"MILL PLACE" on the Willamette

A New Mission House for the Methodists
in Oregon, 1841 - 1844

by

Elisabeth Brigham Walton

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ABSTRACT

The Jason Lee House, headquarters of the Methodist Mission in Salem, Oregon, 1841 - 1846, is one of the earliest surviving structures in the far Northwest. It is associated with the founding of governmental and educational institutions in the region. But the significance of the headquarters reaches beyond local bounds, for its history is that of the evangelical missionary movement, of westward expansion, and of United States acquisition of the Oregon Country.

Methodist ministers Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel Lee were typical of the missionary vanguard ranging to the remotest corners of the continent by the 1830's. Lee was an elder of the Church; his nephew had traveled in the New Hampshire Conference. In 1834 they embarked from Missouri for Oregon with a lay teacher and two employees. Their objective was to bring the Flathead Indians "within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction." The mission created by this small band on the banks of the Willamette realized some tentative success among the scattered and decimated coastal tribes, but its principal contribution was the part it played in the settlement and orderly development of Oregon by American citizens.
Superintendent Lee toured the Western border states and the East to inspire support for the mission and encourage emigration. With a petition from the Willamette Valley settlers, he memorialized Congress on the need for government protection of the rights of United States citizens in the far Northwest. The enterprising men of the Oregon Mission were instrumental in the organization of a provisional government and they founded the Oregon Institute which later became Willamette University, the first institution of higher education West of the Rockies.

The Board of Managers of the New York-based Missionary Society of the Methodist Church became alternately enflamed and discouraged by the progress of the popular mission it sponsored in Oregon. The Eastern conferences had been generous in support of the work carried on in the remote and intriguing field. Two major reinforcements of funds, equipment, and personnel had been raised since the mission's beginning in 1834. With the last of these, sent from New York in 1840, the Oregon Mission extended its outreach and moved the main operations of its Willamette Station to Chemeketa plain where a stream allowed the construction of a grist mill and saw mill. It was here, near the mill, that the new headquarters of the Oregon Mission was erected in the spring of 1841.

"Mill Place" offers a challenge to the restorer. It is a rudimentary frame dwelling in the double piazza, or two-story porch, tradition. It
was extensively renovated later in the century. Recently, in 1963, when a development corporation acquired the underlying property, the threatened relic of 1841 was hastily pared to its original core; severed from a brick foundation, and moved to a temporary site to await restoration.

The first object of the study—a phase which has been completed and adopted—was to determine a site and organization for restoration of the headquarters which might best suit the architectural qualities of the building as well as the cultural requirements of the State Capital and its district. Settlement of the Pacific Northwest was greatly inspired by the Willamette Valley. But as yet no local museum interprets the region's pre-statehood history. Many of the Valley's historical objects are destroyed, dispersed, or improperly stored for lack of a museum building. The final object is to document the pattern of activity at the Willamette Station during the historic period, and to present guidelines for its interpretation through buildings, furnishings, and other visual media.
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Mr. Lee Rohrbough, amateur historian of Albany alert to examples of Greek Revival architecture, called attention to the rural dwellings of Upper Marion and Linn Counties which seem related to the mission building tradition. Inspection of the Miller-Conser House and the Hamilton Campbell house was possible through the kindn esses of Mrs. C. J. Mouser and Mrs. Arthur Brandt. Appreciated also were the courtesies of Mrs. Frank F. Robinson, descendent of mission blacksmith Alanson Beers who made known the existence of The Reverend Jason Lee's portable writing desk, and Mr. Thomas Kay, Jr. who amplified the growth of the
historic woolen mill long managed by his family.

To the Mission-Mill Museum Corporation, representing the concerted effort of many agencies and individuals bringing to realization Salem's first major historical center--and particularly to its catalyst and President, Mr. James J. Walton, Sr.--the following researches are respectfully dedicated.
CHAPTER I

MOTIVATION FOR THE ENTERPRISE

Evangelicalism and Church Organization

Under the New Republic, Methodist organization was elaborated to meet the practical demands for self perpetuation and geographic diffusion. General conferences were organized as representative governing bodies which convened each four years. The constituents—the regional annual conferences—embraced jurisdictional units of quarterly conferences, circuits, and class meetings. Control of standards and discipline was maintained by a ministerial hierarchy including bishops, presiding elders, and circuits preachers who, in turn, were overseers of the lay ministry—the local preachers, exhortors, stewards, and class leaders.

Effective in keeping pace with westward expansion was the presiding elder's alertness for new settlements. Elders were entitled to organize new circuits and mobilize preachers without authorization from the conference. Hence, the sacrificial practice of itinerant preaching is seen by William Warren Sweet as the important factor in the rapid spread of Methodism throughout the United States in the
in the frontier period. In the words of G. C. Baker, leaders among the Methodists were "those who showed signs of special 'grace,' some talent for exhorting, testifying, praying, or preaching." Such abilities became apparent at the gatherings of Methodist societies and were taken as indications of a call to preach. Persons with such potential were advanced from one position to the next until they were in charge of a preaching circuit under the title of minister.

The theological units--meetings of the regular members of Methodist societies--included class meetings, prayer meetings, love feasts, and periodic conferences. Protracted meetings, four-day meetings, and camp meetings were special preaching services. Methodist sermons emphasized universal redemption and aimed at repentance and renovation of moral character. The desired effect of an emotional appeal to the conscience, as opposed to an argumentative appeal to reason, was succinctly outlined by Wilbur Fisk in a discourse preached at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1832.

The Christian orator takes hold of the heart; bends the will; alarms the fears; excites the hope; mollifies the ferocious passions; changes the current of the mind; renews the affections, and transforms the soul.

Thus, Methodist preachers hoped to influence the lives of adherents to the faith, and to persuade others to adopt a similar rule.

The concept of universal redemption and the notion of missionary
responsibility to all mankind gave rise to the social service aspects of evangelicalism. Through the Methodist system of stewardship, the task of accounting was delegated within church membership. Regular and occasional funds were collected for various kinds of relief. Missionary zeal, which depended upon submission to the impulses of the Spirit and faith in Divine direction, was characteristic not only of Methodism but of the evangelical movement in general.

