constant increase in the quantities of salmon which inhabit her waters, which is true of no other Pacific state. Seventy per cent of all the salmon caught in the Columbia River is taken by

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Oregon fisheries. The method of taking the fish is by means of gill net, trolling, set net, trap, drag seine, fish wheel and purse seine, although the purse seine is now prohibited on the ground that it destroys the young fish, and troll fishing is also discountenanced now. While Oregon spends approximately $20,000 a year for wardens to police and protect the state fishing, it has spent to maintain fish hatcheries in 1920, $106,901.57. The latest biennial report of hatcheries in the state indicates that during the preceding two years more than 50,000,000 Royal Chinook fingerlings were liberated by the fish hatcheries into the various streams at the average age of eight months, and in addition there were nearly 40,000,000 young fish of less valuable varieties, making a total for the past two years of 90,000,000. The industry, which has millions of dollars invested, gives employment directly and indirectly to 20,000 men and brings revenues approximating $10,000,000 annually.

FRUIT PRODUCTION

The total fruit acreage is approximately 106,831 acres, and the value of the crop of leading products for 1920 is estimated at $15,742,803. Of this amount 4,280,872 bushels of apples were produced, at a value of $3,210,653; the prune crop was over 41,000,000 pounds and valued at over $4,000,000. The magnitude of the fruit industry is further emphasized by the number of Oregon plants engaged in the packing of fruit products, which are estimated at 66 canning plants, 4 evaporating plants and 2 dehydrating plants. The ideal climatic and other conditions favorable to fruit growing, the vision and hard work on the part of the growers themselves, and the packing and selling organizations and companies are the factors that have insured success in this industry. In the decade last past the number of bushels produced has increased from about 4,500,000 to 10,500,000, with a normal valuation of over $17,000,000, while the bearing fruit trees have increased from 4,500,000 in 1909 to nearly 8,000,000 in 1919.

DAIRYING

This industry has invested in physical plants of the dairy farms more than $200,000,000 and gives active employment to more than 40,000 men and women. The dairy interests are grouped into three strong organizations, the State Dairymen's Association, which is an association of dairy farmers, creameries, cheese factories and milk distributors joined together to advance the interests of dairying; the State Butter and Cheese Makers' Association, which is an organization for technical advancement of professional butter and cheese makers, and the Oregon Dairymen's Coöperative League, which is a coöperative association of dairy farmers joined together to work out more efficient marketing of dairy products, and which has 3,000 members in 13 important dairy counties. Oregon farmers own more than 12,000 pure-bred dairy cattle, and Oregon holds the world's records for 5 out of 8 classes of Jerseys for milk production.

The Pacific International Live Stock Exposition Company is largely responsible for the encouragement of this branch of the dairy industry and holds an annual show at Portland, at which competition is keen among breeders; each one strives to outrival the other in breeding the best, which naturally results in the betterment each year of Oregon's pure-bred herds. In 1920 there were approximately 280,500 dairy cattle in Oregon and the production of butter amounted to 15,500,000 pounds, and milk production was close to 900,000,000

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pounds. The butter is produced principally in 81 creameries, mostly located in the Willamette Valley, a portion of them being coöperative institutions owned by dairy farmers, while the remainder are privately owned. There are now 7 condenseries in this state, and the reports for the year ending September 30, 1920, show that the production of these factories for the twelve-month period was approximately 50,000,000 pounds. Oregon supplies practically one-third of the entire Pacific coast market with cheese, which has a distinctive quality. There are all together 69 cheese factories in the state, and in 1920 the output of cheese was more than 10,000,000 pounds.

LIVESTOCK

The value of all livestock farms in Oregon, Washington and Idaho was estimated at $270,468,757. The greater portion of fat stock produced in these states, and in portions of Montana and Wyoming, is marketed at Portland. The fat stock marketed there annually approximates $20,000,000 in value, and the number of cars required to haul stock to the Portland market each year is 7,500. Portland has the only important livestock market on the Pacific coast, and the farms in this district supply practically all of the meat products required, except pork, while a large number of hogs from Missouri River points are slaughtered at Portland. That city is also the center of the pure-bred livestock industry west of the Rocky Mountains. The state has 24,712 pure-bred cattle.

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CHAPTER XLIV

PATRIOTISM AND THE WORLD WAR

The old world was overwhelmed by the great war in 1914. In 1917, as the reader already knows, the United States was drawn into the vortex of this most sanguinary conflict. The story of how the people of Oregon comported themselves in this critical time, of how they rallied to the support of the National Government with men and with material, and above all of their prompt and unanimous determination to omit no effort and to spare no sacrifice essential to the success of the common cause, constitutes a fitting climax to a history of the material development and of the moral and spiritual progress of the state.

The nucleus of the Oregon military establishment, represented by the Third Regiment of the Oregon National Guard, had been seasoned by an experience on the Mexican border earlier in 1917. It had the stimulus, too, of the distinguished service of its National Guard predecessor, the Second Oregon, in the Philippines. But the currents ran even deeper than in 1898, and the spontaneous and enthusiastic manifestation of fealty that characterized the state's immediate response to the call to arms, and the unflagging zeal that marked the conduct of the people throughout the period of their participation in the Great War, were without doubt the cumulative product of all the years and of all the events which have been herein recorded. As the result, not of chance, but of a logical sequence of historic incidents, these sons of the pioneers, the beneficiaries of the toil and sacrifices of the pioneers, and the inheritors of their spirit of initiative and enterprise, were first in all the nation to announce their readiness to enter the nation's service in the world's cause. It is Oregon's proud claim that her boys led the way.

The order to mobilize the Oregon National Guard was received in Portland on the night of March 25, 1917, almost two weeks before the formal declaration of war with Germany. The response was instantaneous. By the morning of March 26 more than a thousand guardsmen were assembled at their armories, equipped as fully for the business before them as a citizen-soldier unit might be expected to be, and simultaneously the recruiting of the regiment to war strength began. The War Department within a few days increased the quota of Oregon guardsmen from 1,400 in number to fifty-seven officers and 2,002 enlisted men, and volunteers hastened to have their names upon the rolls. On April 10, only four days after the declaration of war and fifteen days after the first mobilization order had been received, the War Department at Washington was formally notified by Adj.-Gen. George A. White that the Third Infantry Regiment was ready for muster into the service of the United States. The regiment was not, however, compelled to wait on the completion of this formality before engaging in actual service. Almost as rapidly as they could be sent to Fort Vancouver for technical enrollment as United States troops, guardsmen in units of various sizes were detailed to the task of protecting railroad bridges, munic-

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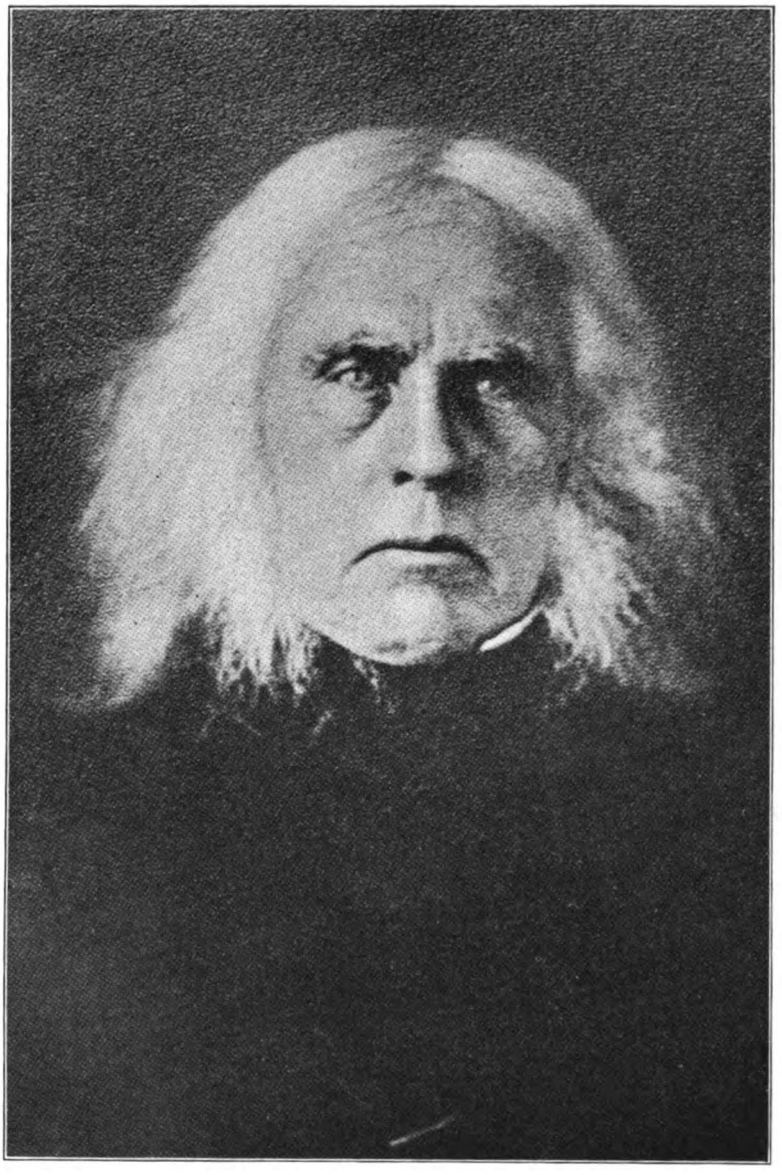
ipal waterworks, power plants, ship-building plants and other vital industries. The infantry regiment having been fully recruited, other units of the Guard were strengthened. Three troops of cavalry, three companies of engineers and a field hospital were recruited. Nearly one thousand three hundred artillerymen for coast defense service, many of whom afterward were transferred to France, were enlisted, and in the meantime the Oregon Naval Militia was raised to full strength. The naval unit of the Guard, indeed, was the second organization of the Oregon men to be called to the colors, and its first battalion was first to be mustered into the Federal service. It was distinguished among many fighting units for the wide variety of service to which its members were ultimately assigned. The Naval Militia also made an impressive showing in its response to the summons to duty by entraining within thirty-six hours after the call to action was received. The measure of Oregon's military contribution in this period is not, however, fully comprehended in the story of the organization of the National Guard alone, creditable as that was, but requires also for the approximate completeness of our narrative that another important movement be taken into account. The Third Oregon Infantry at the time that war was declared consisted of company organizations stationed in Western Oregon. There were in Portland a headquarters, a supply and a machine-gun company and six rifle companies, and there was a rifle company each at Dallas, McMinnville, Salem, Woodburn and Corvallis. These constituted the Third Infantry, which in the early recruiting period received accessions from practically every county in the state. But neither the infantry regiment nor the additional units of the Guard, including coast artillery, cavalry, field artillery, hospital corps and engineers, were sufficient to contain the ebullient spirit of patriotism that was manifest everywhere. Young men flocked to the standard from all quarters, and sought active service in every branch. The National Guard organizations to which allusion has been made, accounted for 158 officers and 4,520 enlisted men, 4,678 in all, who in this manner volunteered for service from Oregon, but even this impressive total is only about one-fourth of the whole number of volunteers in the national service officially credited to the state.

The amazing story of Oregon's contribution to the man-power of the war is best told in the statistical summary. Including those chosen under the terms of the Federal Selective Service Law, of whom more will be said in its proper place, a total of 34,430 were enlisted in all branches, of whom 18,272 were volunteers, the latter including national guardsmen to the number of 4,678, as has been told. There were 6,694 in the Navy and 952 in the Marine Corps, also volunteers, of whom a large proportion enlisted early in the war.[1] In addi-

[1] Distribution of Oregon National Guard units August 5, 1917, the date on which they were formally incorporated into the federal service, was as follows:

Staffs, Corps and Departments	Officers,	44;	enlisted men,	30
Third Infantry	Officers,	57;	enlisted men,	1,983
Coast Artillery	Officers,	52;	enlisted men,	1,222
Cavalry	Officers,	17;	enlisted men,	391
Field Artillery	Officers,	10;	enlisted men,	332
Engineers	Officers,	13;	enlisted men,	425
Field Hospital	Officers,	5;	enlisted men,	81
National Guard Reserve			enlisted men,	56
Total	Officers,	158;	enlisted men,	4,520

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DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN
"The Father of Oregon"

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tion to the foregoing there were an undetermined number in the military forces of the allied nations, a good many of whom had not waited for the formal declaration of war and an important proportion of whom were American citizens resident in Oregon. There were 430 enlistments of this nature in the British and Canadian armies,[2] and there was a further group, the number of which cannot be estimated with precision, of patriots who cast their fortunes with the armies of other allied belligerents. There were various reasons for this, among which were the promise of speedy transfer to the scene of war, and the relaxation of physical standards in the recruiting by nations already staggering under the burden of war.

In consequence of the promptitude and enthusiasm with which the young men of Oregon anticipated the call to duty, the state was required to furnish only 717 men when the first formal demand came from Washington. The gross quota of the state under the selective service law was 7,387, but this was reduced to the number stated by credits for volunteers. The ratio of gross to net quota, 90.11 per cent, was the highest of all the states of the United States. Fourteen counties entirely filled their quotas by voluntary enlistment, and were required to furnish no men under the first draft.[3] The total registration under the draft order, which was made June 5, 1917, was 64,905, this comprising the male population of the state between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years, inclusive, at that time. It was supplemented June 5, 1918, and August 24, 1918, by the registration of 5,644 who had attained the age of twenty-one subsequent to the first registration, and also those between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. The final registration, which took place September 12, 1918, enumerated all below the age of forty-five who had not previously registered, and this added 108,887 names to the roll. The total man-power of the state at this time is therefore seen to have been 179,436. The ratio of total registrants between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to the total number accepted for service, which was in excess of 34,000, deserves particular consideration because it was exceeded by few states of the Union.

The history of Oregon's efforts, for reasons which will become apparent, is the history of the individual soldier rather than of any particular unit or organization, and it is spread over the entire field of the war itself. But since we are seeking to present an outline of what Oregon achieved, rather than to write the history in detail of that great clash of arms, chronological sequence will hereafter be subordinated to other matters of more immediate concern. Events developed rapidly in the summer and autumn of 1917. By September, the Third Oregon Infantry and a number of other Oregon National Guard units had been incorporated, at Camp Greene, North Carolina, into the Forty-first, or "Sunset," division of the new army of the United States then in process of organization. But at the outset the general staff adopted a policy which disregarded state pride and local sentiment in the creation of the temporary war army, and patterned the new organization after the permanent establishment. In pursuance of this policy, by which, however defensible it may have been rendered by considerations of military expediency, the identity of state units was practically lost, the Third Oregon Infantry became the

[2] Report of the British Consul-General at Portland, Mss. Oregon State Library, Salem.

[3] These counties were: Benton, Coos, Crook, Douglas, Hood River, Jackson, Josephine, Lane, Linn, Marion, Multnomah, Polk, Tillamook and Yamhill.

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One Hundred and Sixty-second Regiment of the Army of the United States, and the Second Washington, representing another sector of the old Oregon Country, became the One Hundred and Sixty-first. Having been recruited before it left Oregon to the number of about 2,000 men authorized by the National Defense Act of 1916, the Oregon regiment arrived at Camp Greene with the full number required. By this time the plan of army organization had been altered again and the regimental unit was increased to 3,700 men. At Camp Greene was also the former Third Infantry of the District of Columbia National Guard, which in the reorganization was thereupon divided among the One Hundred and Sixty-second and One Hundred and Sixty-first regiments from Oregon and Washington. Both the Oregon and Washington regiments were still considerably below the new requirement of 3,700 men, however, and on the eve of the embarkation of the Forty-first Division for Europe the regimental quotas were filled from drafts sent from the West. Among these replacements were about 800 Oregonians who, curiously enough, were assigned to the former Washington regiment, while the Oregon regiment was raised to full strength by drafts from various other western states, but principally from California. The One Hundred and Sixty-second, or Oregon Infantry, consequently, at the time of its departure was composed of men from Oregon, California, the District of Columbia and elsewhere, although Oregon men still composed more than half its personnel.

Thus reconstructed, the Forty-first Division, with its very considerable proportion of Oregonians, sailed in December, 1917, and January, 1918, for Europe. The first contingent passed Christmas Day of 1917 in the dangerous submarine zone, which it happily negotiated without accident, and arrived in France December 27. The contingents which followed reached their destinations within six weeks, one of them, consisting of the Headquarters Company and the First Battalion, narrowly escaping submarine attack, and were further broken up, a battalion of the One Hundred and Sixty-second, which we still think of as the old Third Regiment of the Oregon National Guard, being assigned to irksome though necessary duty as garrison for rest camps in England for the remainder of the war period. The two remaining battalions of the One Hundred and Sixty-second were scattered over France on military police duty for a brief time, after which they were concentrated with their comrades of the Forty-first Division in the area of St. Aignan-Noyers, where they organized an important replacement and training depot, and from where as military necessity dictated, a large proportion of the original enlisted personnel and a considerable number of the officers were sent to the front as replacements in many different units. The Forty-first Division became the First Depot Division—the pioneer American organization employed in the training of replacements for the entire battle front. The cadres remained in the vicinity of St. Aignan during the remainder of the war period, although the personnel changed constantly, and levies were furnished for every battle sector in which American troops were engaged. At St. Aignan, according to Adjutant-General White, who was an active participant in these operations overseas, about 600 Oregon men trained more than 175,000 recruits for replacement service;[4] while, as the war continued, the men of the former Third Oregon Infantry were scattered widely, with the result that when the armistice became effective fewer

[4] Portland Oregonian April 24, 1921.

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than 200 of the 3,700 constituting the original regiment then remained in camp. A peculiar phase of the military dispositions rendered necessary by the emergency is seen in the circumstance that although the Forty-first Division, with which these first Oregon soldiers were identified, participated in no battles as a division, it nevertheless was represented in every sector where there was fighting to be done.

Oregonians were among the first Americans in active combat service, as they were also among the last to return home. The Eleventh Engineers, for illustration, who won distinction in a desperate British-American operation near Cambrai in the autumn of 1917, included a number of Oregon men. The First and Second army divisions, first among American battle units, had more than a thousand men from the old Third Oregon when they supported the French in a successful effort to stem the German advance in the spring of 1918. With these divisions, May 28, 1918, Oregon soldiers matched prowess with seasoned German veterans at Cantigny, and again, June 1, 1918, the Second division, with about six hundred replacements from Oregon, stood across the road to Paris as an impassable barrier to the second German advance on the French capital. The American divisions on the battle front in the early weeks of 1918 were the First, Second, Twenty-sixth and Forty-second, and as casualties occurred these were replenished from the Forty-first. There is reason for profound state pride in the role which Oregonians played in the campaign in which these early battle divisions, as well as others, were engaged.

The Forty-first Division included, in addition to the former Third Infantry, a number of Oregon units, whose fortunes it is necessary to sketch briefly in order to give an approximate bird's-eye view of Oregon's participation in the events of the closing months. The oldest existing organization of the Oregon National Guard, Battery A, of Portland, for example, and also Battery B, were incorporated in the course of army reorganization into the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Field Artillery.[5] The One Hundred and Forty-eighth Field Artillery, another important and active unit, included in its roster the First Separate Squadron of Oregon Cavalry, about four hundred strong. The First Separate Battalion of Oregon Engineers became part of the One Hundred and Sixteenth United States Engineers, and Oregon Field Hospital No. 1 was merged into the One Hundred and Seventeenth Sanitary Train. The One Hundred and Forty-eighth Field Artillery became a unit in the Sixty-sixth Field Artillery Brigade, where it was converted into heavy artillery. The metamorphosis of an Oregon cavalry squadron into a highly specialized unit in an intricate and extremely technical organization is but another illustration of the adaptability for which, no less than for their valor in action, these Oregon soldiers were distinguished throughout the period of their service.

The documentary files of the war show that the American divisions on the battle front, to which fresh levies of Oregonians were repeatedly forwarded, not

[5] These two batteries served with the Thirty-second Division. Battery A was at the time of the mobilization the eldest unit of the Oregon National Guard and the eldest militia organization on the Pacific Coast with a record of continuous existence. It was organized February 3, 1866, when F. C. Payne was elected captain, and it became part of the organized militia of the state. It experienced active local service in 1886 in the anti-Chinese disturbances in and around Portland. It was mustered into the service of the United States at Vancouver, Wash., July 1, 1898, for the Spanish war, and mustered out October 15, 1898, when it resumed its status in the National Guard. It served also on the Mexican border in 1917.

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only checked the enemy in the Champagne sector but turned the tide against him there. In engagements, too, in Belleau Wood, a historic and sanguinary field of action, they were distinguished by acts of individual and collective bravery. There were some three thousand Oregonians in the offensive of the Aisne-Marne, which passed its most acute stage August 6, 1918, but which involved further fighting in which Oregon men participated throughout August. About five thousand Oregon men fought in the campaign of St. Mihiel. Again following the fortunes of the One Hundred and Forty-eighth Field Artillery, and consequently those of our former Oregon cavalrymen, we find it battling valiantly at Chateau-Thierry and helping to drive the Germans from a dangerous salient on the Marne, and participating in the most momentous concentration of artillery in all the history of war in a great offensive around St. Mihiel—three major engagements. This organization embarked at New York in January, 1918, and within six months was sent to the Chateau-Thierry front, where it opened fire July 10, 1918. From that time until the war closed it figured in every American offensive, serving without relief from active duty. It served as corps artillery of the First Army Corps and later as army artillery of the Army of Occupation on the Rhine. The history of the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Field Artillery is not less inspiring to those who thrill to valiant deeds in arms. Chateau-Thierry saw them; and so did Fismes, which they helped to capture; and for seven incessant weeks they battled in the Meuse-Argonne.

The Naval Militia unit of the National Guard also furnishes an example of the diversified service to which Oregon men were summoned. The First Battalion, as has been said, was the first Guard unit to leave the state. It made rendezvous April 6, 1917, the day on which war was declared, on a barge in the Willamette River, and April 8 entrained for the Puget Sound Navy Yard, where it was inducted into the Federal service and passed out of control of the Naval Militia officers. The majority of the enlisted personnel were now made part of the crew of the United States battleship South Dakota and left at once for southern waters, passing through the Panama Canal and cruising along the eastern coast of South America for several months, which service was followed by an assignment to convoy duty in the submarine danger zone. Others were ordered to duty with the cruiser Marblehead, which cruised for a time on the western coast of South America and later joined the Atlantic coast patrol. The Second Battalion, which was mobilized April 9, 1917, was merged with the Washington Naval Militia and its personnel were assigned to various active branches of the service. The Marine section of the Naval Militia was merged with the Marine detachment at the Puget Sound Navy Yard and, like the men from Oregon in the land service, our sailors and marines were so widely scattered as to make it impracticable to follow their fortunes in detail except by reviewing the history of the entire conflict. Still another battalion, the Third, recruited in the spring and summer of 1918, was on active duty in the harbors of Portland and Astoria while being held in reserve for replacement service during the remainder of the war.

While the former Oregon guardsmen were in training in an eastern camp, the new Oregon increments produced by the selective service law assembled at a great military rendezvous at Camp Lewis, in the vicinity of American Lake, Washington. The site chosen for this purpose was very near that of the old Fort Nisqually of the Hudson's Bay Company, on land formerly utilized by

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the Puget Sound Agricultural Company in its early venture in husbandry in the Northwest, and by the Methodist missionaries on the occasion of their first futile endeavor to implant Protestant Christianity among the indians of Puget Sound. Here, too, the first celebration of the Fourth of July in the history of the Oregon Country had been held in 1841.[6] In this patriotic and historic atmosphere the Ninety-first or "Wild West" Division of the National Army was speedily moulded into fighting shape and a large number of Oregon soldiers were trained, who also were destined to participate in the critical and concluding campaigns. The first five per cent of the young men of military age chosen to represent their respective communities in the new national army were entrained at various local stations September 4, 1917, and the first groups, including numbers from Northwestern Oregon, arrived at the rendezvous, which was named Camp Lewis after Capt. Meriwether Lewis, on the afternoon of that day. The Oregon contingents were widely distributed throughout the division as organization was completed, but they gave the impress of their state in particular to the 361st and 364th regiments of the 181st Brigade and to the 316th Sanitary Train. The last named organization included in its roster four companies of Oregonians who participated in all of the campaigns which fell to the lot of the Ninety-first Division. Requisitions were made upon the Ninety-first Division from time to time for men to complete other units in process of organization. A call from the Depot Brigade at Camp Lewis for several thousand troops came just prior to the embarkation of the Forty-first Division and in this assignment, as has been indicated, Oregonians were still more generally distributed among commands originating in other states. Nevertheless, the frame-work of the Ninety-first was preserved, always with a proportion of Oregonians, and when that division entered its first battle in France it included a considerable number of those who had made up the skeleton organization of September, October and November, 1917.[7] The division left Camp Lewis as an approximate unit in June, 1918, and arrived in the latter part of July, 1918, in France. The high commands were now planning a vast offensive campaign with a view to bringing the war to an early close by a mighty effort, and the division found itself, with a good deal less than the minimum of preparatory training prescribed for modern warfare, in the battle-torn area of the Meuse-Argonne, September 20, 1918, so that it took part in the great preconcerted movement against the German line which began in that sector, September 26, 1918. Here, within a year of its organization at Camp Lewis and a few weeks after its arrival in France, and, as has been said, without the preliminary service under actual battle conditions by which troops were customarily prepared for a major engagement, the "Wild West" Division

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[6] "July 4, 1841, was a notable day at Nisqually, as it was celebrated in genuine Yankee fashion, the first event of the kind on the Pacific coast and, probably, west of the Missouri river. * * * The place selected was near one of the lakes lying to the eastward and from that time it was known as American Lake." (Clarence B. Bagley, In the Beginning, p. 57.) "The place chosen for the purpose," said Lieutenant Wilkes, "was a corner of Mission Prairie, named for the settlement of the Methodist missionaries." (See Wilkes Narrative, Vol. IV, pp. 411-2.) However, as Wilkes explains, the celebration was really held July 5, 1841, as July 4 fell on Sunday that year. The old indian name of American Lake was Spotsyth.

[7] The Story of the Ninety-first Division, by the Ninety-first Division Publication Committee, San Francisco, 1919, pp. 2-3.