The Missionary Society, a churchwide missionary agency which aimed to spread the gospel within and beyond United States territory, was chartered by the General Conference of 1820. The Society's Board of Managers convened monthly in New York. As its supervisory influence developed, the Society was incorporated by an act of legislature. However, the Society lacked authority to appoint or dispatch missionaries, or to make direct appropriations of supportive funds. The primary responsibility for extending missionary work was that of the annual conferences.  

Christian idealism, humanitarianism, and enlightened self-interest, therefore, were among the causes leading to the arrival in the Oregon Country of Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Catholics—all intent upon laying claim to the devotions of the heathen—in an era of romanticism and of, at least sectional, nationalism. A self-assumed missionary obligation and an efficient organizational network are factors which account for the Methodists being first
to reach beyond the frontier to Oregon.

**Oregon's Attraction as a Missionary Field**

As early as 1829, the Indians of the far Northwest had been recommended to the attention of American missionaries. In his *Journal of a Tour to the Northwest Coast of America, in the Year 1829*, Reverend Jonathan S. Green, representing The American Board of Foreign Missions, favored the establishment of a mission "somewhere in the vicinity of the Columbia River." He drew attention to the "salubrious climate" and "fertile soil" of the region. In 1832 a statement published with the sketches of Indian life along the Columbia written by Ross Cox, who had been a voyager for the American Fur Company at Astoria, allowed that "it would be highly desirable that the missionaries would turn their thoughts to this remote and too long neglected corner of the globe."

I would therefore respectfully suggest to the consideration of the benevolent individuals who constitute the missionary societies, the propriety of extending the sphere of their exertions to the Northwest coast of America, and from thence through the interior of that vast continent; the aboriginal inhabitants of which, with the exception of Canada and a very trifling part of the frontiers, are still buried in the deepest ignorance.

The groundwork for extension to the Northwest was laid by an official action of the Methodist Church the same year. At the General Conference of 1832 a petition was presented to the Bishops to authorize a Superintendent of Indian Missions to make reconnaissance and report to the Missionary Society in the interest of extending "with all practical dis-
patch, the aboriginal missions on our western and north western frontiers. 9

Events leading to the establishment of the Oregon Mission were precipitated by a romanticized report of the appearance in St. Louis of four Flathead Indians who had supposedly journeyed from the headwaters of the Columbia in search of the "white man's way of worshiping the Great Spirit." The delegation was received by the noted explorer, General William Clark, then serving as government Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Missouri. Wyandot interpreter William Walker addressed a "highly wrought" version of the Flathead request to Gabriel P. Disosway, president of the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York and ex officio manager of the Methodist Missionary Society. In March, 1833, the letter was published in the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald and was widely noted. 10 It was later recorded in the Oregon Mission Record Book that 'in consequence of this report a general feeling of Christian sympathy was manifested in the churches for these interesting heathen and the officers and managers of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, immediately determined by leave of Providence, to establish a mission among the Flathead Indians [sic]." 11

The plight of the neglected red men effected particularly Wilbur Fisk, president of the newly chartered Wesleyan University. The Christian Advocate carried his compassionate plea to respond to the "call from beyond the Rocky Mountains." 12 It was Fisk's former Wilbraham Academy
pupil who answered the call. By June, Jason Lee was admitted to full connection and was ordained, according to due process, by Bishop Hedding at the sitting of the New England Conference in Boston.¹³

In September a committee to which the Board now referred matters relating to the Flathead Indian mission heard and adopted a resolution presented by The Reverend Nathan Bangs, D.D., to the effect that, at present, only two missionaries should be appointed for the field and that they have authority to employ an interpreter "and one other layman to assist in building houses and cultivating land and in establishing a school."

The resolution further recommended that the missionaries "select some person or persons in the Western Country who from their proximity to the Indian Country had become somewhat acquainted with the Indian character and manner of life."¹⁴

At a meeting of the Board of Managers October 10-11, in the Mulberry Street offices of the Methodist Book Concern, a special five-member committee—a forerunner of the "Oregon Committee"—including Nathan Bangs, Gabriel Disosway, and Wilbur Fisk, met to outline final plans for the Flathead Mission. On the motion of Dr. Fisk, a recommended appropriation for the undertaking was raised to as much as $3,000.¹⁵ The missionary appointees toured New York and New England on behalf of the mission. They were considerably abetted in the campaign by explorer-trader Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, lately returned from Oregon, and his two young Indian charges, poignantly colorful with their flattened heads.
Wyeth had consented to escort the missionary party on their overland trip. Included in the all-important cultivating itinerary were Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, where Lee sought the endorsement of President Jackson and the secretaries of state and war. The first campaign was met with a foretaste of good will and generosity on the part of an intrigued public—not exclusively Methodist. The mission to the Flathead Indians was launched with soaring expectations.

**Willamette Station Established**

Once in Oregon, Lee determined not to establish the mission among the Flatheads of the interior, but, after an inspection, to site his operations in the valley of the Willamette, at a spot sixty miles south of its entry into the Columbia below Fort Vancouver. Lee seems to have based his decision largely on the advice of Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. McLoughlin extended every hospitality to the missionaries; he cautioned them on the hostility of the Nez Perce north of the upper Columbia; and he undoubtedly wished to preserve certain areas of the company's domain as long as possible.

The Willamette was an avenue of supply. A location on its banks would be provided by rich farming land; it would be more readily accessible to the Indian tribes of the entire region if extension of the program should be planned for the future.

Though he consistently upheld the purpose of serving the Indians,
Lee's exposure to reality on the cross-continent trek had been disillusioning. The Flatheads had been found decimated in their tribal wars with the Blackfeet. Other tribes were reduced, scattered, and difficult to reach. He admitted to Fisk that in his opinion "it is easier converting a tribe of Indians at a Missionary Meeting, than in the wilderness." From Green River, Wyoming, Lee wrote the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society about his plan for selecting a mission site—an apprehensive statement, glossed by a characteristic, wholehearted confidence in Divine direction.

I think we shall experience some difficulty in choosing the place of our location. We shall pass speedily through the country, and shall not have time to examine it much; but I leave this with the Lord, who has pointed the way for us thus far, and who I trust will still guide us by his spirit.

Thus, toward the end of September, 1834, the Willamette landing was resorted to after due deliberation and "much prayer for direction." Mission goods were unloaded from Wyeth's brig anchored in the Columbia, transported up river in a Hudson's Bay Company boat, and delivered at the site on the sixth of October.