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was precipitated into the deciding campaign of the war. The sector of this front to which the division was assigned was almost exactly opposite the dividing line between the army of the German crown prince on the west and that of General von Gallwitz on the east. The opposing German armies included the First Prussian Guard Division, which, as its name implies, belonged to the elite of the German army, which had been transferred from a hard campaign on the eastern front in 1917, and had devoted a whole season to especial training in trench warfare. Another of the opposing units was the One Hundred and Seventeenth Division, that had fought with credit in the successful Carpathian campaign, which experience had greatly fortified its morale. That enemy division had distinguished itself in Italy in October, 1917, after which it had been repeatedly employed as a shock unit in the German spring offensive of 1918. These particulars derive especial interest from the fact that the Ninety-first Division, which now included some five thousand Oregon men fighting side by side with other thousands from other sections of the old Oregon Country, mastered the obstacles before it, obtained possession of all the objectives to which it was assigned, and, undismayed by heavy casualties, captured large numbers of prisoners and great quantities of enemy war material and stores.

The exacting nature of the service here performed is indicated by the results of that memorable military movement. On the first day of the Meuse-Argonne offensive, this division broke two German lines, penetrated part of a third and realized an advance of eight kilometers. Throughout the third and fourth days of the drive, which were occupied in the labor of restoring communications and consolidating gains, the men were without blankets, though the autumn nights were bitterly cold, and for four days there was no hot food. So intense was the fighting that no ambulance was able to reach the wounded until September 29, the fourth day of the battle. The enemy effected a great concentration, which increased the cost of the American advance but did not stay the tide. On September 29, the Ninety-first had advanced somewhat beyond the units on its flanks, by reason of which it became responsible for a front of eight kilometers, instead of two, as had been planned. It incurred material casualties from airplane raids, sustained a heavy gas attack September 30, the fifth day of the fighting, and October 2, the seventh day, lost thirty-five in killed and 115 wounded in an hour. On this date it required two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, eight majors and 123 company officers of infantry as replacements; total casualties had been 150 officers and nearly four thousand men.

With only four days' rest, after nine days of fighting, the division battled seven days more. Then, with scarcely time for the issuance of renewals of clothing, it was removed to the battle zone in Flanders, where as an important unit of the command of King Albert of Belgium it advanced to the bank of the Scheldt, which stream was reached November 10, the day preceding the formal arrangement of the armistice. The division's total killed and wounded in the Meuse-Argonne were 4,935, or a full fifth of its combatant strength, and those in the Ypres-Lys offensive in Belgium reached a total of 929.

Because this division included so many Oregonians and also because its achievements were typical of those of all the units in which our men conducted themselves with conspicuous valor and discretion, it is pertinent to set down here the tribute of a foe that learned to respect its prowess. The German commander, Von Bülow, who had faced the same Americans in the Argonne,

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issued an order November 2, 1918, on learning the identity of the unit again confronting him, in which he promised eighteen days' additional leave for every prisoner captured from its ranks.[8] No unwounded Oregon soldier was captured during the operations which followed, and which terminated only with the conclusion of hostilities, November 11, 1918.

Four thousand Oregonians served with the Army of Occupation which took possession of the Valley of the Rhine. The Ninety-first Division as a unit; the First Division with its accessions from the Forty-first, seasoned veterans now; Batteries A and B, still with the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Field Artillery, in the Thirty-second Division, and supporting a marine brigade on the far advanced outposts on the right bank of the Rhine in German territory; the Forty-second or "Rainbow" Division, to which Oregon levies had been sent early in the campaign, and in which the La Grande Hospital Unit was incorporated—these and others of the Second and Third divisions in which the soldiers from all the states were now inextricably mingled, but from which Oregon men were never missing, continued in the service until late in the summer of 1919, when Oregon soldiers were among the last to be returned to their homes.

There were a number of Oregonians also in the American North Russian Expedition, which was sent in April, 1919, to Murmansk and Archangel in northern European Russia to guard the interests of the allied nations in the early stage of the Russian revolution.

The University of Oregon Medical School, May 24, 1917, formally tendered to the War Department its service in furnishing the personnel of a base hospital through the American Red Cross. After subscriptions of about $34,000 had been made toward purchasing equipment then estimated to cost $40,000, it was found that more than $60,000 would be required, and the hospital unit was saved from embarrassment and possible failure by the action of the Portland Lodge of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, which assumed all pecuniary responsibility. Previous subscriptions were then returned to their donors, and the unit, recruited by the University and financed by the Elks, was designated as the University of Oregon and Benevolent Protective Order of Elks Base Hospital No. 46. This unit furnished a considerable number of officers and nurses to various training camps during the period of mobilization, was formally mobilized in March, 1918, and sailed from New York in June, arriving in France early in July, where it remained in service at Bazoilles-sur-Meuse until January, 1919, not only maintaining a base hospital but sending a number of surgical operating teams to the most hotly contested sectors at the front. The members of the unit served with fidelity and distinction until relieved from active duty and returned to the United States in April, 1919. In addition, numerous members of the medical profession gave their skill and experience in other branches of the service. The Base Hospital at Camp Lewis, Washington, among others, had many Oregon medical officers on its staff, some of whom later did active service in France. Others of these medical men were in the Navy, and still others took up special war work in aid of the general purpose. Those who were unable to join the military and naval

[8] "Opposite our sector lies the Ninety-first American Division. For each prisoner brought in, the division will grant eighteen days extra leave." Translation of document taken from wounded German officer by One Hundred and Seventh Field Artillery. (Summary of Intelligence in report of Adjutant Ninety-first Division, November 2, 1918.)

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service responded cheerfully to the demands made upon them in civilian life, which, in the absence of the others, entailed much additional labor, especially during the period of the epidemic of influenza in 1917 and 1918. Public-spirited citizens of the state contributed funds to purchase and equip ambulances which were sent to France with volunteers and did good service near the battle front.

The casualties suffered by Oregon men in the service of their country were in the neighborhood of 2,000, of whom nearly one-half were killed in battle or died from wounds or disease. The number of deaths officially recorded in the office of the adjutant-general of the state was 948, which does not include officers of the navy. The number of wounded is set down as 883, not including naval casualties.

Returning Oregon veterans were among the first to participate in the creation of the American Legion, an organization of service men formed soon after the armistice was signed, and the department of Oregon ranked fourth in importance when the first annual convention of the Legion was held at Minneapolis in November, 1919. The first state convention of the Legion in Oregon, held at Portland in September, 1919, found forty-eight posts in existence. There were eighty-eight posts and twenty-two auxiliary units when the second annual convention was held at Astoria in July and August, 1920. The total membership in the state at that time exceeded 10,500. The organization from the outset gave promise of great usefulness. It stood strongly for justice to the disabled veterans of the war, and also promised to exert a desirable influence for good citizenship. Clatsop Post, for example, soon after its organization, won distinction by waging a vigorous fight on disloyalty among certain foreign elements. Klamath Falls Post, another example, conducted a successful campaign to obtain the opening of Government lands in Southern and Southeastern Oregon for settlement.

Returning to the home sector, and to the anxious period immediately preceding and following the formal declaration of war, we find in the instant awakening of the whole population a phenomenon deserving of especial mention. Oregonians were now thinking as never before in terms of their relation to the nation. It had not been so, as we have seen, in the Civil war, in which the people were divided more or less according to predilections formed prior to their emigration from the older states. The Spanish war had been a relatively minor affair, in a technical sense almost exclusively military in the problems it presented, and it had not put patriotism to the final, crucial test. The reaction of the citizens to the unprecedented crisis of 1917, however, was proof of their full understanding that the world was engaged in a warfare of principles and of populations, rather than of military forces alone. Almost from the day the German armies invaded Belgium, Oregonians had watched the struggle with a growing determination to be prepared for eventualities. The submarine excesses of the Germans, culminating in the sinking of the Lusitania, outraged their sense of righteousness and plumbed new depths of national pride. It will be borne in mind, too, that a new generation was now coming into its heritage—a generation of native sons and daughters of Oregon, whose conceptions of duty were precisely in consonance with the spirit in which the United States entered the war. The high ratio of Oregon-born young men to the whole number of those who joined the colors is deeply significant also of the permanent social change which had now taken place. Since of those not

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born in Oregon an overwhelming proportion were natives of other states of the United States, the state's record for patriotism is not hard to account for. Analysis of data voluntarily supplied by 14,067 men in the service, or about two-fifths of the whole number called from the state, shows that 6,160 were born in Oregon, 6,351 were born elsewhere in the United States, 592 were foreign-born, and 964 did not state place of birth. Nearly half of the American-born soldiers enlisted from this state may therefore, according to this ratio, be assumed to have been Oregonians by birth.[9]

The response of civilian population to the call for a mobilization of national energy and resources was in these circumstances precisely what was to have been expected. Not alone the militant, the adventurous, and those physically fit for active service, but indeed the whole people were aroused. With negligible exceptions the men and women of the state who could not join the combat units vied with the latter in other service, or at least in some form of self-denial. The various phases of civilian activity in which the people at home participated, and in a number of which Oregon excelled, constitute a fitting parallel to the widespread and faithful character of the service performed by those who wore the uniform.

A selective service law was enacted by Congress May 18, 1917, but while it was even yet pending and in order that the national authorities might be put in possession of information essential to the framing of administrative regulations, a call was made for a census of the man-power of the state. This was anticipated in Oregon by the formation, early in May, 1917, of an organization which was completed and ready to function by the time definite instructions were received. Six thousand volunteer workers, a considerable proportion of whom were women, were enrolled. The general plan of a state election organization was initiated, so that county boards were designated, consisting of the sheriff, clerk and county physician, and these in turn named local registration boards in every election precinct. Notwithstanding the remoteness of many of the districts from the centers of population and the seat of government, every difficult situation was successfully met, and Oregon achieved first place among the states in the completeness and the celerity with which it accomplished the task. The peculiar success with which this first venture in civilian war organization was attended, which was the result of a high degree of individual initiative, was reflected in various patriotic enterprises during the war period.

Organization extended into every sphere of industrial and domestic activity. Morale became a civilian as well as a military matter; esprit de corps was translated into terms of duty and obligation to the state, heightened by emulation and encouraged by the definite leadership which Oregon attained among her sister commonwealths in responding to the sundry and non-military exactions which the war made upon the nation. The Oregon subdivisions of the American Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus and the Boy Scouts were among the associations already in existence which utilized their machinery of administration in the common cause. A War Camp Community service, organized to deal with problems relating to young soldiers now about to be

[9] Figures compiled by Miss Cornelia Marvin, state librarian and state historian. On file in Oregon State Library, Salem.

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removed from home influences perhaps for the first time, and to be subjected to dangerous influences in unfamiliar occupations and strange surroundings, was the early outgrowth of an obvious need, in which, as in other affairs of the kind, Oregon citizens were conspicuous from the beginning.[10] Many local civilian boards, which were organized early in May, 1917, to instruct young men in their duties as prospective soldiers, were developed in June into volunteer brotherhoods which greatly extended and improved upon their original plan, and this work was supplemented by July, 1917, when our war was scarcely three months old, by that of a number of other organizations and individuals, undertaking a kind of benevolent guardianship over such of the families of the fighting men as needed help. Successful efforts were made to hold open the prospect of a return to the old occupation, and pledges of reemployment at the close of the war were exacted from employers. A great number of women were organized into nurses' units for work at home and overseas, and a widespread campaign of education in which all citizens joined in accordance with their availability for this especial work was initiated and persistently maintained. The organization known as the Four-Minute Men, for illustration, performed a conspicuous service in promoting civilian efficiency through education in the nation's needs. The Four-Minute Men enlisted more than 800 volunteer speakers, who delivered several thousands of brief addresses wherever audiences could be found, and were particularly effective during the execution of the selective service or draft law and various Liberty Loan and public welfare drives. A feature of their work was the manner in which they availed themselves of the audiences afforded by the Granges of the state, the record of the Oregon Granges being in this particular equal to those of the most highly organized agricultural communities in the United States. As the result of these and other measures, the administration of the selective service law in Oregon elicited frequent favorable comment from the War Department, and the state was placed second among all the states in promptness of returns to the War Department and in filling the various draft quotas, and in addition to that numerous other enviable records were achieved which will receive more particular mention, as they deserve.

[10] In a particular department of social welfare work, which had a significant bearing upon the efficiency of the Oregon troops, the foundation had been laid years in advance by a movement to reduce the incidence of venereal disease and so also to improve the sexual morality of the population, and this effort, in which Oregon was in advance of all the states of the Union, bore fruit during the mobilization period. The methods employed had been both political and educational, legislation calculated to suppress the sale of nostrums and the practice of self-medication having been obtained as the complement of a campaign continued for some years and instituted before the war was even thought of. These efforts were redoubled on the first intimation that the United States might be involved in the war and their association with the singular record for efficiency which Oregon achieved is by no means remote. One practical result is seen in the official records of the first million men inducted into the army under the Selective Service Law. Oregon excelled in the small proportion of men so afflicted, the record for the state being 0.59 per cent, by comparison with 3 per cent for the entire nation and 8.9 per cent for the state making the least favorable showing. Portland also equipped and maintained what was popularly termed a "V. D. detention hospital," and that city and also other municipalities adopted and enforced regulatory measures which greatly simplified the labor of the army authorities in fitting the new army physically for duty. This incidental but important phase of Oregon's preparation for war stands out because it was in contrast to the experience of every nation in previous wars and because it had its inception in a movement essentially disconnected with any thought of war.

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The state's response to every call for subscriptions to the Federal war loans, popularly called Liberty Bonds, was typical, too, and here it is necessary again to have recourse to the tabulations of the statisticians to present the story graphically. Oregon's quota of the first Liberty Loan was $9,000,000; the total subscribed was $13,311,850, an oversubscription of 48 per cent. The state's minimum quota for the second loan was $17,610,583, and subscriptions amounted to $25,027,400, an excess of 42 per cent. The state was called on a third time for $18,470,250 and subscribed $28,291,700, or 55 per cent more than the Federal Government asked for; and still a fourth time, when $38,362,550 was subscribed, which was 13 per cent in excess of the relatively enormous sum of $33,708,129 which had been requested. It is seen therefore that Oregon's contribution to these war-finance operations was $104,993,500, by comparison with its quota of $78,789,167, a total oversubscription of $26,204,333, or 33 per cent, the total representing a subscription of $121 per capita for a population estimated at the beginning of the war as 861,992. Demands for funds and for every other form of civilian support and sustenance increased in proportion as the community was stripped of its able-bodied young men. Each succeeding bond quota, as will have been noted, was larger than the one preceding it. Yet the situation, with its double exaction of a greater labor with fewer laborers, was met with determination that will be plain enough to those who will but examine the manner and method in which these tasks were performed. As many of the younger men marched away to war, and as those who remained behind became more and more preoccupied with the material problems which a twentieth century war entails upon entire populations, the women of the state and even young children of both sexes organized for this service.

It is worthy of note that $13,127,450, or 38 per cent, of the total subscriptions to the fourth loan was returned by committees of Oregon women.[11] In Curry County, for illustration, where an exceptionally large proportion of the male inhabitants were engaged either in the military service or in industries immediately essential to the winning of the war, such as lumbering, women obtained Fourth Liberty Loan Bond subscriptions of $28,250, or 101 per cent of the county's total quota of $27,608, while Curry County as a whole, notwithstanding the heavy drafts upon its man-power, subscribed a total of $68,950, or 249 per cent of the levy made upon it. The number of individual subscribers throughout the state increased as public sentiment became more insistent and better organized and also in proportion as the feats in arms of the men of Oregon fired the people with the spirit of emulation. The number of buyers of third loan bonds was 148,588, or 16 per cent of the entire population of all ages, including those in the national service, but this number, large as it was, was exceeded by the fourth loan, in which 213,854, or 26 per cent, of all the people participated.

Among the leaders in every important phase of domestic effort was the American Red Cross, in which a very large part of the population was enrolled. The library resources of the citizens were organized in a particular effort to provide books and other reading matter for soldiers and sailors as part of a general plan to furnish guidance, instruction and entertainment. All of these enterprises were supported from private funds. Destitute peoples of the smaller

[11] Report of the Federal Chairman of the Woman's Loan Committee of the Twelfth Federal Reserve District.

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nations on the side of the allies—Belgians, Serbians and Syrians among them—were aided with material gifts out of the plenitude of the patriotic and philanthropic spirit which the crisis aroused. Large sums in the aggregate, in proportion to the means of the people and in relation to other demands upon them, were contributed to these and other causes while the war continued. Denominational distinctions were ignored throughout the war, and in the concluding weeks of 1918, after the victory had been won, the interests of all were merged in a united campaign for funds, in which Oregon's quota of $770,000 for distribution among the seven leading welfare organizations was largely oversubscribed. Oregon led all the states in many of the campaigns which these various good works entailed. It is impractical to particularize minutely, in view of the fact that the records in some instances were not preserved, but some particulars will serve to illustrate. Oregon's quota in the first call for funds for the Young Men's Christian Association was $30,000, and the sum of $36,766 was subscribed. The same association later called for $300,000 from Oregon in furtherance of a vast scheme of welfare work at home and overseas, and the people of the state gave $398,933. In an early Red Cross drive $600,000 was called for and $1,038,653 furnished. The Knights of Columbus, the Catholic welfare organization, asked Oregon for $75,000 and received $97,000. The Oregon quota of $8,000 for the library service was responded to with subscriptions of $19,930, in addition to which great quantities of books were collected from private homes and sent to military camps and ships. The Jewish Welfare Board undertook a number of phases of the welfare problem. Pledges amounting to $25,000 a year for three years were obtained for the Boy Scouts. A fund for Syrian refugees, which will serve as an illustration of relief work for distant and alien peoples, yielded $150,000, the amount asked for, and would have been oversubscribed if solicitation had not been then discontinued.

The withdrawal of the National Guard as a state military force, which was made necessary when the various units were incorporated into the Army of the United States, created a domestic emergency which had not been foreseen by the Legislature when it passed the act for the reorganization of the state militia. The weather in the summer of 1917 was unusually dry, a fact of importance in view of the great extent of Oregon's forests, which were destined to contribute materially to the ultimate victory of the allies, and important also in connection with the pernicious activity of enemy aliens, particularly in the sparsely settled parts of the state. The increasing hazard of timber fires first occasioned a request by the state authorities for Federal troops to maintain an effective forest patrol, which was granted with the assignment of detachments of the Machine Gun Company of the Third Oregon Infantry, equipped with motorcycles, to that task. Notwithstanding the relatively vast area of Oregon timber lands, this comparatively small force of guardsmen did its duty so efficiently and was so well supported by the resident civilian population that no serious fires of incendiary origin occurred; but the emergency was revived in August, 1917, when still more active preparations were made for the withdrawal of all the country's available military forces into training camps with a view to early service overseas. A number of volunteer vigilance organizations meanwhile came into existence as the result of spontaneous recognition of the necessities of the occasion and with these as the foundation, an efficient home guard organization was created. On the warrant of opinion by the attorney-general of the state in November, 1917, that the governor was authorized

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to accept the service of such members of the unorganized militia as might be required, a battalion largely composed of Spanish war veterans was mustered into the state service in November. These men, who had shared in the deeds which distinguished the Second Oregon Regiment in the Philippines, had perfected a tentative organization as early as the preceding July and were ready for duty on the instant that the call was received.

The county defense organizations, however, had no legal military status, a fact which it is essential to consider in further appraising the patriotism of the citizens, who thus served their country without pecuniary recompense. Owing to the omissions of the militia law, no authority existed for payment from the state treasury of the men who thus supplemented the work of the small local military establishment behind the lines, notwithstanding which they won official praise for the efficient support which they furnished to the civil authorities in time of need. "Regardless of the legal status applying to these county defense forces," wrote the adjutant-general in 1918, "I cannot speak too highly of their willingness to serve when necessary, and in many cases, notably in Portland and the Coos Bay district, valuable service has been rendered and has proved an appreciable factor in the maintenance of law and order.[12] The county defense system, which was peculiar in many instances to Oregon, so well justified itself indeed that a military status was some time later bestowed upon it and the organizations were mustered into the service as part of the organized militia, still with the understanding, however, that no expense should be incurred to the state. In this manner a total of thirty-five companies were organized. Uniforms were provided out of state supplies for the First Regiment, which was stationed at Portland and Salem, and through the patriotic coöperation of the people of all the counties in which they were organized, county and in some instances private funds were furnished for the equipment of the remainder. These troops came to be designated as the "Oregon Guard," and were organized and mustered in as militia in Portland, Salem, Silverton, Stayton, Independence, Eugene, Roseburg, Ashland, Medford, Riddle, La Grande, Bend, Enterprise, Hillsboro, Beaverton, Sherwood and Banks. They were purely emergency organizations and automatically went out of existence with the conclusion of the war. Details from these forces were furnished for duty as guards over a number of large industrial plants, including shipyards, docks, mills and public utility works, and particularly efficient service was rendered in the control of forest and other fires. For example, September 7, 1918, at the request of the sheriff of Washington County, the company stationed at Hillsboro was ordered out to assist in controlling what threatened to be an extensive forest fire in the western part of that county. The company, responding promptly and without remuneration from the state, materially assisted in confining the fire within bounds. Several fires near Portland, beyond the control of civilian agencies, were suppressed similarly by Portland companies of the Oregon Guard.[13]

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12 Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of Oregon, 1917-18, p. 20.

13 In compliance with the provisions of the National Defense Act, all departments, staff corps and the line units are organized in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the war department. The Oregon National Guard (1922) is composed of the following units:

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During the latter part of the war conservation of the resources of the nation became necessary. The War Industries Board was organized to utilize to best advantage the manufacturing plants and materials. The Oregon branch had headquarters at Portland and operated in connection with the Chamber of Commerce. After a study of the district was completed, every available machine and every pound of material for manufacture was brought into efficient use for war purposes.

The efforts of enemy aliens to embarrass the Government in its conduct of the war during this period were abetted by an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, composed of individuals of radical and anarchistic predilections, who were not the product of Western institutions. The I. W. W., as it was colloquially known, was largely alien in personnel, which made it the convenient instrument of sedition and industrial sabotage. Its methods, which need not be discussed in detail here, were founded on a policy of treachery and secret destruction. Like the Knights of the Golden Circle during the Civil war they were essentially disloyal, but their suppression was made possible by the very fact of their alien character, by which they were easily distinguished from patriotic citizens, and by the high degree of efficiency which

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(1) Staff Corps and Departments.
(2) Fifth Regiment Infantry—
Field and staff
Headquarters Company, with station at Portland
Service Company, with station at Portland
Howitzer Company, with station at Portland
Medical Department, with station at Portland
Company A, with station at McMinnville
Company B, with station at Portland
Company C, with station at Eugene
Company D (M. G. Co.), with station at Roseburg
Company E, with station at Portland
Company F, with station at Salem
Company G, with station at Portland
Company H (M. G. Co.), with station at Portland
Company I, with station at Silverton
Company K, with station at Independence
Company L, with station at Dallas
Company M (M. G. Co.), with station at Corvallis
Separate Company A, with station at Medford
Separate Company F, with station at Portland
(3) Coast Artillery—
First Company, with station at Ashland
Second Company, with station at Marshfield
Third Company, with station at Newport
Fifth Company, with station at Albany
(4) Field Artillery—
Battery A, with station at Portland
(5) Engineers—
Company A, with station at Portland
(6) Quartermaster Corps Department, with station at Portland.

In addition to the foregoing organizations, there has been allotted to the State of Oregon, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, one hospital company.

Armories constructed by the state are located at Albany, Ashland, Dallas, Eugene, Marshfield, Roseburg, Salem and Woodburn. Provisions have been made for the construction of armories at Independence, McMinnville, Medford and Silverton. An armory erected and owned by Multnomah County is located at Portland. Chapter 207, Laws of 1921, constitutes the complete military code of Oregon. (Oregon Blue Book, 1921-2, p. 130.)

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the agencies of home defense attained. The activities of the I. W. W. early in the war menaced the agricultural as well as the industrial interests, but this menace was reduced by the watchfulness of loyal citizens and volunteer organizations which have been described, with the result that, notwithstanding the difficulties presented by the great expanse of forest and the widely scattered nature of many of the state's industrial plants, by which opportunities for sabotage were multiplied, Oregon suffered in small degree by comparison with other states of the Union from this form of perfidious enterprise.

It will be seen that the nature of the service performed by the civilian population during the entire period of hostilities and afterward was distinguished for variety, intensity and unanimity. Brief reference has been made to the work of Oregon women in connection with the later campaigns to obtain Liberty Bond subscriptions, but these represented only a fraction of the accomplishments of the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of Oregon. The number of Oregon women who went overseas with various medical units and welfare organizations was noteworthy, while a still greater number labored incessantly and unostentatiously at home. A particular phase of their effort which deserves mention because of its exclusive association with the old Oregon Country was the collection of certain native products indispensable in the care of the sick and wounded. They gathered medicinal plants and herbs in the period in which the disruption of commerce threatened the nation's resources of supply. Digitalis, the foxglove of common parlance, was among the important indigenous plants thus yielded by the state. Another product was sphagnum moss, occurring in extensive bogs along the coast of Western Oregon and Washington in better quality and more convenient quantity than anywhere else in the United States. The gathering of sphagnum moss and its preparation for use in surgical dressings, for which it was especially adapted and particularly commended by French and British surgeons, occupied the attention of large numbers of patriotic women and children in the counties along the Pacific ocean, and large quantities were shipped to military hospitals across the sea.

Another significant phase of the work of the people at home was the prompt organization of the children, which was accomplished by means of various agencies but largely through the public schools, and through which a degree of efficiency in numerous enterprises was obtained which otherwise would not have been possible. Among these was the movement for the conservation of food which was instituted in October, 1917, when it became widely understood that the winning of the war might not and probably would not depend upon the valor of our men in arms alone. It was then resolved to obtain voluntary pledges to abstain from the use of excessive quantities of such commodities as wheat and rye, which were necessary for the sustenance of the military forces, and sugar, the supply of which had been curtailed by the activities of enemy submarines. This called into the service all of the teachers and pupils of the state in a memorable campaign, the first step in which was the education of the people in the necessity for contemplating the war in economic as well as in military terms. The desired result was accomplished through instruction in every classroom, and with such success that pledges were secured, in a canvass conducted by the children themselves, from 91.7 per cent of all the families in the state. Of 148,251 families reported in this census, which was without precedent in any war, 135,764 pledged voluntary abstinence, 4,600 declined to do so, and 4,318 were reported as not having been seen. A remark-

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able feature of the canvass was that it was practically 100 per cent complete and that it extended to the remotest settlements. In eighty-four cities and towns, every family pledged itself to comply with the rule. Nineteen of the larger towns and cities returned records of from 95 to 100 per cent. Pledges from more than 95 per cent of families were secured in ten counties. Friendly rivalry between counties and school districts stimulated and kept alive this patriotic movement, so that in the summer of 1918, when it was resolved so far as possible to place the local inhabitants on a no-wheat basis and to reserve the country's entire supply of this essential cereal for military use, the response was instant and practically unanimous.