Monday, November 3, was marked by progress in the mission building program.

Moved goods into the house which as yet is only partly covered. It is built of rough logs 32 feet in length and 18 in breadth—only about 10 feet of the roof is now covered—For four weeks the goods have been sheltered by our tent the last of which the rain fell most of the time—All have been constantly
employed during the day... in putting the tools in order, preparing timber & building the house...

The difficulty in constructing was dramatically recounted by the Superintendent in a speech before a Boston audience in 1839. "We labored under disadvantages," Lee explained, "for we were not carpenters. We however went into the woods and cut the timber. We took the green trees and split them, and hewed out boards for our floors. If we wanted a door, a table, or a coffin, we had to do the same. We could not advance very swiftly, and we did not finish our house till after the rainy season had commenced."^23

During the winter of 1835, the missionaries began to accept a few Indian children into the mission family for instruction. As a result, an extension of fifteen by thirty-two feet was begun in December. On March 14, 1836, Jason Lee wrote that the addition was roofed and had a chimney, but was not expected to be complete "until after seed time."^24

The ensuing phase of construction was begun in connection with the farming program. An enclosure of thirty acres had yielded garden supplies and grain, and a building was needed for storage. According to Daniel Lee's reflection, the missionaries were "gladly surprised by the arrival of a small party of white men from California" in the midst of their building. The party numbered some ten or twelve mountaineers and former sailors and was led by Ewing Young, "an American" from one of the Western States," and "one named Kelly—with his head pressed
with extravagant notions of Oregon, which he published on his return to the U.S."

One of the Cal. [California] Party, Mr. Ezekiel, an Am. [American] made the Mission a good pair of cart wheels, the first ever made in the Willamette Valley... We now built a log barn 30 x 40 feet, in which to store our harvest... The roofing was in western style, held to its place by weight poles, no nails being used. Two Cal. [California] Men were hired to saw boards for floors and doors. And the neighbors helped in erecting the walls.25

Cyrus Shepard's communiques on the state of the mission school and his poignant descriptions of the condition of the Indian children were published in the church papers and were responsible for donations of textbooks and clothing from the Eastern conferences. On January 10, 1835, he wrote:

The special providence of God has, already, seemed to throw upon our care three poor Flathead orphans; one, a lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age, who is quite serviceable in several ways. The other two are apparently about seven years of age; one is sister to the above mentioned lad, and they are the only survivors of the family to which they belonged; to this girl we have given the name of Lucy Hedding. The other is a very flat-headed boy, and has neither parent, brother, nor sister. He came one day to the mission-house, and, in the most imploring manner, asked in Indian, and by signs, to stay and live with us; and though food will naturally be rather scarce with us for the present, yet such importunities cannot be turned away.26

The sheer struggle to supply and minister consumed the time and energy of all, and eventually devolved upon Lee and Shepard, both of
whom were ailing themselves. In February, 1835, Lee wrote to Dr. Fisk explaining:

I have requested the Board not to send any more single men, but to send men with families. The Gov. and other Gentlemen of the H. B. Com (though they have native wives) say that white females would be of the greatest importance to the mission, and would have far more influence among Indians than males.

If your opinion accords with ours I beg you to use your influence with the Board to cause them to send out some as soon as possible. Tell the Missionary Soc. of H. Artford/Middletown/New Haven not to be discouraged in their labour of love, for they will reap in due time if they faint not. Could they see what we have seen, did they know what we know of the wretchedness and misery of their Red Brethren they would count it all joy, that they were able and willing to do something to alleviate such suffering, and prepare these poor Indians for the enjoyment of life here, but more especially, for the enjoyment of the life which is to come. 27"

Continued Interest in Indians of Oregon

Under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Dutch Reformed Church of Ithaca, New York, commissioned the Rev. Samuel Parker in 1835 to make a survey of the Pacific Northwest with a view to establishing a mission. The American Board appointed as his associate Presbyterian Dr. Marcus Whitman. Setting out from St. Louis with a party of trappers, Parker and Whitman followed the Oregon Trail until at Green River, in the Rocky Mountains, they encountered a group of Nez Perce. Whitman returned to the East
determined to establish their mission at Wailatpu, among the Cayuse in the present state of Washington. The proximity of their operations to the Dalles of the Columbia would make them friends of the Oregon Mission.28

Parker, meanwhile, continued his exploring tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, traveling the Columbia Valley and noting the "natural and moral state of the Indian inhabitants." His journal, published in 1838, a year after his return to the United States, assured that the Northwest Indians were strictly attentive to the "first principles of our revealed religion." Parker's report re-enflamed the enthusiasm of the Eastern Conferences for the work being carried out in the far West. His account of activity at the Methodist mission, its facilities for providing for the school, and its opportunity for usefulness by establishing a Christian influence among the people of the infant settlements, was the basis of the attitude of encouragement revealed in the Annual Report of the Missionary Society in 1839. By the time of its fifth printing, in 1846, Parker's Journal had acquired a wide audience in the United States and abroad. The preface to the fifth edition claimed credit for the book in "promoting the spirit of missions, and what is not the least to be valued, in awakening a sympathy for the long neglected Indians of Oregon."29

Parker's three-day visit at the Willamette Station was regarded as a signal occasion by the Methodist missionaries.
Thursday 26th Nov. [1835]
Rev. Mr. Parker(a Presbyterian Clergyman from the State of New-York) visited us this day—he has been sent out by the A, B, C, F, M, to explore the country, and ascertain the most eligible situation for a mission. We receive him with all joy as a servant of our common Lord & trust his coming will prove a refreshing season to our souls. 30

The next day, the visiting minister delivered a prayer at burial services conducted by the Superintendent for Indian student Nicholas Shangarati.