Somewhat similarly the schools were utilized in inculcating lessons of thrift and in increasing sales of War Savings Stamps as a source of revenue supplementary to Liberty Bonds. A picturesque feature of this organization was the formation of several so-called junior rainbow regiments, each composed of not less than a thousand members, of whom all qualified by meeting the requirement of individual ownership of savings stamps of the value of $50. Five of these regiments in all were organized, with a total of 5,300 members, and their efforts, together with those of other children, procured the sale of a total of more than $2,500,000 of Thrift Stamps and War Savings Certificates in Oregon.[14] The Junior Red Cross, also in coöperation with the schools, was still another factor among many in which children distinguished themselves in war work. Of this organization, whose work extended into many fields, 810 chapters were recruited with 58,242 members, comprising a very large proportion of the total enrollment of the schools. Still later, when it became desirable to curb the impatient spirits of those who had not yet been quite convinced that glory and honor lay also in the performance of prosaic duties, a Boys' Working Reserve was organized which inculcated the lesson that any honest work was a service to the nation. In this exceedingly efficient organization nearly every boy over the age of sixteen was ultimately enrolled. The perfection of civilian morale can be illustrated no more graphically than by the picture which we thus obtain, or by the records which show how fully the children of Oregon imbibed the spirit of sacrifice and of self-denial and how earnestly they labored to fit themselves to take up work left undone by reason of the heavy withdrawals of adult men. Parents were heartened by the example of their sons and daughters, and in the period of doubt and stress while the outcome of the clash of arms wavered uncertainly in the balance, a notable spiritual battle was fought and won at home.

Another incident of the war which pertains to the contribution of the youth of Oregon was an interesting experiment in vocational education undertaken at a time when it seemed possible that the war would continue for several years. It was seen that both skill in industry and military resources would be required for victory in a prolonged conflict, and under the terms of an act of Congress of May 18, 1917, a committee on education and special training was created, with a Northwestern district, the headquarters of which were in Oregon. The director of the Northwestern district made contracts with the Portland school district by which the entire plant and equipment of the Benson Polytechnic High School, already eminent among institutions of its kind, was converted to the purpose of training young men of military age for industrial and military

[14] Report of J. A. Churchill, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, for 1919, p. 8.

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duty. To this school, which achieved a particular distinction by reason of the high quality of its pupils, young soldiers were assigned by local draft boards, and received vocational education and military training, after which they were sent to mobilization camps and thence to France. The number of men remaining in training when the armistice was signed was 4,085, a fact from which some impression of the extent of this military-vocational training venture can be obtained. In the summer of 1918 a collegiate section known as the Students' Army Training Corps was created, barracks were erected and the state institutions of higher learning became to all intents and purposes military camps. Numerous difficulties were encountered which probably were inherent in the nature of so complex a problem as the pursuit of civilian education under the requirements of military discipline, and college and university curricula were undergoing extensive reconstruction when the war came to an end, and interrupted one of the most novel and withal most interesting experiments.

War brought a heavy demand for ships, for the destruction of ocean commerce by Germans reached enormous proportions early in 1917, and another incident of the war which distinguishes it from all others in history was the development of military aviation on an enormous scale. With respect to ships, Oregon was peculiarly in a position to render a national service, partly because the nucleus of a shipbuilding industry already existed here, and also because it was the source of essential raw material. In aircraft production, however, it was destined for an even more important role, for a reason which could not have been foreseen when the Sitka spruce first attracted the attention of Capt. William Clark in 1806. Early in the war the Federal Aircraft Division sought a wood of great toughness, as light as possible in proportion to strength, and found the object of its desire in the noble tree (Picea sitchensis) locally called tideland spruce, whose habitat extended from Northern California to Alaska, although it was found in most advantageous situations along the western slopes of the Coast Range in Oregon and Washington.

A large number of skilled woodsmen, on whom reliance would have been placed in normal times for the production of timber in quantity, volunteered for military service at the very outset of the war. At that period the essential requirements of industries outside of the war zone was not fully realized. To send to the front men of this type was a mistake. Moreover, their absence from the lumber camps gave heart to enemy aliens who remained, and who in some localities began a campaign of sabotage largely conducted through the agency of the Industrial Workers of the World, as already stated. A few of these were active in obstruction and there was for a time a real danger that production of airplane material in the forests would be curtailed by reason of their disloyal interference. Military direction of the production of timber consequently became a necessity, and this was accomplished through the creation of the Spruce Production Division, the enlisted personnel of which was composed of recruits from cantonments in all parts of the United States.[15] The

[15] The Aviation Section of the United States Signal Corps was followed in May, 1917, by the Aircraft Production Board, appointed by the Council of National Defense. Under this Board the first surveys of the Northwest were made. In October, 1917, the Aircraft Board was created by Act of Congress to act in an advisory capacity to the Signal Corps and the Naval Aircraft officers. In April and in May, 1918, further changes were made, resulting in establishing the Bureau of Aircraft Production. In October, 1918, the activities were transferred to the United States Spruce Production Corporation, organized as a Washington state corporation pursuant to an Act of Congress of July 9, 1918.

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division in command of Col. (afterwards Brig.-Gen.) Brice P. Disque, who arrived in Oregon in October, 1917, established headquarters at Portland, suppressed sedition and sabotage, reorganized the lumber industries in coöperation with their private owners, and overcame many natural difficulties, such as the remoteness of desirable spruce trees from means of transportation. Four large sawmills and a cut-up plant were built, and seven railroads in Oregon and six in Washington were constructed with a total length of 130 miles. The output of spruce, fir and cedar lumber suitable for airplanes was increased in a few months from less than 3,000,000 feet a month to 19,682,014 feet in the month of October, 1918. The Spruce Production Division achieved its maximum strength just prior to the close of the war, when it had established 234 camps and numbered 28,883 men. More than 100,000 civilians were employed under its protection. Creation under the direction of the War Department of a voluntary organization known as the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, which attained a membership of more than 125,000, was a picturesque factor in making disloyalty odious, in suppressing sedition and destruction, in adjusting differences between employers and employees, and in fostering patriotism throughout the region. The Loyal Legion, which became widely known as the "Four L's," survived the war and was a definite and desirable stabilizing influence in the period of reconstruction.[16]

As the result of the demand for ships to replace losses in the submarine zones, the shipbuilding industry of the state already had the framework of an organization and was building vessels to fill foreign orders when America joined the allies. The need of ship tonnage of every description revived interest also in the building of ships of wood, the prime material for marine construction of an earlier time. The sum of the achievements of the yards already in existence and which were created with the utmost celerity in the summer and autumn of 1917 is found in their record of ninety-six steel and 116 wooden ships completed between the beginning of the war and December 31, 1919, but the figures leave something yet to be told as to Oregon's distinction in this field. The Oregon district was first in total number of ships produced, in number of vessels constructed per shipway, in ships completed per unit of employees and in speed in launching and equipment.[17] A conspicuous performance was the launching of a steel ship one month and twenty-seven days after the keel was laid, by which a mark of efficiency that would have been creditable to the older shipyards on the Atlantic coast was attained.

In recognition of their exceptional devotion to duty, forty-one Oregon men received the Congressional Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross or the Distinguished Service Medal, honors which were bestowed so sparingly as greatly to enhance the distinction which they imply. In addition to these, 149 were decorated by foreign governments for meritorious conduct in the line of duty. Two Oregonians received the much coveted Medaille Militaire of the French Government and six the French Cross of the Black Star. Ten received the Legion of Honor and ninety-four the Croix de Guerre, which was bestowed

[16] After the close of the war General Disque resigned as president of the Corporation and was succeeded first by Lieut.-Col. C. P. Stearns and later by Col. Charles Van Way. The Corporation's head office is at Portland, where its business is in process of liquidation. (History of the U. S. Spruce Production Division, Portland, 1919.)

[17] Data on Shipyard History and Performance, Oregon District, by L. J. Wentworth, District Manager, 1919.

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by France for courageous conduct on the battle field and also for meritorious service behind the lines. Great Britain decorated ten men from Oregon, Belgium thirteen, Italy five, Montenegro two, and Poland one. Brig.-Gen. Amos A. Fries, a West Point officer who had entered the military academy from Southern Oregon, was made a Companion of the British Order of St. Michael and St. George. Many acts of heroism were designated in the citations which accompanied the awards.

Badges of exceptional merit bestowed by the Government of the United States were as follows:

MEDAL OF HONOR

Edward C. Allworth, captain, 60th Infantry, 5th Division. For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy at Clery-le-Petit, France, November 5, 1918. While his company was crossing the Meuse River and canal at a bridgehead opposite Clery-le-Petit, the bridge over the canal was destroyed by shell fire and Captain Allworth's command became separated, part of it being on the east bank of the canal and the remainder on the west bank. Seeing his advance units making slow headway up the steep slope ahead, this officer mounted the canal bank and called for his men to follow. Plunging in, he swam across the canal under fire from the enemy, followed by his men. Inspiring his men by his example of gallantry, he led them up the slope, joining his hard-pressed platoons in front. By his personal leadership he forced the enemy back for more than a kilometer, overcoming machine-gun nests and capturing a hundred prisoners, whose number exceeded that of the men in his command. The exceptional courage and leadership displayed by Captain Allworth made possible the reestablishment of a bridgehead over the canal and the successful advance of other troops. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from Oregon.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS.
(* Indicates Posthumous Award)

Ward M. Ackley, captain 363d Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Very, France, September 27, 1918. Exposing himself to heavy machine-gun and artillery fire in leading his platoon forward. Captain Ackley (then a lieutenant) himself captured a machine-gun nest, killing seven of the enemy with his automatic pistol. Residence at appointment: 1517 East Ninth Street, North, Portland.

Lewis C. Beebe, second lieutenant, 30th Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Crézancy, France, July 15, 1918. During this terrific artillery bombardment of the German offensive of July 15, 1918, Lieutenant Beebe carried a wounded man 300 yards to a dressing station. In order to maintain the liaison Lieutenant Beebe made repeated trips through the heavy shelling, repairing the wires, and reestablishing communication. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from Oregon.

Hobert M. Bird, sergeant, Battery A, 147th Field Artillery. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Gilles, France, August 12, 1918. After being

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painfully wounded by an exploding shell, Sergeant Bird, with no thought of his own wound, assisted a more severely wounded comrade to the first-aid station, and then walked a distance of 1½ kilometers over a heavily shelled road in quest of ambulance and stretchers. Residence at enlistment: 268 Stanton Street, Portland.

* Hugh D. Broomfield, first lieutenant, Air Service, pilot, 90th Aero Squadron. For extraordinary heroism in action near Cunel, France, October 21, 1918. Responding to an urgent request for a plane to penetrate the enemy lines to ascertain whether or not the enemy was preparing a counter attack, he immediately volunteered for the mission. Obliged to fly at a very low altitude on account of the unfavorable weather conditions, he was under terrific fire of the enemy at all times, but by skillful dodging, he managed to cross the enemy lines. Emergency address: Thomas Broomfield, father, 4219 Forty-second Avenue, S. E., Portland. Residence at appointment: Gladstone.

John C. Burgard, first lieutenant, 362d Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Epinonville, France, September 27, 1918. On duty as battalion liaison officer, Lieutenant Burgard was establishing the battalion post of command at daybreak, when he suddenly discovered a party of the enemy placing machine-gun nests so as to fire upon the position from the flank. Firing a rifle to give the alarm, Lieutenant Burgard advanced toward the enemy, followed by the battalion headquarters group, whom he led in a vigorous attack on the hostile force, capturing twenty-one of the enemy, one machine-gun, and two light machine rifles, with but one casualty among his own men. Residence at appointment: 619 Hillcrest Drive, Portland.

Alvin Lester Bowman (Army serial No. 303705), pharmacist's mate, second class, United States Navy, attached to Company G, 5th Regiment, United States Marine Corps, 2d Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near the Meuse River, France, November 3-4, and November 10, 1918. He displayed exceptional coolness and bravery under intense artillery and machine-gun fire, dressing wounded and carrying them to safety. On the night of November 10, under violent machine-gun and shell fire, he carried three wounded men across the Meuse River to a point where they could be reached by stretcher bearers, exposing himself without thought of personal danger. Residence at enlistment: Falls City.

Serene E. Brett, major, 326th Battalion, Tank Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near Richecourt, France, September 12, 1918. On the opening day of the St. Mihiel offensive he led his battalion on foot from Richecourt to the Boisé Quart de Reserve in the face of heavy machine-gun and artillery fire; by his coolness and courage setting an example to the entire battalion. Address: Care The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from Oregon.

Ned Crawford, private, Company C, 316th Field Signal Battalion. For extraordinary heroism in action at Epinonville, France, October 2, 1918. When the telephone station in which he was working was struck by a shell, killing two men and injuring five, he disregarded personal safety and continued to operate his switchboard in an exposed position, in order that communication might be maintained until a new central could be established in a new location. Residence at enlistment: Hood River.

Hursey A. Dakin, corporal, Company F, 1st Gas Regiment. For extraordinary heroism in action in the Bois Jure, near Gercourt, France, September 26,

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1918. He volunteered with another soldier to attack a machine-gun nest which was holding up the advance. They advanced against very heavy machine-gun fire and captured the position, killing two Germans and routing the remainder of the gun crew. Residence at enlistment: Freewater.

Ernest E. Ely, sergeant, first class, Headquarters Company, 1st Brigade, Tank Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action in the Aire Valley, France, September 26 to October 12, 1918. He worked for five days and nights under intense shell fire to establish signal communications. While engaged in this work he was gassed and carried to a dressing station unconscious. On regaining consciousness he escaped from the dressing station, returned to his post, and continued to work for twelve hours more, until he was gassed for a second time. Residence at enlistment: 341 East Sixteenth Street, Eugene.

James P. Growden, captain, 4th Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action west of Fismes, France, August 5, 1918. After reconnoitering a sector of the River Vesle in advance of the front lines of the infantry for the purpose of selecting a site for a footbridge, he went with a small party of engineers through an enemy barrage from 77-millimeter and 1-pounder guns and assisted in directing the construction work. As soon as the operations were discovered machine-gun fire was opened up on the party, but they continued at work, removing the German wire entanglements and successfully completing a bridge which was of great value in subsequent operations. Residence at appointment: Pittock Block, Portland.

* William Hansen, corporal, 20th Company, 5th Regiment, United States Marine Corps. Killed in action at Chateau-Thierry, France, June 6, 1918, he gave the supreme proof of that extraordinary heroism which will serve as an example to hitherto untried troops. Emergency address: Benhart Hansen, father, 1731 Portsmouth Avenue, Portland. Residence at enlistment: 1731 Portsmouth Avenue, Portland.

Chester Haven, private, Company B, 1st Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near Exermont, France, October 9, 1918. Upon his own initiative, Private Haven, with another soldier, displayed notable courage in attacking two machine-guns which were hindering the advance. Undaunted by the heavy machine-gun fire, they poured a deadly rifle fire upon the enemy gunners and forced them to flee toward our attacking troops, who captured them. Residence at enlistment: Falls City.

Charles E. Kilbourne, colonel, General Staff, 89th Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Thiacourt, France, September 12, 1918. As chief of staff, he exposed himself to artillery and machine-gun fire during the advance of his division, exercising good judgment and strong determination in reorganizing the lines and getting troops forward to the objective. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from Oregon.

Kurt H. A. Koehler, private, Company A, 1st Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France, October 9, 1918. Operating without assistance a machine-gun which he secured by crawling out ahead of our lines, he successfully resisted a greatly superior force of the enemy, killing several and causing the rest to retreat. When wounds in the shoulder made it impossible for him to further operate the gun he rendered it unserviceable with a pick handle before retiring and reporting to his company commander. Residence at enlistment: Box No. 117, Hillsdale.

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Ernest C. Kyle, private, 116th Ambulance Company, 104th Sanitary Train. For extraordinary heroism in action near Haumont, France, October 11, 1918. As a stretcher bearer he gave proof of great courage and high sense of duty by helping transport a wounded soldier to a dressing station under heavy enemy fire, by which three other stretcher bearers were killed or seriously wounded. He repeatedly returned to the shell-swept area and assisted in rescuing the wounded. Residence at enlistment: Portland.

Eugene McEntee (Army serial No. 78382), private, Headquarters Company, 26th Infantry, 1st Division. For extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France, October 2, 1918. In charge of maintaining telephone communication while advancing with a patrol, he showed marked personal bravery, and, after being shot in the ankle, refused to be evacuated, and advanced for 1,300 meters under heavy machine-gun fire, repairing telephone lines and making it possible to send valuable information to the rear. Residence at enlistment: 617 Gantenbein Avenue, Portland.

Francis W. Mason, second lieutenant, 328th Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Georges, France, October 22, 1918. He led a patrol of forty men through a woods in order to envelope the enemy's position. Advancing under heavy shell fire, this officer was severely wounded, but, displaying excellent leadership and unusual bravery, he continued the advance and succeeded in occupying the woods. Residence at appointment: 2566 Oak Street, Salem.

Lonnie H. Nixon, captain, 7th Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Fossey, France, July 15, 1918. He fearlessly led a counter-attack through an intense barrage, inspiring his men to success by his personal example. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Appointed from the Army. Residence at appointment: Eugene.

George B. Noble, first lieutenant, 168th Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action east of Sergy, northeast of Chateau-Thierry, France, July 28, 1918. He gave proof of unhesitating devotion and energy during the offensive operations of Sergy, brilliantly leading his platoon to the assault in disregard of all danger. While charged with the support and protection of a reconnaissance in No Man's Land he gave the best example of calmness, decision, and courage under intense machine-gun fire. Wounded in this action, he refused to be evacuated and remained in command of his platoon until ordered off the field by his major. Residence at appointment: 563 East Madison Street, Portland.

Albert C. Presley, sergeant, Headquarters Company, 363d Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Eclisfontaine, France, September 27, 1918. Sergeant Presley, with a patrol of four other men, went out to reduce what was thought to be a sniping post; they discovered upon arriving nearer that it was a machine-gun nest and attacked it by a series of short rushes. The attack resulted in the capture of twenty-five prisoners and two machine-guns. Residence at enlistment: Grants Pass.

Irving LeNois Ragsdale, second lieutenant, 356th Infantry, 89th Division. For repeated acts of extraordinary heroism in action near Beaufort, France, November 4, 1918, and near Laneuville, France, November 6, 1918. Advancing across open ground under intense machine-gun and artillery fire on November 4, 1918, Lieutenant Ragsdale killed an enemy machine-gunner with his automatic pistol. Later he again crossed an open field under terrific machine-gun fire, killing two enemy gunners who were retarding the advance. On November

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6, during an intense shell and gas bombardment of Laneuville, he repeatedly exposed himself while assisting the wounded. Residence at appointment: 621 Mill Street, Roseburg.

*Axel Rasmussen, major, 28th Infantry. He proceeded to his post of command in spite of heavy bombardment in order to save important papers, and while thus engaged was killed by shell fire May 4, 1918. Emergency address: R. W. Rasmussen, brother, R. F. D. No. 5, Box No. 92, Sherwood. Residence at appointment: R. F. D. No. 5, Box No. 92, Sherwood.

Ross E. Reed, private, Company D, 1st Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near Cantigny, France, May 28, 1918. He voluntarily went forward over an area swept by machine-gun fire to the aid of a wounded comrade who was entangled in barbed wire. He worked in a perilously exposed position until he extricated his companion and carried him to safety. Residence at enlistment: 7903 Fifty-ninth Avenue, S. E., Portland.

Benjamin F. Rogers, pharmacist's mate, second class, United States Navy, attached to 5th Regiment, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Etienne, France, October 4, 1918. He left his shelter and went beyond our most advanced positions, giving first aid to the wounded under machine-gun and shell fire until all had been cared for and evacuated. Residence at enlistment: Gresham.

Tom W. Saul, first lieutenant, 327th Battalion, Tank Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near the Bois de Remieres, France, September 12, 1918. He coolly exposed himself to enemy fire by standing on the parapet of a trench and directing his men in the work of getting the tanks forward. Residence at appointment: 440 East Seventeenth Street, North, Portland.

Wallace Smith, private, Company I, 361st Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Gesnes, France, September 28 to October 1, 1918. Although twice wounded, he stayed out in front under heavy machine-gun and artillery fire and helped to take back within our lines wounded comrades who otherwise would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Residence at enlistment: 602 South Eighteenth Street, Corvallis.

David L. Spalding, corporal, Company F, 6th Regiment, United States Marine Corps. He returned to the front lines encouraging his men after being sent to the rear with a severe wound in the advance on Bouresches, France, on June 6, 1918. Residence at enlistment: Rural Route No. 3, Hood River.

David W. Stearns, corporal, Company C, 4th Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near St. Thibaut, France, October 6, 1918. He was a member of a platoon ordered to precede the Infantry to construct footbridges across the Vesle River. Enemy sniper, machine-gun and artillery fire was so intense that four attempts of his platoon failed. Acting upon his own initiative, he made his way along the river in the face of the deadly fire and for one hour reconnoitered the enemy's positions, reporting back to his commanding officer with information of the greatest value. Residence at enlistment: 1641 East Stark Street, Portland.

Carl J. Swenson, captain, Medical Corps, 316th Sanitary Train. For repeated acts of extraordinary heroism in action near Very, France, September 28-October 4, 1918, and near Audenarde, Belgium, October 30-November 3, 1918. During the drive in the forest of Argonne he established and maintained a dressing station at Very, under almost constant aerial raids and severe shell fire. During the operations between the Lys and Scheldt rivers this officer

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repeatedly showed utter disregard for his own life, maintaining liaison between his own advanced dressing station and the battalion aid stations and searching for wounded on the battle field while he was exposed to heavy fire from artillery, machine-gun and snipers. Residence at appointment: General Delivery, Beaverton.

Howard M. Wight, private, Company I, 361st Infantry. For extraordinary heroism in action near Gesnes, France, September 28, 1918. When his battalion withdrew after attacking a hostile position under heavy fire, Private Wight, instead of falling back, organized a party and in the face of intense machine-gun fire rescued fifteen wounded soldiers who would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy. He placed the wounded men in a gravel pit and remained the entire night, administering first aid, despite the fact that he himself was nearly exhausted after three days of fighting. Residence at enlistment: Corvallis.

Gilbert W. Wilcox, private, first class, Company D, 4th Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action on the Vesle River, near Ville-Savoy, France, August 11, 1918. He volunteered to go into Ville-Savoy at a time when it was under a heavy bombardment to rescue a wounded officer. Residence at enlistment: Route No. 1, Box No. 193, Linnton.

Ralph M. Wilcox, first lieutenant, 5th Regiment, United States Marine Corps. For extraordinary heroism in action near Letanne, France, November 10-11, 1918. He volunteered for a liaison mission and successfully accomplished it, displaying marked bravery. Passing through heavy artillery and machine-gun barrage, he pushed through the enemy outpost line, routed one of the outposts, and succeeded in establishing liaison between two battalions at a critical moment. Residence at appointment: 520 East Twenty-first Street, North, Portland.

* Lambert A. Wood, first lieutenant, 9th Infantry, 2d Division. For extraordinary heroism in action at Chateau-Thierry, France, June 6-7, 1918. With entire disregard for personal danger, Lieutenant Wood passed through heavy artillery fire with a message to stop misdirected supporting artillery fire, which fire imperiled the safety of his organization. He was killed near Soissons while leading his machine-gun platoon on a flank movement against an enemy group which was enfilading our advancing infantry line on July 15, 1918. Emergency address: Mrs. Elizabeth Lambert Wood, mother, Garden Home. Entered military service from Oregon.

William J. Wood, sergeant, Company D, 4th Engineers. For extraordinary heroism in action near Ville-Savoy, France, August 11, 1918. Although his eyes had been burned by gas, he volunteered for duty and assisted in the construction of an artillery bridge across the Vesle River, under constant machine-gun and artillery fire, setting a conspicuous example of personal bravery and devotion to duty. Residence at enlistment: Portland.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL

Harold B. Fiske, brigadier general, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. In charge of the training section of the General Staff, this brilliant officer perfected and administered the efficient scheme of instruction through which the American Army in France was thoroughly trained for combat in the shortest possible time. By his great depth of vision, his foresight, and his clear conception of modern tactical training

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he has enabled our forces to enter each engagement with that preparedness and efficiency that have distinguished the American army in each battle. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered Military Academy from Oregon.

Amos A. Fries, brigadier general, Corps of Engineers, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. As chief of the Chemical Warfare Service he was charged with the important task of training and equipping our troops for a form of warfare in which the American Army had had no experience prior to the present war. Both in securing proper defensive measures against gas and in developing new methods for its use as an offensive agency, he performed his arduous duties with marked success, thereby rendering valuable services to the American Expeditionary Forces. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D C. Entered Military Academy from Oregon.

George Henry Jett, lieutenant, United States Navy. For exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service as repair officer on the staff of the division commander. Cruiser and Transport Force, Newport News, Va. Address: Care of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Appointed from Oregon.

Charles E. Kilbourne, major, Coast Artillery Corps, United States Army. For exceptionally meritorious and distinguished services. As chief of staff of the 89th Division, he displayed military ability of the highest order, contributing to the successes achieved by that division during the St. Mihiel offensive. Later upon his promotion to the grade of brigadier general he continued to render valuable services in command of the 36th Artillery Brigade during the remainder of the campaign. Address: Care of The Adjutant General of the Army, Washington, D. C. Entered military service from Oregon.

Fred Milton Perkins, commander, United States Navy. For exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service as flag secretary to the commander, Cruiser and Transport Fleet. His close cooperation with the Army authorities in the handling of troop ships contributed greatly to the successful outcome of our oversea operations. Address: Care of The Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Appointed to Naval Academy from Oregon.

FOREIGN DECORATIONS

Decorations bestowed on Oregonians by foreign governments were:

FRENCH MEDAILLE MILITAIRE

Sergeant Robert Fisher, Portland.

First Class Private Andrew Amacher, Portland.

FRENCH ORDRE DE L'ETOILE NOIRE

Colonel Edward N. Johnson, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

Colonel Alvin B. Barber, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

Colonel John L. May, Portland.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas W. Hammond, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

Lieutenant Colonel George A. White, Portland.