His departure for the lower settlement and Vancouver was recorded with much regret by the isolated missionaries. Parker had been impressed with the mission school with its fourteen students, and the Sabbath school conducted for the benefit of the half breed children of the neighboring settlement. But, he reported, as if at Jason Lee’s suggestion, "there is as yet one important desideratum—the missionaries have no wives. Christian white women are very much needed to exert an influence over Indian females." Parker provided advice which inspired later applications for engagement to the cause of the Oregon Mission. He concluded that the model for practical instruction, "whether at home or abroad, which never fails to recommend the gospel" is furnished by "an intelligent and pious family circle." 31

The Reinforcement of 1837

Referring to the "short but interesting visit from Rev. Mr. Parker," Lee wrote to the Corresponding Secretary in March, 1836, that the American Board missionary had been "much pleased with our
location, on many accounts, and considered it a very important one; though he thinks there may be one or two other places where the good effects of missionary labor might be more speedily realized than in this, (I mean among the Indians,) and this is the opinion of us all. "32

Lee then directed a note to Fisk and prevailed upon him to use his influence on the Board of Managers to authorize a reinforcement.

Send us lay-men to attend to temporals, and I will gladly attend to spirituals to the best of my ability. There is not a man in this place that can be hired that is fit to be in a mission family.

We labour under many disadvantages. There is no Physician within 60 mi. Brother Shepard is unwell with an influenza, and I have been obliged to leave my letters, frequently, to day to look after household affairs, to make bread &c. and even now though it is 10 o'clock P.M. I have frequently to leave my letter to wait upon the sick. 33

As a result of Lee's positive appeals and the impact of the publication of his overland journal in the Christian Advocate and Journal, October 30, 1935, the Board, in the fall of 1835, resolved to authorize requests for books and personnel. Furthermore, the Board resolved to request the Bishops to make the official name of the operation the "Oregon Mission," and it authorized the Treasurer to deposit a fund of one thousand dollars with the treasurer of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of London, subject to the order of the superintendent of the mission in Oregon. 34

The Report prepared for the seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Missionary Society in April, 1836, concluded:

Such were the opening prospects for missionary
efforts among the surrounding tribes, as detailed to the Board by Brother Lee's letters, that it has been determined to strengthen the mission by sending out another mission family, two female teachers, a physician, carpenter and a blacksmith. These have accordingly been selected among those who volunteered their services for important enterprises and they only await a favorable opportunity to proceed on their journey.

Thus, within a year of receiving the call for assistance, the Missionary Society organized and launched the first—a two-part—reinforcement.

On July 29, the ship Hamilton set out from Boston with "a physician and blacksmith, with their wives and children, a carpenter and three female teachers, in all thirteen..." As it was reported at the annual meeting of 1837, the missionary party was sent by way of the Sandwich Islands with "a large quantity of household furniture, about twenty boxes of clothing of various sorts and sizes, valued at not less than $2,000, agricultural, mechanical, and surgical instruments, as well as medicine for the benefit of the missions." Since the missionary with family, which had been "generally desired," had not been recruited, steps were taken to an additional party in January. 36

During their voyage to Oregon the first contingent was under the supervision of Dr. Elijah White, a physician from Havana, New York. White's appointment authorized him to draw on the Treasurer for all needed expenses. But on his arrival, he was to relinquish his authority to the superintendent. 37 Paralleling the beginning of the Whitman's
career in Eastern Washington, the reinforcement landed at Honolulu on December 23, 1836; awaited transportation for the trip to the Columbia for four months; and finally secured passage on the Diana, which docked at Fort Vancouver on May 17, 1837. Four surviving records make the household goods, clothing, and equipment sent with the initial phase of the first reinforcement the best documented furnishings to date.

Supplying the First Reinforcement

Among the letters received by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society during the difficult period of establishment was a page from the superintendent, dated October 6, 1835, which itemized goods in particular demand. It was marked 'To be read in part' before a meeting of the Board, or perhaps the appropriate committee to which it would have been referred. In addition to such standard necessities as pocket knives, a large bake kettle, and soap, Lee requested yardage goods and a loom with "all the accompanying apparatus for making cloth..." As an afterthought he added that he could construct the loom himself with the wood at hand if the irons and dimensions were provided. This was evidently considered by Lee to allow a saving on freight. Whether the full frame was approved is not clear, but an annotation stating "Bro Brown will get a loom" appears in the upper margin. The remark that was to have great importance in the make up of the donation goods was Lee's concluding request for "Good s/f/rong cheap wearing Apparel all sorts and
sizes and as much as you please."38

An example of the generous response to the Board's notices in church papers is the note addressed to Rev. Bangs, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, on June 13, 1836. It stated that the Female Union Missionary Society had transhipped from Philadelphia to Boston for loading aboard the ship Hamilton two boxes of clothing, bedding, books, and 150 dolls specified for the Flathead mission.39

An inventory of goods and equipment purchased in July, 1836, for the Oregon Mission shows a bill of $54.34 for crockery; substantial bills of $189.63 from Whitney Brown & Co. for cabinet furniture, and $89.31 from Lewis Jones for tin and copper ware. There were also bills for iron hollow ware, brass kettles, wooden ware, "cuttery," and a bill of $2.50 from Thos. A. Davis from "Britania Tea Pots." Items which figured in the furnishing of clothing for the mission family were lots of palm leaf, wool cards, flax, boots and shoes. The balance of the inventory lists a bill of $204.39 for books, and bills for groceries and heavy equipment for smithing and farming. Including freight and passage of the missionaries, postage, freight and cartage of books, and insurance, the total bill came to $4,786.48. The expenses were covered by a combination of sources. Money raised at a missionary meeting at Bromfield Street Church, Boston; drafts on the Treasurer of the Missionary Society, funds collected in Massachusetts for the Book Concern, and private con-
tributions from members of the Board themselves created an excess of $6.88.

With the twenty-three boxes of clothing sent to the Oregon Mission with the first reinforcement there were packed such items as school books, bedding, table linen; a household article or two, such as "2 Balls wicking," "2 Tin candle stands," "1 Bason," and "1 Inkstand." Shirts, skirts, pants, dresses, jackets or capes were apportioned to each box. Remnants of cotton and calico; sheets, pillow cases, bedspreads, woolen blankets; vests, coats, caps and aprons were interspersed among them. Hose, handkerchiefs, large lots of suspenders and shoes were occasional items.