Lieutenant Colonel Wallace D. Wells, Waluga.

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FRENCH LEGION D'HONNEUR

Brigadier General Harold B. Fiske, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Brigadier General Amos A. Fries, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Lieutenant Colonel William Edward Burr, Portland.
Lieutenant Colonel Glenn Eugene Votaw, Portland.
Lieutenant Colonel George H. Kelly, Portland.
Major Sereno E. Brett, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Major William S. Biddle, Portland.
Captain Edward C. Allworth, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Captain Leland L. Smith, Portland.

FRENCH ORDRE DU MERITE AGRICOLE

Captain Fred Elijah Ames, Portland.

FRENCH ORDRE DES PALMES UNIVERSITAIRES

Major Philip H. Carroll, Hood River.
Major William H. Curran, Portland.
Major Shannon L. VanValzah, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Second Lieutenant Vernon Faxon, Portland.

FRENCH CROIX DE GUERRE

Brigadier General Harold B. Fiske, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Colonel Charles E. Kilbourne, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Lieutenant Colonel William Edward Burr, Portland.
Major Sereno E. Brett, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Major Axel Rasmussen (deceased), Sherwood.
Major John G. Strohm, Portland.
Major Frank C. McColloch, Baker.
Captain Edward C. Allworth, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Captain George A. Stowell, entered Marine Service from Oregon.
Captain James Paul Growdon, Portland.
Captain Karl J. Swenson, Beaverton.
Captain Otto C. Schultz, Portland.
Captain Floyd D. Lewis, Salem.
Captain John E. Kuykendall (deceased), Eugene.
First Lieutenant Mortimer P. Cook, Portland.
First Lieutenant Lambert A. Wood (deceased), Garden Home, Portland.
First Lieutenant Ralph M. Wilcox, Portland.
First Lieutenant John P. Gregg, Portland.
First Lieutenant Lyman McElroy Chase, Portland.
First Lieutenant Timon J. Torkelson, Astoria.
First Lieutenant Albert G. Skelton, Corvallis.
First Lieutenant Harvey J. Silverstone, Portland.
First Lieutenant George Abram Gore, St. Helens.
First Lieutenant Oscar Cleveland Gibbs, Lakeview.
First Lieutenant James Story Gay, Jr., Portland.
First Lieutenant Louis H. Compton, Salem.
First Lieutenant Oscar I. Chenoweth, Dallas.

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Second Lieutenant Newell C. Barber (deceased), Medford.
Second Lieutenant Lewis C. Beebe, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Second Lieutenant Edgar L. Wheeler, Marshfield.
First Sergeant James E. Poole, Portland.
First Class Sergeant George A. Eossington, Portland.
Sergeant Martin Grass, Portland.
Sergeant William J. Wood, Portland.
Sergeant Lawrence G. Schnell, Portland.
Sergeant Albert Presley, Grants Pass.
Sergeant Raymond Joffery Hague, Portland.
Sergeant Clarence H. Yost, Portland.
Sergeant Fred C. Wheaton, Portland.
Sergeant John F. Patrick, Portland.
Sergeant David Levy, Portland.
Sergeant Elmer E. Hewitt, McMinnville.
Sergeant Calvin T. Funk (deceased), London.
Sergeant Floyd R. Young, Portland.
Sergeant Fred R. Starr, Klamath Falls.
Sergeant Milton Eyler Straight, Baker.
Sergeant Francis W. Rollins, Hillsboro.
Sergeant Ayres H. Larrabee, Portland.
Sergeant Thomas E. Pitts, Portland.
Sergeant James H. Heffron, Portland.
Sergeant Edward Hardy, Portland.
Sergeant John Lewis Fogle, Dallas.
Sergeant Warren L. Cooper, Portland.
Sergeant Miles T. Barrett, Portland.
Corporal Kirby G. Ross, Portland.
Corporal Carl W. Walling, Portland.
Corporal Walter Schaffer (deceased), Portland.
Corporal William M. Bowers (deceased), Amity.
Corporal Delbert Reeves, Silverton.
Corporal Roy C. Stone, Portland.
Corporal Herbert C. Price, Portland.
Corporal Alvin W. Parrish, Salem.
Corporal Seldon O. Murray, Portland.
Corporal Edgar C. Morford, Forest Grove.
Corporal George F. Meats (deceased), Eugene.
Corporal Frank C. McClaflin, Portland.
Corporal Philip T. Lee, Portland.
Corporal August M. Grant, Portland.
Corporal Charles M. Dalby, Portland.
First Class Private John K. Honey, Gresham.
First Class Private Charles E. Stoddard, Falls City.
First Class Private Walter L. Kight, Prairie City.
First Class Private Junius E. Hallyburton, Ortley.
First Class Private William A. Botz, Pendleton.
Private George T. Welk, Yamhill.
Private Howard M. Wight, Corvallis.
Private Rupert A. Wanless, Newberg.

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Private Wallace W. Smith, Corvallis.
Private Chester Haven, Falls City.
Private Ernest G. Grey, Portland.
Private Donald H. Moore, Portland.
Private Joseph Hubert Hudson, Beaverton.
Private Vernon L. Downer, North Portland.
Private Fred S. Williams, Eugene.
Private Lester C. Reese (deceased), McMinnville.
Private Harry R. Rayburn, Portland.
Private Carlyle I. Odgers, Portland.
Private Ray D. May, Timber.
Private Norman J. Mackenzie, Jordan Valley.
Private Walter McCrum, Portland.
Private Waldo E. Canfield (deceased), Oregon City.
Private Harry H. Amell, LaGrande.
Private Earl H. Landsborough, Portland.
Chaplain William S. Gilbert, Astoria.

FRENCH MEDAILLE D'HONNEUR DES EPIDEMIES (ARGENT)

Major John G. Strohm, Portland.
Sergeant Karl R. Madison, Portland.
Sergeant John H. Carroll, Portland.
First Class Sergeant Andy B. Jenson, Portland.
First Class Private Borus H. Geller, Portland.
First Class Private Jess F. Lawrence, Portland.
First Class Private George Penson, Hillsdale.
First Class Private John K. Frohmader, Salem.
Private Howard Hill, Portland.
Private William H. Pippy, Portland.
Private Cornelius R. Stein, Oak Grove.
Nurse Miss Karen Lauridsen, Astoria.

BRITISH ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE

Brigadier General Amos A. Fries, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

BRITISH DISTINGUISHED SERVICE ORDER

Colonel Edward N. Johnston, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

BRITISH MILITARY CROSS

Captain Otta A. Odjard, Portland.
Captain John Tyler Henry, Portland.
First Lieutenant Albert Allen Grossman, Portland.
First Lieutenant Thomas Everett Griffith, Dufur.
First Lieutenant Eldon C. Blanchard, Oak Grove.
Second Lieutenant James E. French, Dallas.

BRITISH MERITORIOUS SERVICE MEDAL

Master Signal Electrician Shirley Manning Treen, Portland.
Master Signal Electrician Walter David Davis, Portland.

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BELGIAN ORDRE DE LA COURONNE

Brigadier General Harold B. Fiske, entered Military Academy from Oregon.

BELGIAN CROIX DE GUERRE

Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Voorhies, Portland.
Major Lester Warren Humphries, Portland.
Major Daniel J. Coman, Portland.
Captain Frank S. Sever, Portland.
Captain Merle G. Howard, Junction City.
First Lieutenant Lloyd S. Spooner, Portland.
First Lieutenant Benjamin Fultz Dorris, Eugene.
Sergeant Paul B. Hansen, Portland.
Sergeant Van Alfred Norder, Hood River.
Sergeant Cecil C. Beach, Bend.
Private Carl M. Cook, Portland.
Wagoner Albert R. Reilly, Junction City.

ITALIAN ORDER OF THE CROWN

Brigadier General Harold B. Fiske, entered Military Academy from Oregon.
Major Fred William Leadbetter, Portland.

ITALIAN CROCE DI GUERRA

Captain Lonnie H. Nixon, Eugene.
Captain Ward M. Ackley, Portland.
Sergeant Charles C. Shepherd, Yamhill.
Private Helmuth Dewitz, Salem.

ITALIAN WAR SERVICE RIBBON

First Class Private Stanley E. Shell, Wallowa.

MONTENEGRIN MEDAILLE POUR LA BRAVOURE MILITAIRE

First Class Private George H. White, Bend.

POLISH COMMEMORATIVE CROSS

First Class Private Joseph Deschepper, Portland.

MONTENEGRIN ORDRE DU PRINCE DANILO IER

Captain Edward C. Allworth, entered Military Service from Oregon.

The people of Oregon after the war gave legislative expression to their pride in their sons in various practical ways. The Legislature of 1919 made a grant of $200 a year for four years toward the education of all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors or marines who had served in the war and who should desire to avail themselves of its provisions, and also gave preference rights to soldiers in the settlement of the Tumalo irrigation project in Central Oregon, and in obtaining employment on state irrigation projects. The people also validated by referendum at a special election June 7, 1920, by the decisive vote of 88,219 to 37,866, a comprehensive measure passed by the Legislature in the preceding February, which granted a cash bonus of $15 for each month of service in the World war to all service men, with the alternative of a loan,

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not exceeding $3,000, on the security of real property, of the value of which the loan should not exceed 75 per cent.[18] The Legislature of 1919 also provided for the issuance of a commemorative medal to be presented "to Oregon's soldiers, sailors, marines and other persons entering the service of the United States since the commencement of the United States' participation in the World war," and the Legislature of 1921 extended the provisions of this act to all residents of Oregon who served any of the armies of the allies. The first medals bestowed on Oregonians in recognition of their service with the allies were formally presented to twenty Canadian veterans on Armistice Day, November 11, 1921.

This bare and too meager outline of the part that Oregon took in the World war is sufficient to show that the record is a proud one. Could the entire story be presented it would be a tale of personal heroism and personal sacrifice for Country and for Liberty, such as would match the most brilliant pages of history, ancient or modern. There was suffering and death, there were hardships and heavy burdens, there were acts of generosity and abundant outpourings of sympathy and helpfulness. There was a spiritual exaltation withal, an uplifting of soul, a new relationship between man and man, and a deep sense of responsibility to the Government and the flag, all of which had manifestations innumerable and indescribable. While space does not permit details as to these manifestations, they were indeed the evidence of things not seen, as deeply seated as faith itself.

As for the men who wore the khaki uniforms, their cheerfulness and fortitude were proof against physical discomfort and mental strain; their brotherhood in arms established a fine spirit that no discouragement could conquer. The horrors of war, the terrors of the modern battle, the impending destruction by submarine, or mine, or gas or missile, the unique and unparalleled experiences suddenly thrust upon young men just from the comforts of home and the paths of peace, all these were taken with a grit and steadfastness that earned for them the highest praise. The manly quality of it all, the personal and individual components of the tremendous whole, cannot here be depicted. The men were the finest and cleanest specimens of young manhood that the nation could produce, giving themselves willingly in the cause of their country and for the protection of the ideals of civilization, not as professional soldiers or as hired fighters, but as members of the republic in whose victory their own interests and welfare were involved. Many of them paid the supreme price; many of them came home shattered in health and suffering from wounds, or sickness or gas. But those who survived the ordeal, whether their part was in the battle line or in the discharge of some duty contributing in other ways to the cause, have earned the gratitude of their state and the nation. This includes also those noble women who went into the service or lent their aid to the auxiliary activities of the war. What it cost these young men and young women can never be reckoned, and for this cost they can never be recompensed, excepting as the satisfaction of having acted well their part is a compensation for sacrifice.

Those who remained at home made their sacrifices, too,—sometimes heavy ones. To many families came the burden of bereavement and sorrow. Many were deprived of the necessary support and the companionship of the absent ones; and oftentimes to these the war brought far-reaching misfortune. But

[18] Or. Const. XI-c, Secs. 1-4.

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if war can ever be said to have its dividends, they may here be found in the awakening of spiritual and altruistic sentiment, in the stirring of the soul of the people, in the turning of their thoughts from materialism and selfishness to great conceptions of generous giving, of loyalty to ideals, of hope for limitation of armaments and armies and navies, of aspiration toward universal peace.

The young men and women of this generation, therefore, now go forward to face the vicissitudes of life with new conceptions and new experience. They were lifted out of the home niche and were rudely thrust into undreamed of responsibilities; in returning to the daily round of familiar duties they will never forget the shocks and sensations of the past, or discard the recollections of this world wide war. They face the future with a new point of view, sobered and steadied, but determined that the lessons so dearly learned will not be unheeded. They want no more wars, and they will not rest until militarism and despotism are made impotent.

It is fitting, then, in closing these pages at the end of this World War, to reflect upon the fact that the same enterprise and courage that characterized the explorers and the pioneer settlers is shown again in the present generation of Oregonians. The young men and young women of the '40s and the '50s of the last century dared to take their fortunes in their own hands, and with high hearts to venture to the rim of the world. These moderns are their descendants and successors; they have the same blood, and are of the same mettle. They have crowned with their achievements the tale of Oregon's honorable history, and have laid their shields on those of the earlier generations. The story is told, and the book is to be laid aside. Whatever the future may have in store for Oregon and its people there will be this heritage of things done, and nobly done.

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APPENDIX

I

OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORY AND STATE OF OREGON

(Compiled by Secretary of State)

GOVERNORS OF OREGON

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
BEFORE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT			
McLoughlin, Dr. John		1824-1843	Chief Factor of Hudson's Bay company and by courtesy called governor of Oregon
First executive committee— Hill, David Beers, Alanson Gale, Joseph		1843-1844	By vote of the people of "Wallamet" valley
Second executive committee— Stewart, P. G. Russell, O. Bailey, W. J.		1844-1845	By vote of the people
UNDER THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT			
Abernethy George		June 3, 1845-March 3, 1849	By vote of the people
UNDER THE TERRITORY OF OREGON			
Lane, Joseph		March 3, 1849-June 18, 1850	Appointed by President Polk
Pritchett, Kintaing		June 18, 1850-Aug. 18, 1850	Was secretary and became ex officio governor on resignation of Governor Lane
Gaines, John P.		Aug. 18, 1850-May 16, 1853	Appointed by President Taylor
Lane Joseph		May 16, 1853-May 19, 1853	Appointed by President Pierce
Curry, George L.		May 19, 1853-Dec. 2, 1853	Was secretary and became ex officio governor on resignation of Governor Lane
Davis, John W.		Dec. 2, 1853-Aug. 1, 1854	Appointed by President Pierce
Curry, George L.		Aug. 1, 1854-Nov. 1, 1854	Was secretary and became ex officio governor on resignation of Governor Davis
Curry, George L.		Nov. 1, 1854-March 3, 1859	Appointed by President Pierce
UNDER THE STATE OF OREGON			
Whiteaker John	Democrat	March 3, 1859-Sept. 10, 1862	Elected 1858
Gibbs, A. C.	Republican	Sept. 10, 1862-Sept. 12, 1866	Elected 1862
Woods, George L.	Republican	Sept. 12, 1866-Sept. 14, 1870	Elected 1866
Grover, Lafayette	Democrat	Sept. 14, 1870-Feb. 1, 1877	Elected 1870; reelected 1874
Chadwick, Stephen F.	Democrat	Feb. 1, 1877-Sept. 11, 1878	Was secretary of state and became governor on resignation of Governor Grover
Thayer, W. W.	Democrat	Sept. 11, 1878-Sept. 13, 1882	Elected 1878
Moody, Z. F.	Republican	Sept. 13, 1882-Jan. 12, 1887	Elected 1882
Pennoyer, Sylvester	Democratic-Peoples	Jan. 12, 1887-Jan. 14, 1895	Elected 1886; reelected 1890
Lord, William Paine	Republican	Jan. 14, 1895-Jan. 9, 1899	Elected 1894
Geer, T. T	Republican	Jan. 9, 1899-Jan. 14, 1903	Elected 1898
Chamberlain, George E.	Democrat	Jan. 15, 1903-Feb 28, 1909	Elected 1902; reelected 1906
Benson, Frank W.	Republican	March 1, 1909-June 17, 1910	Was secretary of state and became governor on resignation of Governor Chamberlain, elected to the United States senate
Bowerman, Jay (Acting governor)	Republican	June 17, 1910-Jan. 8, 1911	Was president of the senate and became acting governor owing to inability of Governor Benson to act
West, Oswald	Democrat	Jan 11, 1911-Jan. 12, 1915	Elected 1910
Withycombe, James	Republican	Jan. 12, 1915-March 3, 1919	Elected 1914; reelected 1918
Olcott, Ben W.	Republican	March 4, 1919-Jan. 8, 1923	Was secretary of state and became governor upon death of Governor Withycombe

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SECRETARIES OF OREGON

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
During Pretterritorial Period			
LeBreton, George W.		Feb. 18, 1841-March 4, 1844	Elected by mass meeting of citizens to office of clerk of courts and public recorder in 1843; was elected first secretary of provisional government
Long, Dr. E. J.		March 4, 1844-June 1, 1846	First appointed, then elected by people under provisional government
Prigg, Frederick		June 21, 1846———, 1847	Appointed to succeed Long
Holderness, Samuel M.		———, 1847-March 3, 1849	Appointed to succeed Prigg
Under the Territory of Oregon			
Pritchett, Kintsing	Democrat	March 3, 1849-Aug. 18, 1850	Appointed by President Polk
Hamilton, General Edward	Democrat	Aug. 18, 1850-May 14, 1853	Appointed by President Taylor
Curry, George L.	Democrat	May 14, 1853-Jan. 27, 1855	Appointed by President Pierce
Harding, Benjamin F.	Democrat	Jan. 27, 1855-March 3, 1859	Appointed by President Pierce
Under the State of Oregon			
Heath, Lucien	Democrat	March 3, 1859-Sept. 8, 1862	Elected 1858
May, Samuel E.	Republican	Sept. 8, 1862-Sept. 10, 1870	Elected 1862; reelected 1866
Chadwick, S. F.	Democrat	Sept. 10, 1870-Sept. 2, 1878	Elected 1870; reelected 1874
Earhart, R. P.	Republican	Sept. 2, 1878-Jan. 10, 1887	Elected 1878; reelected 1882
McBride, George W.	Republican	Jan. 10, 1887-Jan. 14, 1895	Elected 1886; reelected 1890
Kincaid, H. R.	Republican	Jan 14, 1895-Jan. 9 1899	Elected 1894
Dunbar, Frank I.	Republican	Jan. 9, 1899-Jan. 14, 1907	Elected 1898; reelected 1902
Benson, Frank W.	Republican	Jan. 15, 1907-April 14, 1911	Elected 1906; reelected 1910
Olcott, Ben W.	Republican	April 17, 1911-Jan. 3, 1921	Appointed by governor to fill vacancy caused by death of Secretary Benson; elected 1912; reelected 1916
Kozer, Sam A.	Republican	May 28, 1920-Jan. 5, 1925	Appointed May 28, 1920, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Ben W. Olcott; elected 1920

TREASURERS OF OREGON

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
During Pretterritorial Period			
Willson, W. H.		1843-1844	Elected by the people in mass meeting
Foster, Phil		1844-1845	Elected by the people at a general election
Under Provisional Government			
Ermatinger, F.		1845-1846	Elected by the people
Couch, J. H.		March, 4 1846-Oct. 15, 1847	Appointed to fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Ermatinger. Was also elected by legislature in December, 1846
Kilbourne, William K.		Oct. 15, 1847-Feb. 13, 1849	Appointed
Kilbourne, William K.		Feb. 13, 1849-Sept. 27, 1849	Elected by legislature
During Territorial Government			
Taylor, James		Sept. 27, 1849-Jan. 21, 1851	Elected by legislature of territory
Rice, L. A.		Jan. 21, 1851-Dec. 16, 1851	Elected by legislature of territory
Boone, John D.	Democrat	Dec. 16, 1851-Jan. 24, 1855	Elected by legislature of territory
Lane, Nat H.	Democrat	Jan. 24, 1855-Jan. 10, 1856	Elected by legislature of territory
Boone, John D.	Democrat	Jan. 10, 1856-March 3, 1859	Elected by legislature of territory
During State Government			
Boone, John D.	Democrat	March 3, 1859-Sept. 8, 1862	Elected 1858
Cooke, E. N.	Republican	Sept. 8, 1862-Sept. 12, 1870	Elected 1862; reelected 1866
Fleischner, D.	Democrat	Sept. 12, 1870-Sept. 14, 1874	Elected 1870
Brown, A. H.	Democrat	Sept. 14, 1874-Sept. 9, 1878	Elected 1874
Hirsch, E.	Republican	Sept. 9 1878-Jan. 10, 1887	Elected 1878; reelected 1882
Webb, G. W.	Democrat	Jan. 10, 1887-Jan. 12, 1891	Elected 1886
Metschan, Phil	Republican	Jan. 12, 1891-Jan 9,. 1899	Elected 1890; reelected 1894
Moore, Chas. S.	Republican	Jan. 9, 1899-Jan. 14, 1907	Elected 1898; reelected 1902
Steel, George A.	Republican	Jan. 15, 1907-Jan. 3, 1911	Elected 1906
Kay, Thomas B.	Republican	Jan. 4, 1911-Jan. 6, 1919	Elected 1910; reelected 1914
Hoff, O. P.	Republican	Jan. 6, 1919-Dec. 31, 1922	Elected 1918

ATTORNEYS GENERAL

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
Chamberlain, George E.	Democrat	May 20, 1891-Jan. 14, 1895	Appointed by governor; elected June, 1892
Idleman, Cicero M.	Republican	Jan. 14, 1895-Jan. 9, 1899	Elected 1894
Blackburn, D. R. N.	Republican	Jan. 9, 1899-Jan. 12, 1903	Elected 1898
Crawford, A. M.	Republican	Jan. 13, 1903-Jan. 3, 1915	Elected 1902; reelected 1906; reelected 1910
Brown, George M.	Republican	January 4, 1915-Oct. 14, 1920	Elected 1914; reelected 1918; resigned October 14, 1920
Van Winkle, I. H.	Republican	Oct. 14, 1920-Jan. 5, 1925	Appointed October 14, 1920, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Georg e M. Brown; elected 1920

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SUPREME COURT OF OREGON

Name of chief justice	Date	Name of associate justices
Bryant, William P.	1848 to 1850	Peter G. Burnett, Orville C. Platt
Nelson, Thomas	1850 to 1853	Orville C. Platt, William Strong
Williams, George H.	1853 to 1859	Cyrus Olney, Obadiah B. McFadden, Matthew Paul Deady
Wait, Aaron E.	1859 to 1862	Reuben P. Boise, Riley Evans Stratton, Paine Page Prim
Boise, Reuben P.	1862 to 1864	Paine Page Prim, William Wilmer Page, Riley Evans Stratton, Erasmus D. Shattuck, Joseph G. Wilson
Prim, Paine Page	1864 to 1866	Erasmus D. Shattuck, Reuben P. Boise, Riley Evans Stratton, Joseph G. Wilson
Shattuck, Erasmus D.	1866 to 1868	Paine Page Prim, Reuben P. Boise, Riley Evans Stratton, Joseph G. Wilson, Alonzo A. Skinner
Boise, Reuben P.	1868 to 1870	Paine Page Prim, Joseph G. Wilson, William W. Upton, John Kelsay
Prim, Paine Page	1870 to 1872	Reuben P. Boise Andrew J. Thayer, William W. Upton, B. Whitten, L. L. McArthur
Upton, William W.	1872 to 1874	Paine Page Prim, Andrew J. Thayer, B. F. Bonham, L. F. Mosher, L. L. McArthur
Bonham, B. F.	1874 to 1876	Paine Page Prim, L. L. McArthur, E. D. Shattuck, John Burnett
Prim, Paine Page	1876 to 1878	Reuben P. Boise, E. D. Shattuck, L. L. McArthur, J. F. Watson
Kelly, James K.	1878 to 1880	Paine Page Prim, Reuben P. Boise
Lord, William P.	1880 to 1882	E. B. Watson, John B. Waldo
Watson, Edward B	1882 to 1884	John B. Waldo, William P Lord
Waldo, John B.	1884 to 1886	William P. Lord, W. W. Thayer
Lord, William P.	1886 to 1888	W. W. Thayer, Reuben S. Strahan
Thayer, W. W.	1888 to 1890	Reuben S. Strahan, William P. Lord
Strahan, Reuben S.	1890 to 1892	William P. Lord, Robert S. Bean
Lord, William P.	July 1. 1892, to July 1, 1894	F. A. Moore, Robert S. Bean
Bean, Robert S.	July 1, 1894, to Dec. 31, 1896	F. A. Moore, Charles E. Wolverton
Moore, F. A.	Jan. 1, 1897, to Dec. 31, 1898	Charles E. Wolverton, Robert S. Bean
Wolverton, Charles E.	Jan. 1, 1899, to Dec. 31, 1900	Robert S. Bean, F. A. Moore
Bean, Robert S.	Jan. 1, 1901, to Dec 31, 1902	F. A. Moore, Charles E. Wolverton
Moore, F. A.	Jan. 1, 1903, to Dec. 31, 1904	Charles E. Wolverton, Robert S. Bean
Wolverton, Charles E.	Jan. 1, 1905, to Dec. 4, 1905	Robert S Bean, F. A. Moore, (Wolverton resigned December 4, 1905)
Bean, Robert S.	Dec. 4, 1905, to Dec. 31, 1906	F. A. Moore, Thomas G. Hailey (appointed to succeed Wolverton)
Bean, Robert S.	Jan. 1, 1907 to Dec. 31, 1908	F. A. Moore, Robert Eakin, *Will R. King, *Woodson T. Slater
Moore, F. A.	Jan. 1, 1909, to Dec. 31, 1910	Robert Eakin, Robert S. Bean (resigned May 1, 1909; succeeded by Thomas A. McBride), *Will R. King, *Woodson T. Slater
Eakin, Robert	Jan. 1, 1911, to Dec. 31, 1912	F. A. Moore, Thomas A. McBride, George H. Burnett, Henry J. Bean
McBride, Thomas A.	Jan. 1, 1913, to Dec. 31, 1914	F. A. Moore, Robert Eakin, George H. Burnett, Henry J. Bean, **William M. Ramsey. **Charles L. McNary
Moore, F. A.	Jan. 1, 1915, to Dec. 31, 1916	Robert Eakin, George H. Burnett, Henry J. Bean, Thomas A. McBride, Henry L. Benson, Lawrence T. Harris
McBride, Thomas A.	Jan. 1, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918	(1)Robert Eakin, George H. Burnett, Henry J. Bean, (3)F. A. Moore, Henry L. Benson, Lawrence T. Harris, (2)Wallace McCamant, Charles A. Johns, Conrad P. Olson
McBride, Thomas A.	Jan. 1, 1919, to Dec. 31, 1920	Henry J. Bean, Alfred S. Bennett, George H. Burnett, Henry L. Benson, Lawrence T. Harris, Charles A. Johns
Burnett, George H.	Jan 1, 1921, to Dec. 31, 1922	(4)Charles A. Johns, Thomas A. McBride, Henry J. Bean (5)Henry L. Benson, George M. Brown, Lawrence T. Harris, John McCourt.