That the Indian children were recipients of the donation goods is apparent from the Oregon Mission Record Book, a document of activity during the period the missionary family was concentrated at the first site on the Willamette flood plain. The record book includes accounts of the articles "furnished to the youth of the mission family." For example, Isabel Denton, "daughter of an Iroquois," was admitted October 18, 1835. Typical of the early items issued to Isabel were "moggasons," wool and deerskin gowns, leggings, a green baize blanket, and a coarse straw bonnet. After the arrival of the Hamilton in May, 1837, and before her death in the fall, Isabel received frocks, skirts, "drawers," aprons, capes, shoes, cotton gowns, and stockings. Charles Cohania, "a half
blood" designated "Island & Chinook," was attired in "moggasons," skin pants and shirts, palm and straw hats from his admission on March 15, 1836. Typically, after July, 1837, such items as leather shoes, "panta-loons, a coat, jackets, cap, and a vest valued at one dollar were dispensed to Charles until his departure in the summer of 1839. 42

A bill of lading for transshipment of mission supplies from Honolulu to the Columbia aboard the brig Diana gives evidence of building materials and at least two specific furniture forms. Captain William S. Hinckley cited twelve kegs of nails, seven cot bedsteads, and a spinning wheel. The lot of coals, to the amount of two "tuns," and the quantities of iron and cast steel were possibly supplies for warming stoves. But the bill shows a saw mill crank, and it is likely, therefore, that the iron and steel castings were to be used in connection with a mill—a mill which was in prospect at least as early as 1836. 43 The Board's Corresponding Secretary, Nathan Bangs, received the bill with an accompanying note from Dr. Elijah White which announced: "We sail in about two hours for Oregon... I send you a bill of lading &c. that you may get the goods insured; as this was the advice of our friends here, the channel being somewhat difficult and dangerous."

Dr. White's position as acting superintendent of the reinforcing party entitled him to draw on the Missionary Society in order to cover the expenses of re-outfitting the missionaries during their lengthy lay-over in the Sandwich Islands. "I have this day drawn $1275," he continued,
"$1200 of which was of one individual and $75 of another for 10 p. cent... 

It costs us $1800 - and though it may seem like a large sum, I am told on every hand it is by far the cheapest expedition of the kind ever fitted out from this place." His additional account lists salaries, passages, house rent, bills for storage, "package and wharfage," and "cartage of wheels and saws." Among costs of provisions acquired at the Island port, Dr. White itemized a modest wine cellar; cited $8.00 for "washing Ships clothing," $4.00 for "4 mats necessary as a floor," and $15.00 for "chairs and dishes necessary." Ten gallons of sperm oil was most likely to be used for lamp fuel. Eight jars of linseed oil at $3.50 each, eight kegs of white lead at $4.50 each, and three kegs of lamp black at $1.50 each would seem to indicate that a rudimentary gray paint would be applied somewhere on mission property--perhaps on furniture or interior woodwork.  

In addition to the basic yearly salary, the missionaries were provided, prior to their embarkation, an allowance with which to purchase an outfit, including food, clothing, and certain supplies not available in the field to which they were assigned. An undated "bill of articles for Alanson Beers" among Oregon Mission Correspondence helps to document the cost of "outfitting" and transporting a missionary family. The list includes bills for clothing and tailoring, passage, freight, professional tools and equipment, and boxes of merchandise.
NOTES

CHAPTER I


3On his arrival in Oregon Lee located the mission on the Willamette River, near the farms of French Canadian settlers, many of whom had formerly been employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Lee's early preaching was performed for a barely comprehending, but apparently eager, congregation of Indians and French Canadians. On the Sabbath, October 19, 1834, Lee preached at the nearby Gervais farm (Mr. Jerrais'). A week earlier he had expressed some apprehension that "the congregation will consist mostly of persons who will not understand the discourse." With characteristic confidence in Divine purpose, he recorded the day's outcome. "Made a few remarks from these words: 'Turn ye from your evil ways,' to a mixed assembly, few of whom understood what I said but God is able to speak to the heart." It was the first sermon preached in the Willamette Valley. Jason Lee, letter, Christian Advocate and Journal, X (October 30, 1835), 374. Entries for October 12 and October 19, "Diary of Reverend Jason Lee--III, "The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society (December, 1916) XVII, 401-402.


Christian idealism, denominational rivalries, humanitarianism, and enlightened self-interest as forces behind the home missionary movement and the molding of the West "according to orthodox Protestant standards."


Wade Crawford Barclay, History of Methodist Missions, Part One, Early American Methodism, 1769-1844, Vol. II To Reform the Nation (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension, 1950), 203n. Green's report appeared, in essence, in the Missionary Herald XXVII (April, 1831), 105ff. Barday suggests that New England partiality to Oregon as a missionary field owed to interest early established by commercial venturing, i.e., whaling and the fur trade, and agitation for Oregon bills. In 1828, a Boston schoolteacher, Hall J. Kelley, prepared a petition for a grant of land and for government aid in establishing a settlement on the Columbia—a proposition represented as of "great importance for the security of our rights and property on the North-West Coast, and for the peace and subordination of the Indians on our western frontiers." In connection with his colonization project Kelley published articles on Oregon in Zion's Herald, 20th Congress, 1st Session, House Document 139. "Settlement on the Oregon River."

8 Ross Cox, Adventures on the Columbia River, including the Narrative of a Residence of six years on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, among various tribes of Indians hitherto unknown; together with a journey across the American continent (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1832), 148-149. John Jacob Astor's branch organization, the Pacific Fur Company, was established at Astoria in 1811. The recounting of Cox's experiences among the Indian tribes along the Columbia spans 1811 to 1817. His book was reviewed in The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review, XIV (July, 1832), 281. Barday, op. cit., 486n.

9 Barclay, Vol. II, op. cit., 201, 486n. Barday cites: Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, VI (June 15, 1832), 166. Decker, op. cit., 31-32. Decker cites: Nathan Bangs, "Report of Commission on Missions," Journal of the General Conference, I, 1796-1836. Both authors point out that while no specific official action is known to have resulted from the petition, a predisposition for missionary work in the far Northwest was expressed.
Bell, op. cit., 70. Bell cites Chittenden and Richardson, 
Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J. 
(New York, 1905), 1, 24-25. Barclay, op. cit., 291. Disosway's, 
were published in the March 1 issue of the Christian Advocate, at that 
time temporarily merged with the Zion's Herald. Christian Advocate 
and Journal and Zion's Herald, VII (March 1, 1833), 105. The account 
appeared a second time, with additional supporting arguments, in the 
May 10 issue.

Mission Record Book, Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette 
Station, Oregon Territory North America, Commenced 1834, MS, 
Library of the Board of Foreign Missions of The Methodist Episcopal 
Church, p. 3. Microfilm 35a, Oregon State Library. Action was taken 
on the strength of correspondence with General Clark, of the famous 
expedition to the Pacific 1805-1806, and the consensus of the Bishops. 
Minutes for April 17, 1833, Minutes of the Board of Managers of the 
Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as quoted in 
Barclay, op. cit., 204, 486n.

Wilbur Fisk wholeheartedly espoused the cause, and immediately 
addressed an appeal to the younger clergy. Fisk letter, Christian 
Advocate and Journal, VII (March 22, 1833), 118. Fisk's personal 
correspondence with Jason Lee of Stanstead, Lower Canada, resulted 
in Lee's eventual recruitment. See: Cornelius J. Brosnan, Jason Lee, 
Prophet of the New Oregon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 
13-14, Brosnan quotes letter of Mrs. Wilbur Fisk to Mr. and Mrs. 
Samuel Luckey, Middletown, Connecticut, October, 1839. Wesleyan 
University Library, Middletown, Connecticut.

Barclay, op. cit., 204n. Lee had spent the preceding two 
years as a teacher in the Stanstead Academy and in preaching in the 
Stanstead vicinity. He was admitted on trial in the New England Conference 
in 1833; ordained a deacon, and an elder at Bennett Street Methodist 
Church, Boston, on June 14. At this time he was also designated 
"Missionary to the Flathead Indians." Lee's ordination and his 
missionary commission were formally recognized by an appointment 
from the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, July 17, during 
a meeting which also authorized an estimating committee for the mission. 
Decker, op. cit., 34. Decker cites the Christian Advocate and Journal, 
V (June, 1833), 174. The following September Daniel Lee, admitted on 
trial to the New Hampshire and Vermont Conference since 1831, was 
appointed Lee's colleague by Bishop Hedding. Barclay, op. cit., 205. 
General Minutes, II, 106, 2005. See also: Robert Moulton Gate, ed., 
"A Document of Mission History, 1833-43," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 
XXXVI (March, 1935), 73. The document is "A Statement of Facts. 
In Relation to the Oregon Mission as Extracted from the Journal of the
Board for the use of the Agent of the Board to the mission." It was begun in 1839, in response to charges that the Board supported the objectives of colonization, and completed in 1843, when the Oregon Mission underwent retrenchment.

14 Gatke, loc. cit., 74. Cyrus Shepard, mission teacher, was recruited at Boston, Massachusetts. Prior to embarking on the overland journey, Kentuckian Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker were hired as workmen at Independence, Missouri, "place of general rendezvous." Mission Record Book, op. cit., 4.

15 Barclay, op. cit., 205. Minutes of the Board of Managers, II, 206.

16 Barclay, ibid. Decker, op. cit., On November 29, 1833, Jason Lee, Captain Wyeth, and the Indian boys appeared before the congregation of Bromfield Church, Boston. Wyeth answered a prepared list of questions concerning Oregon. Their reception inspired an additional meeting. It was agreed that the missionaries' equipment would be sent to the mouth of the Columbia the following spring aboard Wyeth's ship the May Dacre. Decker cites: Lee letters, Christian Advocate and Journal, VIII (December 13, 1833), 62; (February 21, 1833), 101.

Melvin Clay Jacobs sees Wyeth's ill-fated attempt at competition with the Hudson's Bay Company as a signal of the decline of the fur trade which allowed the opening of the "era of the American missionary in Oregon." Wyeth became interested in Hall J. Kelley's "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory" as a trader, but lost interest on learning that Kelley's projected expedition was to include women. Wyeth made his first trip to Oregon independently in 1832, sending his supplies to the Columbia River by sea, and proceeding cross continent with a small party. On his return to Massachusetts in 1833, he "contracted with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to deliver three thousand dollars worth of goods at their rendezvous. That company refusing to accept the goods, he stopped in what is now the state of Idaho and built Fort Hall...and retailed his goods among the Indians and trappers. Upon his arrival on the Columbia, he constructed Fort William on Wapato Island (Sauvie Island), near the mouth of the Willamette River, and attempted to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade and to engage in salmon fishing. Finding the Indians refused to trade with him, he sold both Fort William and Fort Hall to the company." Melvin Clay Jacobs, Winning Oregon: A Study of An Expansionist Movement (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1898), 22-23.
17. Decker, op. cit., 38. Lee's contacts in the Capital were arranged by Bishop John Emory of the Baltimore Conference. A passport was considered insurance against interference in a country occupied by British subjects employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Harvey K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, Containing the Wonderful Story of Jason Lee (Portland, 1889), 55.

18. Charles H. Carey, ed., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, North America. Commenced 1836," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1922), 243. See Decker, op. cit., 47-57, for discussion of motives attributed to Lee's choice of site. In Decker's perspective, the fact that far fewer Indians were found to inhabit the region than had been expected makes Lee's seizing a central location most logical. He cites examples of possible "ex post facto" reasoning. During his first return to the United States, Lee explained to the Bromfield congregation his impression: "if we left the door open for missionary operations, that the church would enter heartily into the work, and other missionaries be sent. We, therefore, chose a central location advantageous for a principal station." "The Oregon Mission," Address by Lee, Bromfield Church, Boston, January 27, 1839, in Zion's Herald, X (February 6, 1839), 22, as quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 124. In his letter written to the Christian Advocate in 1839, Cyrus Shepard provided a substantial argument. "This selection has been made after much reflection and fervent prayer. It has been found by observation, that in order effectually to benefit the rising generation among the natives, a location must be made where a large school can be supported by the produce of the soil; and the place which has been selected appears to be the most favorable for that purpose of any we have yet discovered. From this place we trust the mission will hereafter be extended to other places..." Cyrus Shepard, letter, Christian Advocate and Journal, X, (November 13, 1835), 12, as quoted in Barclay, op. cit., 20. McLoughlin, as pointed out by W. Kaye Lamb in his introductory remarks to the McLoughlin letters, considered settlement of freemen in the Willamette Valley both natural and inevitable. He could do no more than try to keep its inhabitants friendly to the Company, and trust that the remoteness of the region would prevent any large immigration which would interfere with the fur trade." E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee First Series, 1825-1838, Vol. I (Toronto: The Champain Society, 1941), cxxiii-cxxiv.