* Commissioners from February 26, 1907, to February 11, 1909: judges from February 12, 1909 to December 31, 1910.
** Appointed June 3, 1913.
(1) Resigned January 8, 1917, and succeeded by Wallace McCamant.
(2) Resigned June 4, 1918, and succeeded by Charles A. Johns.
(3) Died September 25, 1918, and succeeded by Conrad P Olson.
(4) Resigned October, 1921 and succeeded by John McCourt.
(5) Died October 16, 1921, and succeeded by John L. Rand.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
Simpson, Sylvester C.	Democrat	Jan. 30, 1873-Sept. 14, 1874	Appointed by the governor
Rowland, L. L.	Republican	Sept. 14, 1874-Sept. 9, 1878	Elected 1874
Powell, J. L.	Republican	Sept. 9, 1878-Sept. 11, 1882	Elected 1878
McElroy, E. B	Republican	Sept. 11, 1882-Jan. 14, 1895	Elected 1882; reelected 1886; reelected 1890
Irwin, G. M.	Republican	Jan. 14, 1895-Jan. 9, 1899	Elected 1894
Ackerman, J. H.	Republican	Jan. 9, 1899-Jan. 3, 1911	Elected 1898; reelected 1902; reelected 1906
Alderman, L. R.	Republican	Jan. 4, 1911-June 28, 1913	Elected 1910
Churchill, J. A.	Republican	July 1, 1913-Dec. 31, 1922	Appointed to succeed L. R. Alderman, resigned; elected 1914; reelected 1918

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SENATORS IN CONGRESS FROM STATE OF OREGON

Name	Politics	Term of office	By what authority
Smith, Delason	Democrat	Feb. 14, 1859-March 3, 1859	Elected by legislature
Lane, Joseph	Democrat	Feb. 14, 1859-March 3, 1861	Elected by legislature
Baker, Edward D.	Republican	March 4, 1861-Oct. 21, 1861	Elected by legislature
Stark, Benjamin	Democrat	Oct. 21, 1861-Sept. 11, 1862	Appointed by governor
Harding, Benjamin F.	Democrat	Sept. 11, 1862-March 3, 1865	Elected by legislature
Nesmith, James W.	Democrat	March 4, 1861- March 3, 1867	Elected by legislature
Williams, George H.	Republican	March 4, 1865-March 3, 1871	Elected by legislature
Corbett, Henry W.	Republican	March 4, 1867-March 3, 1873	Elected by legislature
Kelly, James K.	Democrat	March 4, 1871-March 3, 1877	Elected by legislature
Mitchell, John H.	Republican	March 4, 1873-March 3, 1879	Elected by legislature
Grover, Lafayette	Democrat	March, 4 1877-March 3, 1883	Elected by legislature
Slater, James H.	Democrat	March 4, 1879-March 3, 1885	Elected by legislature
Dolph, Joseph N.	Republican	March 4, 1883-March 3, 1889	Elected by legislature
Mitchell, John H.	Republican	March, 4 1885-March 3, 1891	Elected by legislature
Dolph, Joseph N.	Republican	March 4, 1889-March 3, 1895	Elected by legislature
Mitchell, John H.	Republican	March 4, 1891-March 3, 1897	Elected by legislature
McBride, George W.	Republican	March 4, 1895-March 3, 1901	Elected by legislature
*Corbett, Henry W.	Republican	March 4, 1897——— –, ——.	Appointed by governor
Simon, Joseph	Republican	Oct. 6, 1898-March 3, 1903	Elected by legislature
Mitchell, John H.	Republican	March 4, 1901-Dec. 8, 1905	Elected by legislature
Fulton, Charles W.	Republican	March 4, 1903-March 3, 1909	Elected by legislature
**Gearin, John M.	Democrat	Dec. 12, 1905-Jan. 23, 1907	Appointed by governor
Mulkey, Fred W.	Republican	Jan. 23, 1907-March 3, 1907	Elected by legislature
Bourne, Jr., Jonathan	Republican	March 4, 1907-March 3, 1913	Elected by legislature
Chamberlain, George E.	Democrat	March 4, 1909-March 3, 1915	Elected by legislature
Lane, Harry	Democrat	March 4, 1913-May 23, 1917	Elected by legislature
Chamberlain, George E.	Democrat	March 4, 1915-March 3, 1921	Elected by the people, 1914
***McNary, Charles L.	Republican	May 29, 1917-March 4, 1925	Appointed by governor, 1917; elected by the people, 1918
Stanfield, Robert N.	Republican	March 4, 1921-March 3, 1927	Elected by the people, 1920

* The United States senate refused to seat Mr. Corbett and the state of Oregon was represented by only one senator from March 4, 1897, to October 6, 1898.

** Appointed to succeed John H. Mitchell, who died December 8, 1905.

*** Appointed to succeed Harry Lane, who died May 23, 1917.

CONGRESSMEN FOR OREGON

Name	Politics	Term of office	Official designation
Thurston, Samuel R.	Democrat	Jan. 6, 1849-April 9, 1851	Territorial delegate
Lane, Joseph	Democrat	June 2, 1851-Feb. 14, 1859	Territorial delegate
Grover, Lafayette	Democrat	Feb. 15, 1859-March 3, 1859	Representative at large
Stout, Lansing	Democrat	March 4, 1859-March 3, 1861	Representative at large
Shiel, George K.	Democrat	March 4, 1861-March 3, 1863	Representative at large
McBride, John R.	Republican	March 4, 1863-March 3, 1865	Representative at large
Henderson, J. H. D.	Republican	March 4, 1865-March 3, 1867	Representative at large
Mallory, Rufus	Republican	March 4, 1867-March 3, 1869	Representative at large
Smith, Joseph S.	Democrat	March 4, 1869-March 3, 1871	Representative at large
Slater, James H.	Democrat	March 4, 1871-March 3, 1873	Representative at large
Wilson, Joseph G.	Republican	March 4, 1873——— –, ——.	Died before qualifying
Nesmith, James W.	Democrat	March 4, 1873-March 3, 1875	Representative at large
La Dow, George A.	Democrat	March 4, 1875——— –, ——.	Died before qualifying
Lane, Lafayette	Democrat	Oct. 25, 1875-March 3, 1877	Representative at large
Williams, Richard	Republican	March 4, 1877-March 3, 1879	Representative at large
Whiteaker, John	Democrat	March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881	Representative at large
George, M. C.	Republican	March 4, 1881-March 3, 1885	Representative at large
Hermann, Binger	Republican	March 4, 1885-March 3, 1893	Representative at large
Hermann, Binger	Republican	March 4, 1893-March 3, 1897	Representative First district
Ellis, W. R.	Republican	March 4, 1893-March 3, 1899	Representative Second district
Tongue, Thomas H.	Republican	March 4, 1897-March 3, 1901	Representative First district
Moody, Malcolm A.	Republican	March 4, 1899-March 3, 1903	Representative Second district
Tongue, Thomas H.	Republican	March 4, 1901-March 3, 1905	Representative First district
Hermann, Binger	Republican	March 4, 1903-March 3, 1907	Representative First district
Williamson, J. N.	Republican	March 4, 1903-March 3, 1907	Representative Second district
Hawley, W C.	Republican	March 4, 1907-March 3, 1923	Representative First district
Ellis, W. R.	Republican	March 4, 1907-March 3, 1911	Representative Second district
Lafferty, A. W.	Republican	March 4, 1911-March 3, 1913	Representative Second district
Sinnott, N. J.	Republican	March 4, 1913-March 3, 1923	Representative Second district
Lafferty, A. W.	Republican	March 4, 1913-March 3, 1915	Representative Third district
McArthur, C. N.	Republican	March 4, 1915-March 3, 1923	Representative Third district

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II

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM MEASURES

Constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum adopted June 2, 1902, and constitutional amendments and measures submitted to the people thereunder at elections held within the state of Oregon since such date to January 1, 1922.

Key: (1) Submitted by the legislature.
(2) Submitted by initiative petition.
(3) Referendum ordered by petition of the people.
(*) Amendments and measures receiving a majority vote.

Short titles of amendments and measures submitted	Yes	No
General Election June 2, 1902		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 92,920)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Initiative and referendum (1)	62,024*	5,668
General Election June 6, 1904		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 99,315)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Office of state printer (2)	45,334*	14,031
Measures—		
Direct primary nominating election law (2)	56,205*	16,354
Local option liquor law (2)	43,316*	40,198
General Election June 4, 1906		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 99,445)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Equal suffrage amendment (2)	36,902	47,075
Requiring referendum on any act calling a constitutional convention (2)	47,661*	18,751
Giving cities sole powers to amend their charters (2)	52,567*	19,852
Authorizing state printer's compensation to be regulated by law at any time (2)	63,749*	9,571
Initiative and referendum to apply to all local, special and municipal laws (2)	47,678*	16,735
Measures—		
General appropriation bill, state institutions (3)	43,918*	26,758
Amendment to local option liquor law (2)	35,297	45,144
Purchase of Barlow toll road by state (2)	31,525	44,527
Prohibiting free passes on railroads (2)	57,281*	16,779
Gross earnings tax on sleeping, refrigerator and oil car companies (2)	69,635*	6,441
Gross earnings tax on express, telephone and telegraph companies (2)	70,872*	6,360
General Election June 1, 1908		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 116,614)		
Constitutional amendments—		
To increase compensation of legislators from $120.00 to $400.00 per session (1)	19,691	68,892
Permitting location of state institutions at places other than the state capital (1)	41,975*	40,868
Reorganization system of courts and increasing the number of supreme judges from three to five (1)	30,243	50,591
Changing date of general elections from June to November (1)	65,728*	18,590
Equal suffrage (2)	36,858	58,670
Giving cities control of liquor selling, poolrooms, theaters, etc., subject to local option law (2)	39,442	52,346
Modified form of single tax amendment (2)	32,066	60,871
Recall power on public officials (2)	58,381*	31,002
Authorizing proportional representation law (2)	48,868*	34,128
Requiring indictment to be by grand jury (2)	52,214*	28,487
Measures—		
Giving sheriffs control of county prisoners (3)	60,443*	30,033
Requiring railroads to give public officials free passes (3)	28,856	59,406

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Appropriating $100,000.00 for building armories (3)	33,507	54,848
Increasing annual appropriation for University of Oregon from $47,500.00 to $125,000.00 (3)	44,115*	40,535
Fishery law proposed by fishwheel operators (2)	46,582*	40,720
Fishery law proposed by gillnet operators (2)	56,130*	30,280
Instructing legislators to vote for people's choice for United States senator (2)	69,668*	21,162
Corrupt practices act governing elections (2)	54,042*	31,301
Creating Hood River county (2)	43,948*	26,778

GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 8, 1910

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 120,248)

Constitutional amendments—		
Permitting female taxpayers to vote (2)	35,270	59,065
Providing separate district for election of each state senator and representative (1)	24,000	54,252
Repealing requirement that all taxes shall be equal and uniform (1)	37,619	40,172
Permitting organized districts to vote bonds for construction of railroads by such districts (1)	32,844	46,070
Authorizing collection of state and county taxes on separate classes of property (1)	31,629	41,692
Permitting people of each county to regulate taxation for county purposes and abolishing poll taxes (2)	44,171*	42,127
Giving cities and towns exclusive power to regulate liquor traffic within their limits (2)	53,321*	50,779
Prohibiting liquor traffic (2)	43,540	61,221
Permitting counties to vote bonds for permanent road improvement (2)	51,275*	32,906
Extending initiative and referendum, making term of members of legislature six years, increasing salaries, requiring proportional representation in legislature, election of president of senate and speaker of house outside of members, etc. (2)	37,031	44,366
Permitting three-fourths verdict in civil cases (2)	44,538*	39,399
Measures—		
Establishing branch insane asylum in Eastern Oregon (1)	50,134*	41,504
Calling convention to revise state constitution (1)	23,143	59,974
Requiring Baker county to pay $1,000.00 a year to circuit judge in addition to his state salary (3)	13,161	71,503
Creating Nesmith county from parts of Lane and Douglas (2)	22,866	60,951
To establish a state normal school at Monmouth (2)	50,191*	40,044
Creating Otis county from parts of Harney, Malheur and Grant (2)	17,426	62,016
Annexing part of Clackamas county to Multnomah (2)	16,250	69,002
Creating Williams county from parts of Lane and Douglas (2)	14,508	64,090
For protection of laborers in hazardous employment, fixing employers' liability, etc. (2)	56,258*	33,943
Creating Orchard county from part of Umatilla (2)	15,664	62,712
Creating Clark county from part of Grant (2)	15,613	61,704
To establish state normal school at Weston (2)	40,898	46,201
To annex part of Washington county to Multnomah (2)	14,047	68,221
To establish state normal school at Ashland (2)	38,473	48,655
Prohibiting the sale of liquors, and regulating shipments of same, and providing for search for liquor (2)	42,651	63,564
Creating board to draft employers' liability law for submission to legislature (2)	32,224	51,719
Prohibiting taking of fish in Rogue river except with hook and line (2)	49,712*	33,397
Creating Deschutes county out of part of Crook (2)	17,592	60,486
Bill for general law under which new counties may be created or boundaries changed (2)	37,129	42,327
Permitting voters in direct primaries to express choice for president and vice-president, to select delegates to national convention and nominate candidates for presidential electors (2)	43,353*	41,624
Creating board of people's inspectors of government, providing for reports of board in Official State Gazette to be mailed to all registered voters bimonthly (2)	29,955	52,538

GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 5, 1912

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 144,113)

Constitutional amendments—		
Woman suffrage amendment (2)	61,265*	57,104
Creating office of lieutenant governor (1)	50,562	61,644
Divorce of local and state taxation (1)	51,852	56,671
Permitting different tax rates on classes of property (1)	52,045	54,483
Repeal of county tax option (1)	63,881*	47,150

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Majority rule on constitutional amendments (1)	32,934	70,325
Double liability on bank stockholders (1)	82,981*	21,738
Majority rule on initiated laws (2)	35,721	68,861
Limiting state road indebtedness (2)	59,452*	43,447
Limiting county road indebtedness (2)	57,258*	43,858
Income tax amendment (2)	52,702	52,948
County road bonding act (2)	38,568	63,481
Abolishing senate; proxy voting; omnibus constitution (2)	31,020	71,183
Statewide single tax with graduated tax provision (2)	31,534	82,015
Measures—		
Statewide public utilities regulation (3)	65,985*	40,956
Creating Cascade county (2)	26,463	71,239
Millage tax for university and agricultural college (2)	48,701	57,279
County bonding and road construction act—Grange bill (2)	49,699	56,713
Creating state highway department—Grange bill (2)	23,872	83,846
Changing date state printer bill becomes effective (2)	34,793	69,542
Creating office of hotel inspector (2)	16,910	91,995
Eight hour day of public works (2)	64,508*	48,078
Blue sky law (2)	48,765	57,293
Prohibiting private employment of convicts (2)	73,800*	37,492
Relating to employment of county and city prisoners (2)	71,367*	37,731
State road bonding act (2)	30,897	75,590
County bonding act (2)	43,611	60,210
Providing method for consolidating cities and creating new counties (2)	40,199	56,992
Tax exemption on household effects (2)	60,357*	51,826
Tax exemption on moneys and credits (2)	42,491	66,540
Revising inheritance tax laws (2)	38,609	63,839
Freight rates act (2)	58,306*	45,534
Abolishing capital punishment (2)	41,951	64,578
Prohibiting boycotting (2)	49,826	60,560
Giving mayor authority to control street speaking (2)	48,987	62,532
Appropriation for university (3)	29,437	78,985
Appropriation for university (3)	27,310	79,376
Single tax, Clackamas county (2)	1,827	3,787
Single tax, Coos county (2)	1,113	1,909
Prohibiting building of courthouse in Harney county before 1916 (2)	778*	391
To establish a national bank in Jackson county (2)	1,975	2,379
Making Port of Portland commission elective (2)	13,931	18,668
Single tax, Multnomah county (2)	11,146	23,901
Abolishing Wallowa county high school (2)	1,031*	655

SPECIAL REFERENDUM ELECTION NOVEMBER 4, 1913

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 102,276)

Measures—		
State university building repair fund (3)	56,659*	40,600
State university new building appropriation (3)	53,569*	43,014
Sterilization act (3)	41,767	53,319
County attorney act (3)	54,179*	38,159
Workmen's compensation act (3)	67,814*	28,608

GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 3, 1914

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 259,868)

Constitutional amendments—		
Requiring voters to be citizens of the United States (1)	164,879*	39,847
Creating office of lieutenant governor (1)	52,040	143,804
Permitting certain city and county boundaries to be made identical and governments consolidated (1)	77,392	103,194
Permitting state to create an indebtedness not to exceed 2 per cent of assessed valuation for irrigation and power projects and development of untilled lands (1)	49,759	135,550
Omitting requirement that "All taxation shall be equal and uniform" (1)	59,206	116,490
Changing existing rule of uniformity and equality of taxation—authorizing classification of property for taxation purposes (1)	52,362	122,704
Enabling incorporated municipalities to surrender charters and to be merged into adjoining city or town (1)	96,116*	77,671
Providing compensation for members of legislature at five dollars per day (1)	41,087	146,278
Universal constitutional eight-hour-day amendment (2)	49,360	167,888
$1,500.00 tax exemption amendment (2)	65,495	136,193
Public docks and water frontage amendment (2)	67,128	114,564
Prohibition constitutional amendment (2)	136,842*	100,362
Abolishing death penalty (2)	100,552*	100,395
Specific personal graduated extra-tax amendment of Article IX Oregon constitution (2)	59,186	124,943
County officers term amendment (2)	82,841	107,039

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Proportional representation amendment to Oregon constitituon (2)	39,740	137,116
State senate constitutional amendment (2)	62,376	123,429
Department of industry and public works amendment (2)	57,859	126,201
Equal assessment and taxation and $300.00 exemption (2)	43,280	140,507
Measures—		
To establish state normal school at Ashland (1)	84,041	109,643
To establish state normal school at Weston (1)	87,450	105,345
Eight-hour day and room-ventilation law for female workers (2)	88,480	120,296
Nonpartisan judiciary bill prohibiting part nominations for judicial officers (2)	74,323	107,263
Municipal wharves and docks bill (2)	67,110	111,113
Consolidating corporation and insurance departments (2)	55,469	120,154
Dentistry bill (2)	92,722	110,404
A tax code commission bill (2)	34,436	143,468
Abolishing desert land board and reorganizing certain state offices (2)	32,701	143,366
Primary delegate election bill (2)	25,058	153,638
Harney county jackrabbit bounty bill (2)	1,156*	793
Local measure readjusting salaries of Hood River county officials(2)	1,502*	678

GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 7, 1916

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 269,057)

Constitutional amendments—		
Single item veto amendment (1)	141,773*	53,207
Ship tax exemption amendment (1)	119,652*	65,410
Negro and mulatto suffrage amendment (1)	100,027	100,701
Full rental value land tax and homemakers' loan fund amendment (2)	43,390	154,980
For Pendleton normal school and ratifying location state institutions (2)	96,829	109,523
Permitting manufacture and regulated sale four per cent malt liquors (2)	85,973	140,599
Prohibition amendment forbidding importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes (2)	114,932*	109,671
Rural credits amendment (2)	107,488*	83,887
Statewide tax and indebtedness limitation amendment (2)	99,536*	84,031
Measures—		
Anti-compulsory vaccination bill (2)	99,745	100,119
Bill repealing and abolishing the Sunday closing law (2)	125,836*	93,076
Crook county—Crook county rabbit and sage rat bounty bill (2)	2,500*	1,055
Crook county—Bend for county seat bill (2)	1,126	2,441
Harney county—Harney county two mile limit law against sheep(2)	723	1,342
Harney county—Bill abolishing Harney county high school (2)	637	1,445
Jefferson county—Madras for county seat bill (2)	839*	514
Jefferson county—Metolius for county seat bill (2)	448	1,028
Klamath county—County maintenance of Klamath Commercial club of Klamath Falls, Oregon (2)	1,275	1,423
Lake county—Lake county rabbit bounty bill (2)	1,049*	589

SPECIAL ELECTION JUNE 4, 1917

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 148,366)

Constitutional amendments—		
Authorizing ports to create limited indebtedness to encourage water transportation (1)	67,445*	54,864
Limiting number of bills introduced and increasing pay of legislators (1)	22,276	103,238
Declaration against implied repeal of constitutional provisions by amendments thereto (1)	37,187	72,445
Uniform tax classification amendment (1)	62,118*	53,245
Requiring election city, town and state officers at same time (1)	83,630*	42,296
Measures—		
Four hundred thousand dollar tax levy for a new penitentiary (1)	46,666	86,165
Six million dollar state road bond issue and highway bill (1)	77,316*	63,803

GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 5, 1918

(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 157,964)

Constitutional amendment—		
Establishing and maintaining Southern and Eastern Oregon normal schools (1)	49,935	66,070
Measures—		
Establishing dependent, delinquent and defective children's home, appropriating money therefor (1)	43,441	65,299
Prohibiting seine and setnet fishing in Rogue river and tributaries (3)	45,511	50,227
Closing the Willamette river to commercial fishing south of Oswego (3)	55,555*	40,908

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Delinquent tax notice bill (2)	66,652*	41,594
Fixing compensation for publication of legal notices (2)	50,073*	41,816
Authorizing increase in amount of levy of state taxes for the year 1919†	41,364	56,974
SPECIAL ELECTION JUNE 3, 1919		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 90,877)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Six per cent county indebtedness for permanent roads amendment (1)	49,728*	33,531
Industrial and reconstruction hospital amendment (1)	38,204	40,707
State bond payment of irrigation and drainage district bond interest (1)	43,010*	35,948
Five million dollar reconstruction bonding amendment (1)	39,130	40,580
Lieutenant governor constitutional amendment (1)	32,653	46,861
Measures—		
The Roosevelt coast military highway bill (1)	56,966*	29,159
Reconstruction bonding bill (1)	37,294	42,792
Soldiers', sailors' and marines' educational financial aid bill (1)	49,158*	33,513
Market roads tax bill (1)	53,191*	28,039
SPECIAL GENERAL ELECTION, MAY 21, 1920		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 171,592)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Extending eminent domain over roads and ways (1)	100,256*	35,655
Limitation of four per cent state indebtedness for permanent roads (1)	93,392*	46,084
Restoring capital punishment (1)	81,756*	64,589
Crook and Curry counties bonding amendment (1)	72,378*	36,699
Successor to governor (1)	78,241*	56,946
Measures—		
Higher educational tax act (1)	102,722*	46,577
Soldiers', sailors' and marines' educational aid revenue bill (1)	91,294*	50,482
State elementary school fund tax (1)	110,263*	39,593
Blind school tax measure (1)	115,337*	30,739
GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 2, 1920		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 247,899)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Compulsory voting and registration (1)	61,258	131,603
Regulating legislative sessions and the payment of legislators (1)	80,342	85,524
Single tax (2)	37,283	147,426
Fixing term of certain county officers (2)	97,854*	80,983
Anti-compulsory vaccination (2)	63,018	127,570
Fixing legal rate of interest in Oregon (2)	28,976	158,673
Divided legislative session (2)	57,791	101,179
Measures—		
Oleomargarine bill (3)	67,101	119,126
Port of Portland dock commission consolidation (2)	80,493	84,830
Roosevelt bird refuge (2)	78,961	107,383
State market commission (2)	51,605	119,464
Umatilla county herd law (2)	4,490*	2,132
SPECIAL ELECTION, JUNE 7, 1921		
(Total number of electors voting as shown by poll books, 130,466)		
Constitutional amendments—		
Legislative regulation and compensation amendment (1)	42,924	72,596
World war veterans' state aid fund, constitutional amendment (1)	88,219*	37,866
Emergency clause veto constitutional amendment (1)	62,621*	45,537
Measures—		
Hygienic marriage examination and license bill (1)	56,858	65,793
Women jurors and revised jury law (1)	59,882*	59,265

†Submitted by state tax commission under chapter 150, Laws 1917.

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III

VOTES FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, CAST AT THE GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 2, 1920

County	Harding, Republican	Cox, Democrat	Watkins, Prohibition	Debs, Socialist	Cox, Industrial Labor
Baker	3,495	2,171	78	179	38
Benton	3,752	1,719	89	86	17
Clackamas	6,928	3,740	179	706	86
Clatsop	3,498	1,687	56	397	59
Columbia	2,007	970	58	173	54
Coos	3,272	2,297	96	485	55
Crook	872	528	23	40	10
Curry	599	280	10	91	4
Deschutes	1,649	1,072	45	230	44
Douglas	4,402	2,428	97	334	54
Gilliam	821	498	14	18	4
Grant	1,310	497	18	77	8
Harney	1,026	479	18	76	23
Hood River	1,449	761	63	122	22
Jackson	4,382	2,503	135	247	59
Jefferson	623	300	37	38	14
Josephine	1,606	819	34	99	23
Klamath	2,742	901	35	164	65
Lake	1,136	358	13	59	10
Lane	7,714	3,986	232	457	58
Lincoln	1,229	669	28	140	14
Linn	4,693	3,177	180	264	41
Malheur	2,352	1,075	47	123	23
Marion	8,798	3,831	287	327	55
Morrow	1,186	451	24	57	7
Multnomah	44,806	27,607	846	3,488	427
Polk	2,709	1,653	97	123	12
Sherman	893	423	13	30	3
Tillamook	1,664	828	49	165	31
Umatilla	4,979	3,255	108	196	42
Union	2,844	1,899	70	173	34
Wallowa	1,612	896	44	100	22
Wasco	2,698	1,434	58	122	22
Washington	4,947	2,262	133	255	44
Wheeler	797	212	16	11	5
Yamhill	4,102	2,353	265	149	26
Total	143,592	80,019	3,595	9,801	1,515

IV

UNITED STATES COURTS

Circuit Judges—William B. Gilbert, Portland, appointed March 18, 1892; Erskine M. Ross, Los Angeles, California, appointed February 22, 1895; William W. Morrow, San Francisco, California, appointed May 20, 1897; William H. Hunt, Washington, D. C., appointed January 31, 1911, and designated to serve three years on the interstate commerce court.

*District Judges—Charles E. Wolverton, Portland, qualified December 5, 1905; Robert S. Bean, Portland, qualified May 3, 1909.

Clerk, District Court—George H. Marsh, Portland, appointed August 4, 1914.

United States Attorney—Lester W. Humphreys, Portland, appointed November 19, 1919.

United States Marshal—Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Portland, appointed August 18, 1921.

Referee in Bankruptcy—A. M. Cannon, Portland, appointed August 10, 1914.

*Mathew P. Deady, qualified May 16, 1859, and upon his death was succeeded by Charles B. Bellinger, who qualified May 1, 1893, and who was after his death succeeded by Judge Wolverton.

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V

COUNTIES OF OREGON

Statement giving the name, date created, from what county or counties taken, and derivation of name. (Compiled by Secretary of State.)

County	Date Created	From What County or Counties Taken	Named for
Baker.....	Sept. 22, 1862	Wasco county	Col. E. D. Baker, senator from Oregon.
Benton.....	Dec. 23, 1847	Polk county	Senator T. H. Benton, of Missouri.
Clackamas.....	July 5, 1843	Part of original district	Clackamas Indian nation.
Clatsop.....	June 22, 1844	Part of original Tuality district	Clatsop Indian nation.
Columbia.....	Jan. 16, 1854	Washington county	Columbia river.
Coos.....	Dec. 22, 1853	Umpqua and Jackson counties	There are a number of derivations suggested for this name with little certainty concerning any of them. Some think it was named after a tribe of Indians of the Kusan family; others believe that the name was derived from the Couse plant; still others contend that it was named for Coos county, New Hampshire.
Crook.....	Oct. 24, 1882	Wasco county	Major General George Crook.
Curry.....	Dec. 18, 1855	Coos county	Governor George L. Curry.
Deschutes....	Dec. 13, 1916	Crook county	Deschutes river. Deschutes river was named "Riviere Des Chutes," French for River of the Falls.
Douglas.....	Jan. 7, 1852	Umpqua county	Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois.
Gilliam.....	Feb. 25, 1885	Wasco and Umatilla counties	Col. Cornelius Gilliam, killed in the Cayuse war.
Grant.....	Oct. 14, 1864	Wasco and Umatilla counties	General U. S. Grant.
Harney.....	Feb. 25, 1889	Grant county	General Wm. S. Harney. Harney lake was named many years before Harney county was named, and the name was undoubtedly given to the county because Harney lake was situated therein.
Hood River...	June 23, 1908	Wasco county	Hood river. Hood river was named for Mt. Hood, which was in turn named for an English admiral, Lord Hood.
Jackson.....	Jan. 12, 1852	Part of original Yamhill and Champoeg districts	General Andrew Jackson.
Jefferson.....	Dec. 12, 1914	Crook county	Mount Jefferson. Mt. Jefferson was named for President Thomas Jefferson and the name was undoubtedly given to Jefferson county because Mt. Jefferson is on its western boundary.
Josephine.....	Jan. 22, 1856	Jackson county	Josephine Rollins, daughter of a miner.
Klamath.....	Oct. 17, 1882	Lake county	Klamath lakes. Klamath lakes were named for the Klamath Indians who live on the shores.
Lake.....	Oct. 24, 1874	Wasco county	Numerous lakes therein.
Lane.....	Jan. 28, 1851	Part of original district	General Joseph Lane, territorial governor of Oregon.
Lincoln.....	Feb. 20, 1893	Benton and Polk counties	President Abraham Lincoln.
Linn.....	Dec. 28, 1847	Part of original district	Dr. Lewis F. Linn, senator from Missouri.
Malheur.....	Feb. 17, 1887	Baker county	Malheur river. Malheur river received its name from certain Hudson's Bay Company men because the Indians stole goods and furs from a cache made near the river. The word is French, meaning "evil hour" or "misfortune."
Marion.....	July 5, 1843	Name changed from "Champoeg" on Sept. 3, 1849.	General Francis Marion.
Morrow.....	Feb. 16, 1885	Umatilla county	J. L. Morrow, an early resident.

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Multnomah...	Dec. 22, 1854	Washington and Clackamas counties	Multnomah Indian nation. The name Multnomah was applied by Captain Wm. Clark to part of the Willamette river near its mouth and to a small Indian group that lived nearby.
Polk.....	Dec. 22, 1845	Part of original Yamhill district	President James K. Polk.
Sherman.....	Feb. 25, 1889	Wasco county	General W. T. Sherman
Tillamook....	Dec. 15, 1853	Yamhill and Clatsop counties	Tillamook Indian nation.
Umatilla.....	Sept. 27, 1862	Wasco county	Umatilla river. There is a contention that there never was such a tribe as the Umatilla Indians and that the real derivation of this name was from the river. It seems certain, however, that the settlers referred to the Indians as the Umatillas during the fifties. The river is first mentioned, in Irving's Astoria as Eu-o-tal-la or Umatalla, and as the Utalah by Franchere.
Union.....	Oct. 14, 1864	Baker county	United States.
Wallowa.....	Feb. 11, 1887	Union county	Wallowa lake and river. The term Wallowa is probably a Nez Percés word indicating a small pole fishtrap near the mouth of Wallowa lake.
Wasco.....	Jan. 11, 1854	Originally embraced all of Oregon east of Cascade range	A small Indian nation.
Washington...	July 5, 1843	Name changed from "Tuality," on Sept. 3, 1849	President Washington.
Wheeler.....	Feb. 17, 1899	Crook, Grant and Gilliam counties	H. H. Wheeler, an early resident.
Yamhill.....	July 5, 1843	Part of original district.	Probably for an Indian tribe, first spoken of in Henry's Journal (1814) as the "Yamhelas from Yellow river."

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VI

POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS (1922)

Congressional Districts

First District—Benton, Clackamas, Clatsop, Columbia, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Lane, Lincoln, Linn, Marion, Polk, Tillamook, Washington, Yamhill.

Second District—Baker, Crook, Deschutes, Gilliam, Grant, Harney, Hood River, Jefferson, Klamath, Lake, Malheur, Morrow, Sherman, Umatilla, Union, Wallowa, Wasco, Wheeler.

Third District—Multnomah.

Public Service Commissioner Districts

District Composed of the Counties Lying West of the Cascade Mountains—Benton, Clackamas, Clatsop, Columbia, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Lane, Lincoln, Linn, Marion, Multnomah, Polk, Tillamook, Washington, Yamhill.

District Composed of the Counties Lying East of the Cascade Mountains—Baker, Crook, Deschutes, Gilliam, Grant, Harney, Hood River, Jefferson, Klamath, Lake, Malheur, Morrow, Sherman, Umatilla, Union, Wallowa, Wasco, Wheeler.

Judicial Districts—

First District—
Jackson, Josephine

Second District—
Benton, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Lane, Lincoln

Third District—
Linn, Marion

Fourth District—
Multnomah

Fifth District—
Clackamas

Sixth District—
Morrow, Umatilla

Seventh District—
Hood River, Wasco

Eighth District—
Baker

Ninth District—
Grant, Harney, Malheur

Tenth District—
Union, Wallowa

Eleventh District—
Gilliam, Sherman, Wheeler

Twelfth District—
Polk, Yamhill

Thirteenth District—
Klamath

Fourteenth District—
Lake

Eighteenth District—
Crook, Deschutes, Jefferson

Nineteenth District—
Tillamook, Washington

Twentieth District—
Clatsop, Columbia

Senatorial Districts

First District—
Marion

Second District—
Linn

Third District—
Lane

Fourth District
Linn, Lane

Fifth District—
Douglas

Sixth District—
Jackson

Seventh District—
Josephine

Eighth District—
Coos, Curry

Ninth District—
Benton, Polk

Tenth District—
Yamhill

Eleventh District—
Washington

Twelfth District—
Clackamas

Thirteenth District—
Multnomah

Fourteenth District—
Clackamas, Columbia, Multnomah

Fifteenth District—
Clatsop

Sixteenth District—
Wasco, Hood River

Seventeenth District—
Crook, Deschutes, Jefferson, Klamath, Lake

Eighteenth District—
Gilliam, Sherman, Wheeler

Nineteenth District—
Morrow, Umatilla, Union

Twentieth District—
Umatilla

Twenty-first District—
Union, Wallowa

Twenty-second District—
Grant, Harney, Malheur

Twenty-third District—
Baker

Twenty-fourth District—
Lincoln, Tillamook, Washington, Yamhill

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REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS—

First District—
Marion
Second District—
Linn
Third District—
Lane
Fourth District—
Douglas
Fifth District—
Coos
Sixth District—
Coos, Curry
Seventh District—
Josephine
Eighth District—
Jackson
Ninth District—
Hood River
Tenth District—
Benton
Eleventh District—
Polk
Twelfth District—
Wasco
Thirteenth District—
Yamhill
Fourteenth District—
Lincoln, Polk
Fifteenth District—
Washington
Sixteenth District—
Clackamas
Seventeenth District—
Malheur
Eighteenth District—
Multnomah
Nineteenth District—
Clatsop
Twentieth District—
Columbia
Twenty-first District—
Crook, Deschutes, Jefferson, Klamath, Lake
Twenty-second District—
Morrow, Umatilla
Twenty-third District—
Umatilla
Twenty-fourth District—
Union, Wallowa
Twenty-fifth District—
Union
Twenty-sixth District—
Baker
Twenty-seventh District—
Grant, Harney
Twenty-eighth District—
Gilliam, Sherman, Wheeler
Twenth-ninth District—
Tillamook
Thirtieth District—
Clackamas, Multnomah

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TABLE

Showing the several county seats and political districts in which each county of the state is situated (1922)

County	County Seat	Congressional District	Judicial District	Public Service Commissioner District (1)	Senatorial District	Representative District
Baker	Baker	2nd	8th	E	23rd	26th
Benton	Corvallis	1st	2nd	W	*9th	10th
Clackamas	Oregon City	1st	5th	W	*14th, 12th	*30th, 16th
Clatsop	Astoria	1st	20th	W	15th	19th
Columbia	St. Helens	1st	20th	W	*14th	20th
Coos	Coquille	1st	2nd	W	*8th	*6th, 5th
Crook	Prineville	2nd	18th	E	*17th	*21st
Curry	Gold Beach	1st	2nd	W	*18th	*6th
Deschutes	Bend	2nd	18th	E	17th	*21st
Douglas	Roseburg	1st	2nd	W	5th	4th
Gilliam	Condon	2nd	11th	E	*18th	*28th
Grant	Canyon City	2nd	9th	E	*22nd	*27th
Harney	Burns	2nd	9th	E	*22nd	*27th
Hood River	Hood River	2nd	7th	E	*16th	9th
Jackson	Jacksonville	1st	1st	W	6th	8th
Jefferson	Madras	2nd	18th	E	*17th	*21st
Josephine	Grants Pass	1st	1st	W	7th	7th
Klamath	Klamath Falls	2nd	13th	E	*17th	*21st
Lake	Lakeview	2nd	14th	E	*17th	*21st
Lane	Eugene	1st	2nd	W	*4th, 3rd	3rd
Lincoln	Toledo	1st	2nd	W	*24th	*14th
Linn	Albany	1st	3rd	W	*4th, 2nd	2nd
Malheur	Vale	2nd	9th	E	*22nd	17th
Marion	Salem	1st	3rd	W	1st	1st
Morrow	Heppner	2nd	6th	E	19th	*22nd
Multnomah	Portland	3rd	4th	W	*14th, 13th	*30th, 18th
Polk	Dallas	1st	12th	W	*9th	*14th, 11th
Sherman	Moro	2nd	11th	E	*18th	*28th
Tillamook	Tillamook	1st	19th	W	*24th	29th
Umatilla	Pendleton	2nd	6th	E	*19th, 20th	*22nd, 23rd
Union	La Grande	2nd	10th	E	*19th, *21st	*24th, 25th
Wallowa	Enterprise	2nd	10th	E	*21st	*24th
Wasco	The Dalles	2nd	7th	E	*16th	12th
Washington	Hillsboro	1st	19th	W	11th, *24th	15th
Wheeler	Fossil	2nd	11th	E	*18th	*28th
Yamhill	McMinnville	1st	12th	W	10th, *24th	13th

*Joint. (1) E indicates in district composed of counties lying east of the Cascade mountains, and W indicates in district composed of counties lying west of the Cascade mountains.

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VII

IMPORTANT DATES RELATING TO OREGON HISTORY

1513 Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
1520 Magellan sails through the straits.
1539 Ulloa's voyage to 28° north.
1542 Cabrillo follows California coast line.
1579 Sir Francis Drake names New Albion.
1602–3 Viscainõ's voyage; d'Aguillar reports a river near where Columbia was afterward discovered.
1728 Bering discovers straits between the continents.
1741 Bering and Cherikoff sail along Alaskan coast.
1765 First known use of name Oregon or Ouragon, by Major Robert Rogers.
1774 Perez reaches 54° 40′ North, and discovers Nootka Sound.
1775 Heceta's voyage, passes Columbia River.
1778 Captain Cook's visit, begins fur trade on coast.
1778 Carver's Travels published, with maps, using the name Oregon.
1787 Barkley discovers Strait of Juan de Fuca.
1789–90 Nootka Sound controversy begins.
1792–4 Vancouver maps the northwest coast.
1792 Captain Robert Gray discovers Columbia River.
1793 Mackenzie first to reach the Pacific overland.
1803 Louisiana purchased from France.
1804–6 Lewis and Clark expedition overland to the mouth of Columbia River.
1810 Winship Brothers attempt settlement on Columbia.
1811 Astor fort established near mouth of Columbia.
1811 Tonquin disaster; Fort Okanogan founded.
1813 Astoria becomes Fort George under British flag.
1814 Treaty of Ghent closing war with Great Britain.
1818 Astoria returned to United States. Old Fort Walla Walla founded by North West Company.
1818 First Joint-Occupancy Treaty with Great Britain.
1819 Treaty with Spain fixing northern boundary of California at 42° north.
1824 American treaty with Russia limiting latter's southern boundary at 54° 40′ north.
1825 Fort Vancouver, on Columbia, founded by Hudson's Bay Company.
1829 Location at Willamette Falls (Oregon City) by the Company.
1827 Second Joint-Occupancy Treaty with Great Britain.
1828 Jedediah S. Smith enters Oregon from California.
1830 First wagons in Rocky Mountains at head of Wind River.
1832 Captain Wyeth reaches Vancouver overland.
1833 Fort Nisqually established on Puget Sound.
1834 Fort Hall established in Southern Idaho.
1834 Methodist Mission in Willamette Valley established under Jason Lee.
1836 Whitman and Spalding Missions established.
1841 Pioneer settlers cross plains to Oregon; first steps toward local government.
1842 Whitman hurries east to save his Mission.
1843 Great immigration; first wagons westward from Fort Hall.
1843 Provisional Government begun, May second.
1844 First house erected in Portland.
1845 Reorganized Provisional Government.
1846 Treaty with Great Britain establishes Oregon title and defines northern boundary at 49° north. (Concluded June 15; proclaimed by President August 5, 1846.)
1847 Whitman massacre; Cayuse war.
1848 California gold discovery.
1849 Oregon Territory established (August 14, 1848). Began its government March 3, 1849.
1850 Steamship mail service from San Francisco to Columbia River established.
1851 Portland is incorporated.
1853 Washington Territory established; Pacific railroad surveys authorized.
1853–9 Indian Wars.
1857 Constitutional Convention at Salem, August and September. (Ratified by popular vote on the second Monday of November.)
1859 Oregon admitted as a State (February 14, 1859). Propositions of Congress accepted by the State June 3, 1859.
1863 Idaho Territory established.
1864 Montana Territory established. Through telegraph line between Portland and California points completed.
1868 Railroad building Oregon to California begun. First cargo of wheat shipped to foreign parts.

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1869 Union and Central Pacific Railroads connected, May 10.
1872 Modoc Indian War.
1873 Great fire at Portland.
1877 Nez Percés Indian War.
1878 Bannock Indian War.
1883 Northern Pacific last spike celebration September 8; Oregon Railway and Navigation line connected at Ainsworth. (Completed to Huntington, 1884.)
1884 Railroad south from Portland reaches Ashland, May 5. (Completed December 7, 1887.)
1898 Oregon troops in first military expedition to the Philippines.
1905. Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition at Portland.
1907 Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway constructed.
1913 South Jetty at Mouth of Columbia river completed.
1917 North Jetty completed; forty-two feet at mean low water at the mouth of Columbia river
1917 Mobilization of Oregon Guard, March 25; war declared, April 6th.
1918 Armistice signed, November 11th.

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VIII

WORLD WAR

OREGON DEATH ROLL—NAVY

From the Records of the Adjutant General's Office, as of December 27, 1921

Name	Residence	Cause of Death not Shown on Records Furnished by Navy Dept., except as Indicated
Appleby, Rex	Milwaukee, Oregon	Died.
Armstrong, Robert	Baker, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
Ash, Frances Gene	Medford, Oregon	Died.
Bailey, Pleas Earl	Jacksonville, Oregon	Died.
Barton, Ubert Sumner	Portland, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
Bessey, Alden Erastus	Marshfield, Oregon	Died.
Braak, Reinhard Orth	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Broders, Roy Raymond	Corvallis, Oregon	Died.
Burleson, Perry Olney	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Butcher, Charles Ernest	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Bruce, Frank William	Oregon City, Oregon	Died.
Brumbaugh, Basil Floyd	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Brunswick, August Francis	Banks, Oregon	Died.
Crow, Riley Thomas	Lorane, Oregon	Died.
Campbell, Dale Vern	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Carlile, Herman James	Eugene, Oregon	Died at sea.
Drewery, Lorenzo Willows	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Fish, Cornie William	Wedderburn, Oregon	Died.
Frahm, Gustav Friedrich	Beckley, Oregon	Died.
Gaynor, Edward John	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Geertsen, Clarence Eugene	Union, Oregon	Died.
Glover, William Powers	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Gunnison, Harry R. Fitzhogue	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Hadley, Harvey Lockard	Sheridan, Oregon	Died.
Hanson, Lloyd Christopher	Oregon City, Oregon	Killed in collision.
Hemphill, Nelson Eugene	Medford, Oregon	Died.
Hendrickson, Carl Herbert	Orion, Canada	Died.
Hickerson, Harold	Salem, Oregon	Died.
Hoeye, Emerson	Oregon City, Oregon	Died.
Hunt, Charles David	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Hunt, Earle M	Salem, Oregon	Died.
Johnson, Grant Lee	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Jones, Earl Leon	Montavilla, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
Kasch, Earl	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Keady, Kenneth William	Waldport, Oregon	Died.
Kent, John Lowell	Park Place, Oregon	Died.
Kingsbury, Frederick Kittredge	Eugene, Oregon	Died.
Lange, William Arthur	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Lane, Albert	Post, Oregon	Died.
Lillegard, Elmer Hedean	Hillsboro, Oregon	Died.
Lopp, Perry Thornton	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Lovelace, Fred Jones	Wilderville, Oregon	Died.
McFarland, Leroy	McMinnville, Oregon	Died.
McKelvey, Lucius Sinclair	Portland, Oregon	Died.
McNelly, Eugene Franklin	North Portland, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
Mills, George Nelson	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Minker, Clarence Stanley	Salem, Oregon	Died.
Morgan, James	Harrisburg, Oregon	Died.
Myers, Clair Edgar	Pendleton, Oregon	Died.
Neiger, John Herman	Salem, Oregon	Died.
Nitschke, Frederick Werner	The Dalles, Oregon	Died.
Norman, Wendell Hill	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Nulton, Fred	Portland, Oregon	Died.
O'Shea, Henry Leo	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Pinchett, Zip Edward	Newberg, Oregon	Died.
Porter, William I	Portland, Oregon	Died at sea.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death not Shown on Records Furnished by Navy Dept., except as Indicated
Presley, David Elmer	Heppner, Oregon	Died.
Reddick, Loran Chadrick	Clatskanie, Oregon	Died.
Remers, Walter	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Robbins, Chester Monroe	Haines, Oregon	Died.
Ross, John Aaron	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Scherrer, Walter	The Dallas, Oregon	Died.
Shreve, John Donald	Hood River, Oregon	Died.
Smith, William Redmayne	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Sommerhause, Edward Francis	Lostine, Oregon	Died at sea.
Steward, James Harper	Wolf Creek, Oregon	Died.
Stewart, George Kenneth	Sherwood, Oregon	Died.
Sullens, James Lyman	Prairie City, Oregon	Died.
Thompson, Edwin Olander	Toledo, Oregon	Died.
Timmerman, Claude Dean	Hood River, Oregon	Died.
Titus, Neil Niesz	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Tolle, Louis Edward	Merrill, Oregon	Died.
Trachsel, John	Hillsboro, Oregon	Died.
Tracy, Irving Ellis	Canyon City, Oregon	Died.
Venable, Alvia	Wasco, Oregon	Died.
Vernaux, Eugene	Portland, Oregon	Died.
Wassom, Grant Grover	Harrisburg, Oregon	Died.
West, Andrew Benny	Clatskanie, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
West, James Alexander	Clatskanie, Oregon	Lost on Cyclops.
White, Leland Leonidious	Port Orford, Oregon	Died at sea.
Wilson, Charles Laroy	Ontario, Oregon	Died.
Wyman, Fred Earl	Shelburn, Oregon	Died.
Yandle, Harry	Portland Oregon	Died.

OREGON DEATH ROLL—MARINE CORPS

(From records of the Adjutant General's Office as of December 27, 1921)

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Ashworth, John Denham	Springfield, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Bartlett, Emery Augustus	Salem, Oregon	Died of Wounds.
Bennett, Thomas	Rose Lodge, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Bingham, Merle Campbell	Oregon City, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Bollack, Edmund Carll	712½ Kearney St., Portland, Ore.	Died of Wounds.
Casteel, John Lou	Ukiah, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Carpenter, Oates	Forest Grove, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Cecil, Edwin Francis	Eugene, Oregon	Died of Wounds.
Clark, Joseph Charles	Monmouth, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Cook, George Fuson	507 E. Sherman St., Portland, Ore.	Died of Wounds.
Cook, Lester William	Enterprise, Oregon	Died of Disease.
Cunningham, Fred Martin	Eureka, California	nfluenza.
Duke, Jimmie Lewis	Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Eckerlen, Ernest Theodore	Salem, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Edwards, Thomas Louis	Baker City, Oregon	Died Accidental Death.
Farnham, Waldo Harvey	Waterville, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Ford, Robert	Astoria, Oregon	Died of Tuberculosis.
Fountain, James Merle	Waterville, Oregon	Died of Wounds.
Frazer, Rollo Houston	405 Barker Apts., 21st and Irving Sts., Portland, Ore	Killed in Action.
Fry, Lee Lincoln	149 15th St. N., Portland, Ore	Killed in Action.
Gabel, Philip Garfield	1099 Eighth St. N., Portland, Ore.	Killed in Action.
Gibson, John Wesley	Eugene, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Gildemeister, Alfred William	Portland, Oregon	Influenza.
Gilman, Frederick Stinson	Portland, Oregon	Died of Disease.
Gottlieb, William	Hillsboro, Oregon	Died of Tuberculosis.
Greenwood, Herschel	Portland, Oregon	Not given.
Hansen, William	1731 Portsmouth Ave., Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Harlow, Albert Lincoln	Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Harper, Milton James	La Pine, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Hawk, Russel Simon	Derby, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Hoffmeister, William McKinley	Eagle Creek, Oregon	Died of Disease.
Horton, Carl Harvie	Portland, Oregon	Died of Wounds.
Hungate, Shelby	Astoria, Oregon	Died of Disease.

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MARINE CORPS—CONTINUED

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Jacobs, Lester Henry	409 N. Riverside, Medford, Ore.	Killed in Action.
Jones, Henry	Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Knutzen, Werner Kickhefel	Alicel, Oregon	Died of Wounds.
Labonte, Edmond Joseph		Killed in Action.
Linton, Willie	Dallas, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Lynch, Frank James		Killed in Action.
McKay, Leslie Boyd	Baron Hotel, Portland, Ore.	Killed in Action.
McLean, John		Killed in Action.
Manning, Stephen Arnold	287 Williams Ave., Portland, Ore.	Died of Wounds received in Action.
Mauk, Joseph Walter	Portland, Oregon	Died of Disease.
Morgan, Arthur Ray	520 Mountain Ave., Ashland, Ore.	Killed in Action.
Parkton, Otis H	Lebanon, Oregon	Died of Wounds received in Action.
Prohaska, Frank Boyce	Beaverton, Oregon	Died of Wounds received in Action.
Prosser, Fred Ellsworth	Seaside, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Rowden, Fritz	Portland, Oregon	Died of Disease.
Sander, Frederick Edward		Killed in Action.
Scoville, Ernest Jacob	5910 41st St., S. E., Portland, Ore.	Died of Wounds.
Snidow, George Milner	Willamette, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Sutherland, Donald James		Died of Wounds.
Ulrich, Frank Sheldon	Pendleton, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Walpole, Robert Nichols	Corvallis, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Williams, Elmer Harry	Baker, Oregon	Killed in automobile accident while a member of the guard at the Naval Station, Guam.
Williams, Harry Warren	2842 48th Court, Portland, Ore.	Accidental Death.
Winn, Francis Welliver	Wellen, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Young, Vearn William	Baker City, Oregon	Died of Wounds received in Action.