20. Ibid., Lee to Bangs, Green River, Wyoming, July 1, 1834, as quoted in Hubert, op. cit., 62.


22. Ibid., 235.

23. Jason Lee, speech delivered in Boston, Zion's Herald, X (February 6, 1839), 22, as quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 72. Further insights to the construction of the original mission building were provided in retrospect by Daniel Lee. In the third of a series of penciled notebooks on mission history addressed to James Bashford (The Oregon Missions, New York, 1918), Lee cited preliminary tasks of making axe handles, hanging a grindstone, and making yokes and bows for the oxen. He noted "our finishing was all our own work, quite primitive. Our furniture— a table, and some stools— plain— yet a luxury." Daniel Lee, "Breaking Ground for our Mission" February 25, 1839, MS, Northwest Collection, Willamette University Library. Barclay points out that seven oxen to haul lumber were loaned by Dr. McLoughlin, and "sundry articles of equipment were taken in exchange for effects left at Walla Walla." Barclay, op. cit., 210-211. John McLoughlin, "Copy of a Document, Found Among the Private Papers of John McLoughlin," Transactions of the Eighth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880, 51. Lee sent journal entries—including the fall of 1834—with a communication to the Corresponding Secretary dated at "Willamette River, February 6, 1835." His entry for October 29, 1834, explained: "Our house is 32 by 18 feet, a story and a half high, of logs hewn only on the inside. The floors of split plank, hewn, two rooms, and four windows below, and a good chimney, made of clay and sand, probably as durable as brick." See typescript, p. 12, Oregon Historical Society Collections. Lee did not refer to the use of stoves in this entry, but Barclay followed this description with the further information that "rudely constructed stoves, tables, and chairs were soon added." He cites Jason Lee, diary, Christian Advocate and Journal, X (October 30, 1835, 36, and H. H. Bancroft, History of the Pacific States of North America, XXIV, Oregon, Vol. 1, 1834-1848 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 91. Brosnan elaborated that the building was shingled with "shooks" split from a four-foot fir log." Brosnan, op. cit., 72, 75n. Brosnan seems to have adapted the term "shooks" from Charles H. Chapman, The Story of Oregon and Its People (Chicago, 1909), 74. Depending upon the "Oregon Anecdotes" of missionary Josiah L. Parrish (Bancroft Library MS., 13), Bancroft commented that the broadaxe which hewed the logs was being as carefully kept "as was the bow of Ulysses. It came round Cape Horn in Wyeth's
ship, and was exhibited at the meeting of the Pioneer Association near Salem in 1878." Bancroft's account, which gives varying dimensions of 20 x 30 for the original house, itemizes a puncheon floor, doors of fir "hung on wooden hinges." The information, gathered by Frances Fuller Victor, included mention of a partition which "divided the house into two apartments, and four small windows, whose sashes were whittled out with a pocket-knife by Jason Lee." The account states further that "little by little tables, stools, and chairs were in like manner added. Of bedsteads there is no mention in the writings... A blanket and a plank served for a couch... They had shipped nothing from Boston except some salt pork..." Another touchstone for description of the "Old Mission" and its materials was provided by the only known contemporary rendering of the mission—a sketch, showing subsequent additions and extensions, by Henry Eld, Jr., U.S.N., made during the summer of 1841. It appeared in the published narrative of the famous exploring expedition of Charles Wilkes as a wood-cut engraved by R. S. Gilbert. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 5 Vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), IV, 372. The engraving was re-used by Rev. Gustavus Hines in his history of Oregon Institutions, a primary source on the early phase of the evolution of Willamette University, Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1868), engraving 140. The "Old Mission" continued to symbolize missionary activity in the far Northwest in popular publications well after the dissolution of the Oregon Mission. A cut based on Eld's view in Wilkes' Narrative illustrates "Old Mission House in Oregon," Missionary Advocate, IV (October, 1843), 49. Here the dimensions are given as 30 x 20, and the description is close to that given in Bancroft and seems to indicate a common source in missionary letters. More closely following Eld's original sketch, the "Old Mission" appears embellished with stands of timber, a split rail fence, etc. in: Reynell Coates', "The Golden Future, or, our Empire of the West," Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art, VII (July-December, 1850), 135. See also: Henry Eld, Jr., "Journal statistics &c. in Oregon & California by Henry Eld, Jr., U S Navy September 6th to Oct. 29th 1841/ inclusive U S Exploring Expedition." Among eleven sketches of scenes in Oregon and Washington included in the journal are two views of the Methodist Mission on the Willamette. No. 57, The Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Microfilm, Oregon State Archives.