OREGON DEATH ROLL—ARMY

(From the records of the Adjutant General's Office, as of December 27, 1921)

MULTNOMAH COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Abercrombie, Charles H	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Ackley, Harry R	Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Adams, John Carner	Portland, Oregon	Killed in Action.
Airka, Henry	Portland, Oregon	Accidental wound, brain.
Aldrich, Joseph M	Portland, Oregon	Hemorrhage.
Anderson, Carl A	860 Overlook St., Portland	Typhoid fever.
Anderson, Ransom S	660 Poplar St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Anderson, Thomas K	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Aubuchon, Thomas F	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Baker, William S	Portland, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Ball, Addison M. W	247 Halsey St. E., Portland	Killed in action.
Barnes, Bert H	115 E. 69th St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Barnhart, John W	4128 64th St. S. E., Portland	Killed in action.
Barrett, Gerald J	266 21st St. N., Portland	Killed by train.
Barron, Robert J	634 Wasco St., Portland	Accidental drowning.
Beaver, Roland	546 E. 27th St., Portland	Meningitis.
Belanger, Denis	Portland, Oregon	Broncho peneumonia.
Benson, Leonard G	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Berglund, Fred J	512 N. 24th St., Portland	Wounds.
Bertsch, Charles	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Blackwell, Rolan H	759 E. Couch St., Portland	Lobar pneumonia.
Boost, John C	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Bowers, Lewis Nelson	Multnomah, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Boyer, Fred E	491 East 67th St. N., Portland	Pneumonia.
Bradshaw, William H	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
Branson, Lewis L	Princess Hotel, Portland	Killed in action.
Brittain, Kenneth E	228½ Wash St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Broomfield, Hugh D. G	527 Tacoma Ave., Portland	Killed in action.
Brotherton, Ernest L	530 Davis St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Brown, Chester W	150 E. 36th St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Brown, James P	Portland, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Bucknum, Paul E	105½ 12th St., Portland	Wounds.
Bullard, Harlie M	555 Taylor St., Portland	Accidentally killed.
Califf, Carlton L	Portland, Oregon	Injury.

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MULTNOMAH COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Cannon, Fred	Portland, Oregon	Peritonitis.
Casey, William A	Portland, Oregon	Influenza.
Casper, George D	493 Vancouver Ave., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Castiglione, Guiseppe	280 1st St., Portland	Wounds.
Christensen, Alfred	Lents, Oregon	Wounds.
Closterman, Albert M	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Clough, Arthur P	383 N. 21st St., Portland	Killed in action.
Cobb, Earl S	660 E. 24th St., N. Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Cole, Hiram I	Portland, Oregon	Cerebral Hemorrhage.
Cole, Walter H	6415 70th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Conner, William M	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Coon, Clarence E	Portland, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Cramps, Floyd M	93 N. 6th St., Portland	Killed by R. R. Train.
Croft, Mason	Portland, Oregon	Drowning.
Cronquist, Arthur J	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Cruikshank, Eric M	5522 65th St. S. E., Portland	Lobar pneumonia.
Denney, Malcolm J	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
DeRosa, Emiddio	634 4th St., Portland	Killed in action.
DeSantis, Anibale	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Deuchar, William F., Jr	Portland, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Dixon, Joseph H	8 E. 14th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Dokken, Eddie E	251 Couch St., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Dorr, Donald E	Apost. F. M., Portland	Killed in action.
Dosch, Roswell H	Hillsdale, Oregon	Disease.
Duncan, Thomas E	352 E. 14th St., Portland	Wounds.
Dunn, Alexander J	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Eberle, Stephen	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Edwards, Albert W	804 Princeton St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Elston, Thomas H	Portland, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Erickson, Fritz	282½ 2nd St., Portland	Killed in action.
Etter, Sidney S	1295 E. 22nd St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Evans, James L	685 Irving St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Farley, Kenneth C	Cornelius Hotel, Portland	Pneumonia and Influenza.
Farley, Luke A	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Farquhar, John	157 E. Morgan St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Feustal, William F	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Fields, Robert G	510 10th St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Fleischhauer, Walter	58 2nd St., Portland	Killed in action.
Flint, William R	675 Quimby St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Flowers, Orlin G	255 Cherry St., Portland	Not given.
French, Claude A	167 King St., Portland	Lobar Pneumonia.
Frost, Elvin A	Linnton, Oregon	Killed in action.
French, Wayne H	22 W. Simpson St., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Freeman, Stuart	341 12th St., Portland	Railroad accident.
Fry, Lee Lincoln	North Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Fuller, Richard J	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Fulton, Guy K	292 Hancock St., Portland	Lobar Pneumonia.
Fultz, Roy E	603 Holly St., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Gardner, James C	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Granstrom, Arthur L	Portland, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Hamalainen, Andrew	1613 Hessler St., Portland	Not given.
Hammond, York E	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Harman, William L., Jr	1069 Cleveland Ave., Portland	Wounds.
Harris, Clifford O	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Harrison, Benjamin	129 N. 14th St., Portland	Appendicitis.
Hartley, Floyd	Portland, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Hayes, Clarence	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Hayes, William W	916 Lombard St., St. John, Ore	Killed in action.
Hicks, Charles E	Corbett, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Hodges, George D	Portland, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Hoereth, Walter	270½ 4th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Hoggatt, Clyde E	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia and Influenza.
Hokanson, John	Hotel Houston, Portland	Wounds.
Holford, James E	Portland, Oregon	Influenza and Pneumonia.
Hurlburt, Ralph J	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hummel, Fred W	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Jacques, Charles H	1837 Foster St., Portland	Killed in action.
James, Richard T	Portland, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Jensen, John E	1016 E. 32nd St., Portland	Broncho pneumonia.
Johnson, Elbert C	500 Vancouver Ave., Portland	Killed in action.
Johnson, George B	79 W. Humboldt St	Wounds.
Kasten, Frederic	50 N. 15th St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Kardes, Joseph	710 Washington St., Portland	Tuberculosis.

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MULTNOMAH COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Keiser, Harry H	3 Union Ave., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Kelly, John G., Jr	Portland, Oregon	Accident.
Kelly, Remmie I	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Kennedy, Richard M	Portland, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Kessler, Morris	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Kittleson, Norman	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Knecht, William	6131 90th St., S. E	Killed in action.
Knouff, Arthur R	142 Royal Court, Portland	Killed in action.
Kooi, William P	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Kuhl, Paul H	346 E. 42nd St., Portland	Killed in action.
Lahti, William C	927 Superior St., Portland	Double pneumonia.
Lattanzi, Gasper	659 5th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Leavens, Burt D	Portland, Oregon	Fractured skull.
Lee, Bernard J	Arlington Hotel, Portland	Killed in action.
Lindley, Paul	210 S. Broadway Ave., Portland	Measles and Pneumonia.
Linn, James A	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Lloyd, Joseph L	Athens Hotel, Portland	Pneumonia.
MacGregor, Robert	Alder Hotel, Portland	Wounds.
Mahaffey, Benjamin H	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Malarkey, Gerald Alfred	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Maneke, Carl	Portland, Oregon	Not given.
Matson, Albert	381 Gleason St., Portland	Killed in action.
McBride, Lee A	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
McCleverty, John A	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
McClure, Worth D	Portland, Oregon	Airplane accident.
McCulough, McDonald C	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
McCullough, Forrest R	404½ Morrison St., Portland	Mastoiditis.
McDalniel, Homer R	315 N. 22nd St., Portland	Killed in action.
McDonell, Charles E	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
McLean, Archie	Portland, Oregon	Meningitis.
McNorton, Harry W	Portland, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
McNulty, Murle	1397 Delaware Ave., Portland	Aeroplane accident.
Meadows, Lee C	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Meats, George F	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia and influenza.
Mekus, John	115 Broadway, Portland	Meningitis.
Melo y, Henry F	490½ Washington St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Merrill, Fred T., Jr	1104 E. Stark St., Portland	Killed in action.
Miller, Joseph C	Portland, Oregon	Accident.
Mitchell, George Eugene	Navarre Hotel, Portland	Killed in action.
Mitchell, William W	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Moak, Newton E	63 E. 21st St., Portland	Wounds.
Montano, John M	1st and Madison Sts., Portland	Wounds.
Morre, Gale L	4735 58th St., S. E., Portland	Wounds.
Moore, Ray R	Holbrook, Oregon	Chronic Nephritis.
Morin, William P	897 Gantenbein St., Portland	Killed in action.
Morrow, William H	925 E. Davis St., Portland	Killed in action.
Munson, Elias	247 38th St., S. Portland	Pulmonary Tuberculosis.
Neil, Turner	945 Cleveland Ave., Portland	Pneumonia.
Nelson, Joe D	737 Missouri Ave., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Nelson, Walter L	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Nicholson, Ray U	Scotts Mills, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Nield, Earl J	99 E. 46th St., Portland	Drowning.
Ogden, Berton C	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Oliverio, Pedro	568 Hood St., Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
O'Neill, Robert	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Orendorf, William W	Portland, Oregon	Spinal Meningitis.
Palandri, Silvio	240 2nd St., Portland	Killed in action.
Palmer, Harvey Thomas	Multnomah, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Patton, Daniel C	St. John's Station, Portland	Pneumonia.
Parkinson, Charles R	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
Patterson, Chester C	Portland, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Potter, Walter H	Portland, Oregon	Accidentally falling [off train.
Quoidbach, Ipolite	Route A, Box 24, Portland	Pelvic fracture.
Rankin, George	1207 Maryland Ave., Portland	Pneumonia.
Ramstead, Carden P	Euclid Hotel, Portland	Broncho Pneumonia.
Rees, Ralph B	268 E. 50th St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Reily, Emil	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Reilly, Edward S	1213 E. Flanders St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Riccuiti, Alfonso	280 I St., Portland	Killed in action.
Rickman, John H	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Russell, DeWitt E	Troutdale, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Sanders, George F	58 Lucretia St., Portland	Fever.

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MULTNOMAH COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Schur, Frank J	1532 Macadam Road, Portland	Pneumonia.
Schultheis, George E	Broadway Hotel, Portland	Accidental bomb explosion.
Schaffer, Walter	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Schwoch, Henry G	290 Jefferson St., Portland	Killed in action.
Schleiger, William V	215½ Russell St., Portland	Accident, engine.
Scott, Walter B	Portland, Oregon	Accidental drowning.
Scott, Thomas	Portland, Oregon	Gas asphyxiation.
Seely, Chester J	143 W. Liberty St., Portland	Wounds.
Self, Francis E	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Shenker, Harry	475 E. Broadway	Wounds.
Smith, Ronald E	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Solhaug, Jens J	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Spaeth, Walter H	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
Sprague, Walter J	Portland, Oregon	Diphtheretic heart disease.
Stankovich, Mulutin	552 Northrup St., Portland	Tuberculosis.
Stevens, Orville A	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Stearns, Walter T	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Stedman, Elmer	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Stephenson, John	328 S 6th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Stout, Ernest D	630 Union Ave. N., Portland	Bronchial asthma.
Svendsen, Niels Peder	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Tighe, Albert T	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Tindale, Albert W	14 E. 30th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Tomlinson, Fred M	10 E. 6th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Trickey, Arthur	Corbett, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Uno, Albert	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.
Wadsworth, Henry E	Portland, Oregon	Drowning.
Wager, Edward	574 Frankfort St., Portland	Pneumonia.
Walton, Roy Frank	990 Woodward Ave., Portland	Purpura hemorrhagica.
Walch, William	Gresham, Oregon	Killed in action.
Watson, James Harold	E. 23d St. and Sandy B., Portland.	Broncho pneumonia.
Watts, Ellis B	Portland, Oregon	Airplane accident.
Weire, Lyland	709 Corbett St., Portland	Lobar pneumonia.
Welch, Charles Ralph	4827 76th St. E., Portland	Influenza and pneumonia.
Wigle, Frank O	1011 E. 30th N., Portland	Killed in action.
Wilgar, Mike	104 E. 18th St., Portland	Killed in action.
Willson, Leland	Portland, Oregon	Disease.
Williams, James A	Portland, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Wilmot, Richard K	170 N. 22nd St., Portland	Influenza and pneumonia.
Wirsdorfer, George R	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Wirths, Joseph	906 Syracuse St., Portland	Wounds.
Witherspoon, Lawrence A	Portland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Wood, Lambert A	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Woodson, Jerome E	Portland, Oregon	Empyema.
Wright, Preston M	Portland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Young, Floyd R	Portland, Oregon	Wounds.

BAKER COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Bates, Henry G	2420 B. St., Baker Oregon	Killed in action.
Boies, Randall P	2525 Center St., Baker, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Break, George D	1341 10th St., Baker, Oregon	Appendicitis.
Carothers, Roy E	Robinette, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Clark, Robert E	Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Cooper, Henry	Richland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Crouter, Leslie R	Baker, Oregon	Influenza and pneumonia.
Erickson, Ernest J. A	Weatherby, Oregon	Killed in action.
Flinn, Quincey A	Slafway, Oregon	Killed in action.
Haller, Alden L	Bridgeport, Oregon	Accident, train.
Hooper, Fred R	Durkee, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Jeffords, Harry		Lobar pneumonia.
Kelly, Eugene H	2250 Resort St., Baker, Oregon	Appendicitis & pneumonia.
Lockhead, Carl	Baker, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Masterson, Ray	Richland, Oregon	Pneumococcic meningitis.
Matthews, James I	Haines, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Miller, Harry L	Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Miles, Edward Neil	Baker, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Morin, Edward	Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Morton, Ray C	Durkee, Oregon	Killed in action.
Mowery, Charles L	Baker, Oregon	Accidental g. s. wound.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Neff, George J.	Crabill Hotel, Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Pennoyer, Earl D.	R. F. D. No. 1, Halfway, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Plowman, Kenna P.	Huntington, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Saunders, William V.	2485 2nd St., Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Shepard, Louis L.	Pine, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Sparks, Aurelius E.	Baker, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Thompson, Harry	Richland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Vaughan, Guy R.	Baker, Oregon	Killed in action.
Weller, Harry J.	Baker, Oregon	Wounds.

Benton County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Armstrong, Homer A.	Philomath, Oregon	Killed in action.
Bilderback, Earl C.	334 N. 14th St., Corvallis, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Bravinder, Roy R.	Corvallis, Oregon	Killed in action.
Davis, Grover O.	Alsea, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Edwards, Joseph E.	Corvallis, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Farmer, Wiley B.	358 Wash. St., Corvallis, Oregon.	Broncho pneumonia.
Francisco, Clifford	529 N. 7th St., Corvallis, Oregon.	Broncho pneumonia.
Gray, Donald M.	Philomath, Oregon	Toxic psychosis.
Green, Ralph	Philomath, Oregon	Abdominal injuries.
Lambert, Billie L.	Cornwallis, Oregon	Killed in action.
Mason, Harry E.	Benton County, Oregon	Accidental g. s. wound.
Middlekauff, Mark H.	Corvallis, Oregon	Accident.
Oliver, Guy F.	R. F. D., Corvallis, Oregon	Drowned.
Perin, Claude D.	Bellfountain, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Schubert, George	Corvallis, Oregon	Killed in action.
Torgerson, Verna O.	Wells, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Van Hine, Jacob	West B St., Box 1, Corvallis, Ore.	Influenza and pneumonia.

Clackamas County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Allen, Joseph S.	1006 Jackson St., Oregon City	Scarlet Fever.
Aune, Fred E.	West Linn, Oregon	Wounds.
Berner, Albert E.	Route No. 1, Hoff, Oregon	Influenza and Spinal Meningitis.
Blake, Elton	Dallas, Oregon	Pleurisy.
Boylan, Lester M.	7th and Taylor Sts., Oregon City.	Lobar Pneumonia.
Branland, Verner C.	Colton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Brown, Burton T.	Canby, Oregon	Not given.
Bruzzese, Nick	Gen. Del., Milwaukie, Ore.	Killed in action.
Caufield, Waldo E.	713 Monroe St., Oregon City	Killed in action.
Cockerline, Conrad C.	Estacada, Oregon	Killed in action.
Damours, Elmer L.	Molalla, Oregon	Killed in action.
Dawson, Howard	Oregon City, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Deetz, Jonas L.	Reedy, Oregon	Wounds.
Douglass, Carl Dwight	R. F. D. No. 1, Eagle Creek, Ore.	Accidental shot.
Eldred, Lambert Orson	R. F. D. No. 2, Molalla, Oregon.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Hammond, Mervin F.	Logan, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hancock, William E.	1010 Water St., Oregon City	Septicaemia and Tuberculosis.
Harrington, Loren G.	Staford, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Hoffman, Edward	Sandy, Oregon	Killed in action.
Imel, Roy	Clackamas, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Johnson, Herbert	R. No. 1, Canby, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Kelly, Walter L.	128 17th St., Oregon City	Erythema and Broncho Pneumonia.
Kohl, Frank E.	Oregon City, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Mallatt, Arthur T.	Willamette Hotel, Oregon City.	Pneumonia.
McIntyre, Edward	Beaver Creek, Oregon	Killed in action.
Melvin, Harry	Oregon City, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Mooney, John L.	R. F. D. No. 1, Clackamas, Ore.	Lobar Pneumonia.
Nollmeyer, Henry C.	Oregon City, Oregon	Wounds.
Rivers, Lester	Barton, Oregon	Influenza.
Roth, John O.	Canby, Oregon	Disease.
Schwerin, Arthur E.	Willamette P. O., West Linn, Ore.	Killed in action.
Sevieri, Enrico	Oregon City, Oregon	Wounds.
Smith, Alfred H.	Oregon City, Oregon	Pneumonia and Influenza.
Wilson, Harold	R. F. D. No. 3, Boring, Oregon.	Lobar Pneumonia.

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Clatsop County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Agren, Peter A	Jewell, Oregon	Killed in action.
Alderson, Joshua	Cleveland, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Baker, Walter J	26½ Astor St., Astoria, Oregon	Pneumonia.
D'Elia, Albert C	381 20th St., Astoria, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Denver, Robert J	Elsie, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Devedelas, Carl J	Astoria, Oregon	Not given.
Johnson, Chris W	374 Franklin St., Astoria, Oregon	Influenza.
Johnson, Earl L	West Port, Oregon	Drowning.
Johnson, Wyva W	Box 46, West Port, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Kelly, Edwin J	77 3d St., Astoria, Oregon	Killed in action.
Laskko, John A	Knappton, Oregon	Killed in action, drowned.
Larsen, Louis O	Wauna, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Larson, Guy	361 31st St., Astoria, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Larson, Louis	Hammond, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Mitchell, Frank	Astoria, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Mortenson, Bennie L	1628 Franklin St., Astoria	Wounds.
Mullady, Edward M	Route 1, Astoria, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Nelson, William H	Hammond, Oregon	Disease.
Pearson, Anton	Kerry, Oregon	Killed in action.
Peterson, Christian S	R. F. D. No. 1, West Port, Ore	Wounds.
Pettersen, Aage Emil	Astoria, Oregon	Wounds.
Rogenes, Gudmund	1677 Harrison St., Astoria, Oregon	Killed in action.
Simonsen, Louis Henry	Svensen, Oregon	Diphtheria.
Storemark, Guttorm S	664 Commercial St., Astoria	Broncho Pneumonia.
Thim, George	660 Commercial St., Astoria, Ore	Not given.
Vog, Holden	Westport, Oregon	Killed in action.
Wheat, Murray C	Astoria, Oregon	Wounds.

Columbia County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Anderson, John	Rainier, Oregon	Killed in action.
Atchison, Thomas F	Rainier, Oregon	Wound, g. s. Mexico.
Bendure, Charles Freeman	R.F.D. No. 1, Box 58, Warren, Ore.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Bjork, George Nelson	Rainier, Oregon	Killed in action.
Culbertson, John H	Clatskanie, Oregon	Wounds.
Ford, Walter T	Rainier, Oregon	Killed in action.
Karlson, Johan E. A	St. Helens, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Kjellberg, Alfred L	Clatskanie, Oregon	Mumps and Scarlet Fever.
Kukas, Alexander	Marshfield, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Nagel, Walter	Warren, Oregon	Enterocolitis.
Saarinen, August W	Columbia County, Oregon	Pneumonia and Influenza.
Salmi, Albert	Kerry, Oregon	Killed in action.
Ross, Harold P	St. Helens, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

Coos County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Aberson, William A	Coquille, Oregon	Train accident.
Allen, Harry B	970 N. 10th St., Marshfield	Pneumonia.
Anderson, Erick B	Empire, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Arrell, Jason	Powers, Oregon	Amputation of humerus.
Barber, Jerry B	Marshfield, Oregon	Killed in action.
Beck, Carl G	Coquille, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Bernitt, Sidney W	Marshfield, Oregon	Killed in action.
Blake, Harry	Marshfield, Oregon	Wounds.
Colebrook, William John	Coquille, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Crane, Walter C	Allegany, Oregon	Killed in action.
Davis, William W	North Bend, Oregon	Toxemia.
Galusha, Niles H	North Bend, Oregon	Drowning.
Gerontis, Mike	Marshfield, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Gist, Cornelius W	Marshfield, Oregon	Lobar Pneuomnia.
Hansen, Hans J. S	Hotel Gallier, Bandon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hutchinson, Charles E	North Bend, Oregon	Wounds.
Jacobson, Edward	Templeton Route, North Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Jensen, William H	Coquille, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Katsoulis, Treantefilos	Marshfield, Oregon	Wounds.
Klein, Herman	P. O. Box 665, Marshfield, Oregon.	Wounds.
Luttrell, Harry A	Bradbent, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Mercer, Alan V	Hauser, Oregon	Pneumonia.
McCulloch, William N	Lakeside, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Ray, Lee G	Myrtle Point, Oregon	Killed in action.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Roundtree, Percy L.	Lakeside, Oregon	Tuberculosis, Pulmonary.
Sell, Rufus C.	Riverton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Streuber, Tom F.	Prosper, Oregon	Purpura Hemorrhagica.
Taylor, Albert B.	North Bend, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Whitney, Ira L.	North Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Whitted, Robert R.	Allegany, Oregon	Killed in action.
Wood, Charles E.	Myrtle Point, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

Crook County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Cantrill, Loyd D.	Prineville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hining, Arthur A.	Howard, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Mattson, Helmer.	Prineville, Oregon	Pneumonia.
O'Kelley, Thomas E.	Prineville, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Smith, Clyde.	Suplee, Oregon	Killed in action.
Summerfield, Jesse P.	Paulina, Oregon	Meningitis.

Curry County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Atkinson, Clemmie.	Denmark, Oregon	Wounds.
Braden, John G.	Langlois, Oregon	Killed in action.
Grason, William G.	Port Angeles, Oregon	Killed in action.
Wilson, Irving James.	Harbor, Oregon	Pneumonia and Influenza.
Yost, Francis M.	Gold Beach, Oregon	Wounds.

Deschutes County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Bostrom, Carl M.	Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Edgar, Herbert H.	Brothers, Oregon	Wounds.
Eichhammer, John A.	Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Elliott, Chester H.	Bend, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Francis, Charles H.	Bend, Oregon	Disease.
Freestone, Thomas L.	Bend, Oregon	Wounds.
Houston, Elmer.	Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Johnson, John H.	Millican, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Kirsch, Basil A.	Bend, Oregon	Wounds.
LaGrange, Millard F.	Bend, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
McDowell, John L.	Redmond, Oregon	Measles and B. Pneumonia
Miller, Ned.	Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.
Pratt, Carl M.	Redmond, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Smedinga, Jacob.	Terrebonne, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Stevens, Percy A.	Bend, Oregon	Killed in action.

Douglas County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Baldwin, Arthur L.	Camas Valley, Oregon	Drowning.
Bauer, Max Herman, Jr.	1026 Corey Ave., Roseburg, Ore.	Influenza and Bronchitis.
Bayless, John C.	Myrtle Creek, Oregon	Septicemia.
Bodie, Glenn L.	Roseburg, Oregon	Influenza and Pneumonia.
Cederstrom, Charles F.	Melrose, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Cheever, Lawrence L.	Elkton, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Collamore, Jesse B.	Reedsport, Oregon	Killed in action.
Cozad, Walter L.	Looking Glass, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Deen, Ahija L.	Riddle, Oregon	Septic Endocarditis, Measles.
Gurney, James B.	Glide, Oregon	Killed in action.
Johnson, William L.	Tiller, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Knipp, Stuart.	Perdue, Oregon	Automobile accident.
Kruse, Roy W.	Yoncalla, Oregon	Killed in action.
Levins, Leslie A.	Elkton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Lindhe, Edward W.	Sutherlin, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Meyer, Max W.	Roseburg, Oregon	Drowning.
Mode, Willard E.	Roseburg, Oregon	Not given.
Morgan, Rector.	Condin, Oregon	Killed in action.
Nash, Donald O.	Yoncalla, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Neighbors, John W.	Roseburg, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Ormiston, Arthur D.	Days Creek, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Perrine, Edgar C.	Roseburg, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Pyritz, John M.	Gardiner, Oregon	Killed in action.
Ragsdale, Irving L.	Roseburg, Oregon	Disease.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Rabie, Charles C	Roseburg, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Reding, Lee J	Dillard, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Redfield, Frank H	Anchor, Oregon	Wounds.
Redfield, Joe R	Glendale, Oregon	Killed in action.
Shockley, Lloyd	Route No. 1, Wilbur, Oregon	Influenza.
Smith, Roy A	Glide, Oregon	Measles and Scarlet Fever.
Thomas, Edward J	Anchor, Oregon	Gun shot wound and disease.
Vaughn, William	Glendale, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Velzian, Bert E	Roseburg, Oregon	Killed in action.
Wilcox, Herbert H	Roseburg, Oregon	Accidental gun shot wound.
Winniford, Vincent	Wilbur, Oregon	Lobar and Broncho Pneumonia.
King, Harry A	Oakland, Oregon	Killed in action.
Fallin, George H	Canyonville, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Fallin, William E	Canyonville, Oregon	Killed in action.

Gilliam County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Burns, Frank C	Condon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Chaney, William L	Condon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Mefford, Elmer A	Olex, Oregon	Influenza and Pneumonia.
Morgan, Rector	Condon, Oregon	No data furnished by W.D.
Shell, James	Condon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Welshons, Kenneth M	Condon, Oregon	Septicem a.

Grant County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Baier, William	Canyon City, Oregon	Endocarditis and Pericarditis.
Gambil, Henry N	Mt. Vernon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hudson, Raphal K	Prairie City, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Parsons, William C	Prairie, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Parrish, George E	Mt. Vernon, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Saunders, Bert J	Long Creek, Oregon	Wounds.
Wisner, John D	Dayville, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

Harney County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Heinz, Walter E	Crane, Oregon	Empyema.
Heinz, Robert C	Crane, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Johnson, Roy A	Beckley, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Matuska, Edward A	Beckley, Oregon	Killed in action.
Miller, Lee V	Burns, Oregon	Killed in action.
Wilson, Claud	Burns, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.

Hood River County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Carlson, Carl W	Hood River, Oregon	Pulmonary Tuberculosis.
Eastman, Guy	R. F. D. No. 3, Hood River, Ore.	Killed in action.
King, Wilfred	Hood River, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia, Measles.
Krieg, Albert, Jr	Hood River, Oregon	Influenza.
Plog, Walter F	Hood River, Oregon	Septicemia.
Robertson, Earl Malcom	Hood River, Oregon	Ludwigs Angina.
Way, Charles A	Parkdale, Oregon	Meningitis.

Jackson County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Adams, Ernest	Medford, Oregon	Aeroplane accident.
Applegate, Willis I	Jacksonville, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Bateman, Lawrence S	1104 E. 11th St., Medford, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Barber, Newell C	Medford, Oregon	Killed in action.
Beery, Edward C	Jacksonville, Oregon	Appendicitis.
Beery, James M	Jacksonville, Oregon	Wounds.
Beeson, Earl D	Talent, Oregon	Diphtheria.
Blevins, Homer H	Jacksonville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Brown, Thomas R	Sams Valley, Oregon	Tuberculosis.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Collings, Oscar F.	Watkins, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Davis, Walter R.	Ashland, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Decker, Arthur M.	Ashland, Oregon	Tumor of brain.
Delagoa, Frank	Ashland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Griffin, Harold S.	Medford, Oregon	Fracture of skull.
Holmes, Joseph Thomas	Medford, Oregon	Wounds.
Lofland, Fay K.	Medford, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Loomis, Algie V.	Ashland, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Morgan, Thomas J.	Eagle Point, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Nichols, Glenn A.	Medford, Oregon	Diphtheria.
Powers, Orelie H.	Talent, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Sanford, Horatio S., Jr.	91 Gresham St., Ashland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Singleton, John	Eagle Point, Jackson	Wounds.
Spencer, Herbert Guy	Ashland, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Spooner, Artemus Rollin	Medford, Oregon	Pneumonia, lobar.
Toskan, Gust S.	116 E. Main St., Medford, Oregon	Killed in action.
Trefren, Philip R.	Butte Falls, Oregon	Influenza.
Ward, Raymond M.	Medford, Oregon	Killed in action.
Young, Loren F.	Forest Creek, Oregon	Septic meningitis.

Jefferson County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Alexander, Orelie I.	Metolius, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Burson, Paul A.	Ashwood, Oregon	Killed in action.
Eaton, Walter M.	Madras, Oregon	Disease.
Elliott, Earl	Gateway, Oregon	Killed in action.
Gans, Joseph O.	Ashwood, Oregon	Killed in action.
Gregory, Dallas R.	Gateway, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Johnson, George S.	Haycreek, Oregon	Killed in action.
Jorgensen, August C.	Grandview, Oregon	Wounds.
McDaniel, Roy	R. F. D. No. 1, Culver, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia and influenza.
Seethoff, George	Metolius, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Sloss, John	Hay Creek, Oregon	Killed in action.

Josephine County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Borough, Joe	Wilderville, Oregon	Septicemia.
Boswell, Robert J.	Holland, Oregon	Dysentery.
Close, Stuart M.	Grants Pass, Oregon	Diphtheria.
Dellinger, Turner A.	Grants Pass, Oregon	Mastoiditis.
Gates, Ranson N.	Route No. 1, Kirby, Oregon	Scarlet fever.
Hammer, Loy E.	Selma, Oregon	Wounds.
Masters, Harrison J.	R. F. D. No. 1, Kerby, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Morrison, Kenneth M. G.	Leland, Oregon	Meningitis.
Parker, Edward F.	403 West D St., Grants Pass	Accidentally killed.
Sloan, Ivan D.	Grants Pass, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Stevens, Everett R.	Grants Pass, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Vincent, Fred R.	Murphy, Oregon	Pneumonia.
White, Allen C.	Holland, Oregon	Meningitis.

Klamath County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Boggs, James H.	Lorella, Oregon	Killed in action.
Cornish, Van A.	412 N. 11th St., Klamath Falls, Oregon	Killed in action.
Gilbert, Everett	Klamath Falls, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia and measles.
Hamilton, Albert E.	1205 Worden Ave., Klamath Falls, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Jones, Albert W.	Klamath Falls, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Leines, Conrad	Klamath Falls, Oregon	Killed in action.
Panagos, Nicholas W.	840 Walnut St., Klamath Falls, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Parrish, Lee L.	Merrill, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia.
Parazoo, James E.	Chiloquin, Oregon	Pneumonia; influenza.
Peters, Ray J.	Klamath Falls, Oregon	Killed in aeroplane accident.
Redfield, Don Clifford	Klamath Falls, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Rovich, Paul C.	Ft. Klamath, Oregon	Killed in action.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Tower, Raymond I.	Klamath Falls, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Tucker, Frank E.	339 Michigan & Menloway, Klamath Falls, Oregon.	Died of wounds received in action.
Turner, John L.	Klamath Falls, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Weeks, Cecil O.	Klamath Falls, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.

Lake County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Benefiel, Fred T.	Lakeview, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Clark, Raymond O.	Warner Lake, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Crawford, Neil E.	Lakeview, Oregon.	Tuberculosis.
Foster, Harold N.	Summer Lake, Oregon.	Pneumonia following influenza.
O'Connor, Jim.	Silver Lake, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Pratt, John W.	Stauffer, Oregon.	Broncho pneumonia.
Wyan, Robert F.	Silver Lake, Oregon.	Nephritis, acute parenchymatous and broncho pneumonia.

Lane County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Ackerman, Charles G.	Florence, Oregon.	Scarlet fever.
Barnes, Raymond W.	Yates Hotel, Eugene, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Belshaw, Louis.	Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Blakely, James H.	Marcola, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Bowers, David H.	Wendling, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Brumund, Fred J.	1892 Lawrence St., Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Callaway, Howard.	602 8th Ave., E., Eugene, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Carson, William L.	Eugene, Oregon.	Accident.
Collins, Lester C.	R. F. D. No. 2, Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia and meningitis.
Conrad, Love A.	Springfield, Oregon.	Died of wounds received in action.
Funk, Calvin T.	London, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Garoutte, Marion E.	Cottage Grove, Oregon.	Disease.
Hoffman, William W.	Cushman, Oregon.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Graham, Frederick D.	449 Lincoln St., Eugene, Oregon.	Pulmonary tuberculosis.
Hurd, John Clinton.	Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Johnston, David.	Swisshome, Oregon.	Spinal meningitis.
Johansen, Niels H.	Box 125, Junction City, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Kellems, Kenneth K.	Eugene, Oregon.	Killed in action in sinking of Saratoga.
Kelly, Delbert.	Dorena, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Kuykendall, John E.	Eugene, Oregon.	Disease.
Lewellyn, Earl Joseph.	Junction City, Oregon.	Measles, scarlet fever, broncho pneumonia.
Man, Charles R.	Reed, Oregon.	Broncho pneumonia.
Matthews, Leland A.	Florence, Oregon.	Result of aeroplane accident.
Maurer, John A.	Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
McDole, Jesse E.	Cottage Grove, Oregon.	General Septicemia.
Melrose, Dale D.	Friendly Hall, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.	Anaphylactic shock.
Miller, Frank E.	Landax, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Murray, Riley F.	Eugene, Oregon.	Killed in action—sinking of Tuscania.
O'Rourke, Victor Hugh.	Thurston, Oregon.	Peritonitis following appendicitis.
Pennington, Marion Alger.	Eugene, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Peterson, Peter W.	R. F. D. No. 1, Box 3, Junction City, Oregon.	Killed in action.
Pierce, James L.	Creswell, Oregon.	Killed in action in sinking of Tuscania.
Powell, Earle S.	R. F. D. 1, Springfield, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Schade, Henry S.	Walton, Oregon.	Pneumonia and measles.
Schall, John F.	Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Sidwell, Fern.	Springfield, Oregon.	Lobar pneumonia.
Sims, Raymond G.	McKenzie Bridge, Oregon.	Broncho pneumonia.
Sloneker, Wilbur H.	Ada, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Southwick, Glenn A.	Leaburg, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Tolliver, Boswell B.	Springfield, Ore.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Trombley, Emil.	Eugene, Oregon.	Pneumonia.
Ware, William F.	Springfield, Ore.	Died of wounds received. in action.
West, Othmar J.	Eugene, Oregon.	Lobar Pneumonia.
Whittaker, Frank I.	Thurston, Oregon.	Influenza.

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Lincoln County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Abbey, Alden B	Elk City, Oregon	Measles and Pneumonia.
Brown, Charles R	Hill Top Ranch, Elk City, Oregon.	Tuberculosis.
Brown, Asa W	Elk City, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Gillespie, Hollie R	Elk City, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Greenhagen, Herman Russell	Toledo, Oregon, Box 106	Lobar Pneumonia.
Griffith, William W	Rose Lodge, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Hanson, August W	Chitwood, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Tavenner, Edison	Newport, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Washington, Andrew	Siletz, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Washington, Paul	Siletz, Oregon	Killed in action.

Linn County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Babcock, Alfred E	Albany, Oregon	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis.
Bellinger, Ivan E	Sweet Home, Oregon	Disease.
Green, Bennie Robert	Brownsville, Oregon	Purpura Hemorrhagica.
Gregory, Cecil	Berlin, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hulet, Archie Charles	Albany, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Lehn, Chester Carl	R. F. D. No. 1, Shedd, Ore	Influenza-Broncho Pneumonia.
Little, Robert	Lyons, Oregon	Killed in action.
Richard, Bryan C	Lebanon, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Rooker, Ernest W	Crabtree, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Rozell, Glen C	Sweet Home, Oregon	Abscess.
Savage, Ralph E	Halsey, Oregon	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis.
Sturtevant, Leo I	Lebanon, Oregon	Killed in action.
Swank, Eldon P	R. F. D. No. 2, Box 25, Tangent, Oregon	Pneumonia.

Malheur County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Eastman, George A	Nyssa, Oregon	Killed in action.
Howard, Clarence W	Brogan, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Lowe, Julian T	Nyssa, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
McKinney, Ruben B	Vale, Oregon	Empyema Post Pneumonia.
Nash, Porter D	Juntura, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Oliver, Harry Hamilton	Ontario, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Turner, Dewey A	Duckpond, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Weese, Guy C	Ontario, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Wilson, Obie L	Nyssa, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Woodcock, Oren	Malheur, Oregon	Pneumonia.

Marion County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Ahlgren, Wilhelm E	Waconda, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Alleman, Carl E	Woodburn, Oregon	Killed in action.
Askin, Leonard Alexander	Aurora, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Ballard, Smith F	Salem, Oregon	Killed in action.
Catton, William F	Salem, Oregon	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis.
Christofferson, Hans Freemont	R. R. No. 9, Box 43, Salem, Ore.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Croshaw, Robert E	Salem, Oregon	Acute Toxic Gastritis.
Deetz, Edwin H	Aurora, Oregon	Killed in action.
Deranleau, Fred A	Salem, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Ehlen, Fred	Aurora, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Fisher, Charles Syvan	Marion, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Forsman, David	Chemawa, Oregon	Septicemia; Scarlet Fever; Mastoiditis.
Gardner, James E	2015 Maple Ave., Salem, Ore.	Died of wounds received in action.
Garren, Gus	Hugbard, Oregon	Heart Failure.
Gibbens, Archie R	Woodburn, Ore., R. F. D. No. 2.	Pneumonia.
Gittins, Edward	816 Mill St., Salem, Ore.	Lobar Pneumonia; Double Streptocic.
Hartford, Edward	Woodburn, Oregon	Disease.
Herigstad, Nels N	Silverton, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Hoffman, Harlan Rewalt	R.F.D. No. 6, Box 32, Salem, Ore.	Broncho Pneumonia.
Iverson, Melvin S	R. R. No. 1, Silverton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Janzen, John	38 Church St., Salem, Oregon	Killed in action.
Johnson, Dayle E	Woodburn, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Jones, Aubrey P	Salem, Oregon	Killed in action.
Jones, Olen H	Silverton, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Kerber, Jacob	Stayton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Kolkana, Herman J	Gervais, Oregon	Killed in action.
Lorenz, Paul A	Silverton, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Lamb, Albert A	Donald, Oregon	Killed in action.
Melby, Harry	Mount Angel, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Miles, Clarence E	Salem, Oregon	Pulmonary Hemorrhage.
Miller, Benjamin F	Silverton, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Miller, William	Brooks, Oregon	Killed in action.
Norton, Everett F	Woodburn, Oregon	Septicemia.
Olson, Anten L	Mount Angel, Oregon	Killed in action.
Pence, Walter	R. F. D. No. 7, Salem, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Pugh, Albert W	Salem, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia; Influenza.
Reed, William M	Turner, Oregon	Measles.
Reeves, Delbert	Silverton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Rich, Paul	Salem, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Rickman, Timothy	Salem, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Roberts, Archie D	Salem, Oregon	Empyema.
Russ, Charles	Gervais, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Rye, Henry R	Mount Angel, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Schaap, Glenn E	Salem, Oregon	Killed in action.
Schnider, Ernest J	Mount Angel, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Smith, William C	Salem, Oregon	Disease.
Tanson, Edwin	Silverton, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Thompson, Stanley L	Salem, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Tokstad, Ben	Silverton, Oregon	Empyema; Pericarditis; Nephritis.
Tooze, Leslie O	Salem, Oregon	Killed in action.
Troudt, Nick	Hubbard, Oregon	Typhoid Fever.
Unger, Fred M	Mount Angel, Oregon	Killed in action in sinking of Tuscania.
Whitehead, Bert B	Turner, Oregon	Bronchitis.
Wilcox, Chester Manning	625 N. 16th St., Salem, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Willis, Alfred W	Camp No. 1, Silverton, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Woelke, Charles M	Gervais, Oregon	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis.
Zimmerle, George W	Woodburn, Oregon	Killed in action.
Zimmerman, Oscar	Mehama, Oregon	Colitis.

Morrow County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Chapel, Arthur	Hardman, Oregon	Drowning.
Collins, Golden A	Monument, Oregon	Killed in action.

Polk County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Chase, Orley P	Dallas, Oregon	Killed in action.
Davis, Archie E	Dallas, Oregon	Killed in action.
Dennis, Newman G	Dallas, Oregon	Nephritis, Measles and Bronchitis.
Greene, Oswald D	Sheridan, Oregon	Acute Mania.
Hartles, Martin	Grand Ronde, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hays, Otis M	Dallas, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Hill, Benjamin	Rickreal, Oregon	Cerebro Spinal Meningitis.
Holloway, Theodore	Monmouth, Oregon	Killed in action.
Jackson, Oscar	Dallas, Oregon	Killed in action.
Johnson, Roy	Monmouth, Oregon	Killed in action.
Mark, Ray T	Sheridan, Oregon	Accident.
Matthes, Walter P	Sheridan, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Otte, George H	Falls City, Oregon	Killed in action.
Quiring, Harry	Dallas, Oregon	Peritonitis.
Vanover, Rueben	Falls City, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Stalnaker, Harry H	Independence, Oregon	Killed in action.

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SHERMAN COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Baker, Henry S.	Grass Valley, Oregon	Killed in action.
Dixon, Harold L.	Moro, Oregon	Abscess peritonsillar and myocarditis.
Henley, Alex.	Grass Valley, Oregon	Killed in action.
Morrow, Bonnie H.	Wasco, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia following Influenza.
Reid, Jim.	Moro, Oregon	Drowning.
White, Raymond.	Moro, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

TILLAMOOK COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Alvord, Edward L.	Tillamook, Oregon	Multiple injuries received in auto accident.
Gitchell, Leonard C.	Hebo, Oregon	Killed in action.
Loerpabel, Guy.	Mohler, Oregon	Killed in action.
McKimens, Donald B.	Mohler, Oregon	Killed in action.
Millis, Howard B.	Tillamook, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Nielsen, John C.	Tillamook, Oregon	Killed in action.
Van Nortwick, Roy H.	Garibaldi, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Williams, Lloyd D.	Tillamook, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

UMATILLA COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Best, Neil W.	Milton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Brown, Charles A.	Athena, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Brunton, Richard F.	Box 221, Freewater, Oregon	Influenza contributory to Broncho Pneumonia.
Carlson, Benjamin R.	Pendleton, Oregon	Premature explosion field gun.
Foster, Harry.	771 Thompson St., Pendleton, Ore.	Died of wounds received in action.
Goodman, Frank Dewaine.	405 Lewis St., Pendleton, Ore.	Myelitis Acute.
Henderson, Andrew J.	Elgin, Oregon	Pyemia following operation for acute mastoditis.
Hoffnagle, Don V.	Echo, Oregon	Killed in action.
Huff, Ervin A.	102 S. Lilleth St., Pendleton, Ore.	Broncho Pneumonia; measles.
Ingalls, Robert F.	507 Gardon St., Pendleton, Ore.	Died of wounds received in action.
Kloostra, William H.	Elgin, Oregon	Influenza and Broncho Pneumonia.
Levens, Dan.	Pendleton, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Monese, Manuel.	Pendleton, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Norvell, Theodore R.	Helix, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Parks, Frank C.	Pendleton, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Sloan, Lyle T.	915 W. Court St., Pendleton, Ore.	Pneumonia.
Stannard, Archie C.	P. O. Box 751, Pendleton, Ore.	Killed in action.
Still, Robert C.	Milton, Oregon	Influenza-Pneumonia.
Templeton, Raymond E.	Pendleton, Oregon	Accident.
Tuttle, Terry.	Elgin, Oregon	Drowned in the sinking of Tuscania.
Walter, Glen V.	Milton, Oregon	Influenza-Pneumonia.
Webster, James M.	Pendleton, Oregon	Killed in action.

UNION COUNTY

NAME	RESIDENCE	CAUSE OF DEATH
Andrew, Bert E.	La Grande, Oregon	Bronchitis.
Berg, Loranza.	La Grande, Oregon	Killed in action.
Brill, Josiah L.	La Grande, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Cross, Charles W.	Union, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Cross, Raymond J.	Elgin, Oregon	General peritonitis following appendicitis.
Hall, Ehrman.	Union, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Kelley, Charlie R.	Cove, Oregon	Parenchymatous Nephritis.
Larsen, Henry K.	Imbler, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Moenkhouse, Ernest S.	La Grande, Oregon	Killed in action.

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Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Montgomery, Sidney	1122 Jefferson St., La Grande, Ore.	Died of wounds received in action.
Pfel, Louis	Perry, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Eckersley, Frank M	Cove, Oregon	Killed in action.

Wallowa County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Beeson, Harry C	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Berner, Robert B	Flora, Oregon	Killed in action.
Bruce, Henry H	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Bue, Peter	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action
Eckley, Grover C	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hagen, Alfred	Joseph, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Hamilton, Ralph E	Wallowa, Oregon	Influenza and broncho pneumonia.
Lundquist, August W	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Medesker, Peter L	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Savage, Harry	Troy, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Southwick, Arthur P	Wallowa, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Stephens, Joseph V	Enterprise, Oregon	Killed in action.
Rogers, Earl R	Enterprise, Oregon	Pneumonia.

Wasco County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Cooke, Willaim E	Shanike, Oregon	Influenza and broncho pneumonia.
Frazier, Donald R	Wapinitia, Oregon	Result Aeroplane accident
Haugen, Elvin J	Dufur, Oregon	Killed in action.
Isom, Forrest I	Mosier, Oregon	Killed in action.
Jones, Terry C	Wamic, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Leggatt, Henry	The Dalles, Oregon	Killed in action.
Lombard, Clyde Lorine	The Dalles, Oregon	Lobar Pneumonia.
Paquet, Ernest O	Wapinitia, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.
Parker, Herbert E	The Dalles, Oregon	Heart Disease.
Smith, George E	Tygh Valley, Oregon	Broncho Pneumonia.

Washington County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Akin, Omer O	Beaverton, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Carter, Russell E	Hillsboro, Oregon	Wounds received in action.
Christensen, Robert	Timber, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Clark, Roy L	Laurel, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Dixon, Levi B	Dilley, Oregon	Nephritis parenchymapous.
Eriksen, Hans M	Beaverton, Oregon	Killed in action—sinking of Tuscania.
Gates, Millard M	Hillsboro, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Gates, Carroll C	Hillsboro, Oregon	Died of wounds received in action.
Gray, Claude M	Hillsboro, Oregon	Killed in action.
Hendricks, Kinsley C	Beaverton, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Hines, Willis	Gaston, Oregon	Killed in action.
Holtz, Henry Louis	Cornelius, Oregon	Pneumonia, broncho.
Lee, Gene I	Hillsboro, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Lewton, Theodore E	Forest Grove, Oregon	Killed in action—sinking of Tuscania.
Long, Charles U	Forest Grove, Oregon	Intestinal obstruction.
Meltebeke, Phillip V	Laurel, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Pfahl, Herman R	Cornelius, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Rasmussen, Axel	Sherwood, Oregon	Killed in action.
Ritchey, Charles R	Hillsboro, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Rothermel, Wilson H	North Plains, Oregon	Killed in action.
Smith, Edwin	Timber, Oregon	Killed in action.
Smith, Frank L	Forest Grove, Oregon	Pleurisy and lobar pneumonia.
Schler, Edward	Forest Grove, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia, influenza.
Swalley, Glen	Reedville, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Vanderzanden, John M	Forest Grove, Oregon	Killed in action.
Walker, Charles L	Hillsboro, Oregon	Killed in action.
Whitford, Wesley	Sherwood, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Whitmore, Lloyd	Laurel, Oregon	Not given.
Willis, Hines	Gaston, Oregon	Killed in action.

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Wheeler County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Breeding, James R.	Spray, Oregon	Celulitis septic acute angle, right jaw.
Brookshire, William A.	Fossil, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Glover, Arthur E.	Antone, Oregon	Killed in action.

Yamhill County

Name	Residence	Cause of Death
Bennette, Louis A.	McMinnville, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Bower, William M.	Amity, Oregon	Killed in action.
Churchman, Oscar Day	Sheridan, Oregon	Wounds received in action.
Clayton, Frederick E.	McMinnville, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Fourtner, Ralph R.	Grand Ronde, Oregon	Diphtheria.
Graves, Alvin T.	Newberg, Oregon	Acute meningitis complicating influenza.
Green, Clarence E.	Newberg, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Henry, Robert L.	McMinnville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Laughlin, Herman	Yamhill, Oregon	Wounds received in action.
McCall, Harley G.	McMinnville, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia and empyema.
Manning, George W.	McMinnville, Oregon	Tuberculosis.
Mardis, Guy B.	McMinnville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Olson, Edwin H.	Sheridan, Oregon	Empyema.
Rice, Harry L.	Willaminia, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Orr, John F.	Yamhill, Oregon	Killed in action.
Sheppard, Rollie M.	Yamhill, Oregon	Lobar pneumonia, empyema pericarditis.
Skinner, Harold C.	McMinnville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Terry, Robert	Carlton, Oregon	Pneumonia.
Udell, Bert H.	Newberg, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Youngs, Richard P.	Newberg, Oregon	Pneumonia and influenza.
Jensen, Charles W.	Carlton, Oregon	Killed in action.
Ottinger, Andrew D.	Sheridan, Oregon	Killed in action.
Reese, Lester C.	McMinnville, Oregon	Killed in action.
Loop, Robert C.	Amity, Oregon	Killed in action.
Vanderbeck, Herman C.	Newberg, Oregon	Broncho pneumonia.
Brown, William S.	McMinnville, Oregon	Killed in action.

List of Oregon Dead—World War—Who Entered the Army from Oregon and Whose Addresses were Unknown

Name	Cause of Death
Cather, Don R.	Disease.
Phillips, Water A.	Killed in action.
Reaney, J. H.	Killed in action.
Sherwood, Robert A.	Killed in action.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It is obviously impossible in a work of this character to give a complete bibliography of Oregon History, or even to present a list of books consulted. Fortunately the recent publication of "Pacific Northwest Americana, a Check List of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest," compiled by Mr. Charles W. Smith, Associate Librarian of the University of Washington Library, (N. Y., The H. W. Wilson Co., 1921,) makes up for any deficiency in this respect. This compilation covers the books relating to the general subject found in no less than fifteen libraries of the region lying north of California and west of the Rocky mountains. By no means all of these have been consulted in the preparation of this book, but all of them have been available, and those that have been deemed helpful for the immediate purpose in hand have been used from time to time. In covering so wide a field it is not possible to enumerate, much less to discuss critically the authorities so consulted, but care has been taken to fortify the text with foot notes to serve for special reference where this is deemed an assistance to the reader.

Two other recent bibliographies have been found thorough and reliable within their respective limits. These are "A Bibliography of California and the Pacific Coast, 1510-1906," by Robert Ernest Cowan, of San Francisco, California, published, 1914, by The Book Club of California; and the compilation of Henry R. Wagner of information relating to original editions of books in his library, entitled: "The Plains and the Rockies; a contribution to the bibliography of original narratives of travel and adventure, 1800-1865." (John Howell, San Francisco, 1920.)

There is much manuscript material in the Oregon Historical Society Library, and this has been used freely. Manuscripts and books in the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, New York Historical Society, New England Historical Society, Harvard College Library, and the archives of states and the United States have been searched for particular information. The Handbook of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and the Classified List of the Publications of the Carnegie Institute of Washington have proved useful, the latter to provide a ready reference to several valuable guides to materials and lists of documents. The "Subject-Index to the History of the Pacific Northwest and of Alaska," by Katharine B. Judson, (Olympia, 1913) furnishes a guide to much of the valuable material in the government archives, Public Documents and American State Papers, from 1789 to recent times.

An attempt has been made to reach original sources and not to depend upon secondary authority. This has often entailed much labor and expense, but the resulting satisfaction in getting information as nearly first hand as possible has fully justified the effort. Copies have been procured from Spain, England, Mexico and elsewhere when this seemed necessary for accuracy. Still it is not claimed that the examination of sources in any part of the wide field covered has been exhaustive or complete.

Reliance has been placed upon the Oregon Historical Quarterly and the Washington Historical Quarterly, as will be seen by reference to the foot notes. This material has been used and with much benefit although lack of proper indexes has been deplored.

When this book was practically completed and ready for the press an opportunity was afforded to look over the proof sheets of the forthcoming The History of the Oregon Country, compiled from the editorials and addresses of the late Harvey W. Scott, for many years editor of the Portland Oregonian, by his son Mr. Leslie M. Scott. This scholarly and painstaking work when published will prove a mine of information in this field, and it is to be greatly regretted that its publication did not precede that of the present book, so that advantage could be taken of the opportunity for revision and correction. As this was not possible under the circumstances a few foot note references are inserted to call attention to that work on special topics. The wealth of material in the files of the Oregonian heretofore inaccessible for lack of indices soon will be opened to use by the publication.

CHARLES HENRY CAREY.

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