Daniel Lee, "Breaking Ground for our Mission," op. cit., 3-4. The mission neighbors were predominately French Canadians, as the operations were sited some two miles south of the homestead of the southernmost settler of the French Canadian community, Joseph Gervais. But some were American immigrants from California—immigrants, moreover, who found job work with the mission a welcome source of income. Wheat was ground in a cast iron hand mill supplied, apparently by the Hudson's Bay Company, until, as Daniel Lee recalled, "an advance was made" in the autumn of 1835" and a grist mill was added to the improvements of our colony by one of our California men, a Long islander, Mr. Webley Haxhurst." Ibid., 8-9. According to Bancroft's history, a field of thirty acres was enclosed by a rail fence. Logs for the barn were "cut by the Lees and Edwards, assisted by Rora, a Hawaiian, and a Calapooya boy called John, the Canadians of the vicinity helping to lay up the logs. Later, two of the men who came with Kelley and Young were hired to saw logs into planks and boards for flooring and doors, the barn being in some respects an improvement on the house. Shingles were split from four-foot sections of fir logs, and were kept in place by heave poles, the buts of the second course resting against the pole on the first, and so forth. In this manner a good roof was obtained without nails." A note was added to the effect that "this method of making a roof was not original with the missionaries, but common to the frontier of Missouri and the settlements of Oregon. The shingles were called 'clapboards,' and were often used for siding a cabin, being put on perpendicularly." Bancroft, I, op. cit., 80. Hall Jackson Kelley, surveyor and school-book writer, graduate of Middlebury College, and Master of Arts from Harvard, began his interest in Oregon on reading the Biddle version of the Journals of Lewis and Clark, published in 1814. According to Melvin Clay Jacobs, Oregon was his mission since the Joint Occupation Treaty with England in 1818. "A dreamer and an enthusiast on the subject, he saw in this a movement for political advantage, increased national wealth, social betterment, missionary enterprise, and individual gain." Kelley started for Oregon in autumn, 1832, via New Orleans and Mexico. He joined the party led by Ewing Young, of Tennessee, near San Diego and proceeded to Oregon with horses purchased along the way with an eye to selling them at a profit. McLoughlin heard that Kelley & Young were associated with house thieves and barred them from negotiations. On returning to Boston Kelley continued a biased agitation for settlement of Oregon and "was able to furnish Caleb Cushing an important 'Memoir' on Western geography, which was published by Congress as a House Report in 1839." Melvin Clay Jacobs, Winning Oregon: A Study of an Expansionist Movement (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1938), 20-22. Kelley's visit to the mission did not seem to warrant mention in the Record Book. Lee's assessment of 1889 substantiates the contemporary view of Kelley as "an impractical enthusiast," however ardent.
26 Cyrus Shepard, letter, Zion's Herald, VI (October 28, 1835), 170, as quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 76. Barclay explains that the "Flathead" tribe, for whom the Mission was originally authorized, was a third group of the Salishan family. The "Flatheads" occupied a mountainous section of northwestern Montana, and were not identified by flat heads. The Kalapooian stock in Oregon consisted of a number of small tribes, of which the Calapooyas "were considered to be sluggish and indolent, not readily influenced by education." The most numerous family was the Chinookan, of which the important group dwelt on the Columbia and the lower Willamette. Barclay, op. cit., 201-202.

Barclay cites: Peter Ronan, Historical Sketch of the Flathead Indian Nation from the year 1813 to 1890... (Helena, Montana: Journal Publishing Company, 1890), 17ff... Frederick W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), I, 713. See also Lee's artful explanation of the Kalapooian and Chinookan custom of flattening heads, and his distinction between the coastal tribes and the "small band in the Rocky Mountains called by the white men Flathead Indians,"--Indians who "do not flatten their heads; neither do they call themselves by any name signifying flathead." Jason Lee, "Some Account of William Brooks," Christian Advocate and Journal, XII (July 26, 1836), 196. Pr: Brosnan, "Selected Material Relating to Jason Lee," Typescript P-A 38 V. 2, 107-108. Lee mentions that the slaves of the tribe are not accorded the privilege of the flattening process in their youth. "We have had in our school both round and flat heads, of the same tribe," he said, "and I have not been able to discover that the flattening of the head makes any change in the intellect."

27 Jason Lee to Wilbur Fisk, Mission House, Willamette River, February 6, 1835, as quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 73-74

28 Barclay, op. cit., 217n. The Whitmans set out for the Oregon Country February 5, 1836. They had with them William H. Gray, who had been a mechanic in the employ of the American Board, recruited at Liberty, Missouri, Spalding, who had intended to labor among the Osage, settled instead among the Nez Perce at Lapwi in the Clearwater Valley in the present state of Idaho.


31. Parker, op. cit., 177.

32. Letter to Corresponding Secretary, dated at Mission house, Willamette River, March 14, 1836. This excerpt was published in the Christian Advocate and Journal (September 2, 1836). Copied by A. B. Hulbert, March 14, 1855. MSS 936, Oregon Historical Society.

33. Jason Lee to Wilbur Fisk, Mission House, Willamette River, 15 March, 1836, as quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 79. Philip L. Edwards, at this time, was teaching in a small school for Indians and half breed children twelve miles north of the mission, at Champoeg, in the midst of French Canadian settlement. Daniel Lee had become ill and was recuperating in the Sandwich Islands Fall, 1835 to August, 1836. Edwards' term of employment had expired, but he did not leave until Daniel Lee had returned. Courtney Walker took a position as clerk with Nathan Wyeth. Decker, op. cit., 72-74.


36. Ibid., 308-309. Eighteenth Anniversary, Held May 22, 1837, Green Street Church, New York.

37. Decker, op. cit., 65-68. Decker cites: Miss A. J. Allen, Ten Years in Oregon: The Travels and Adventures of Dr. E. White and Lady West of the Rocky Mountains (Ithaca, 1848), 197ff. The first party included two families and four single missionaries, but no ministers. The list comprised Dr. White's wife and two children; Alanson Beers, blacksmith, of Weston, Connecticut, his wife and three children; Anna Maria Pittman, teacher, of New York; Elvira Johnson, teacher, of Maine Wesleyan Seminary; and Susan Downing, teacher, of Lynn, Massachusetts. William H. Willson, a ship carpenter from New Bedford, Massachusetts, was acknowledged by the Board, but no official action appears to have resulted in his appointment. He sailed with the party nonetheless. Minutes for June 15, 1836, Minutes of the Board of Managers, III, 11, 32, 35, as quoted in Barday, op. cit., 216. Decker cites also: Willson to Rev. Nathan Bangs, New Bedford, June 7, 1836. Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 9. J. L. Whitcomb joined the mission party in the Sandwich Islands. He was second mate on the brig Diana.
39. Jason Lee to Rev. N. Bangs D. D., October 6, 1835, Oregon Mission Correspondence, University of Puget Sound, Microfilm, Roll I, Willamette University Library (See Appendix I).

39. S. G. White, Corresponding Secretary for the Female Union Missionary Society to Rev. N. Bangs, Philadelphia, June 13, 1836, ibid. (See Appendix II).

40. Inventory of Articles Purchased for the Oregon Mission July, 1836, ibid., File 10 (See Appendix III). Apparently the major part, if not all, of the articles listed in the inventory were shipped on the Hamilton, which sailed from Boston. Members of the first contingent were paid for special services. William H. Willson, a ship's carpenter and experienced hand on whaling vessels, was paid for "repacking goods & c." and Alanson Beers, blacksmith, received $2.20 for providing fixtures for grindstones. None of the firms, as specified in the inventory, supplying crockery, tin and copper ware, Britannia ware, or cabinet furniture are listed in Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory... (New-York: Thomas Longworth, 1836) for 1836-7. However, it seems likely that most of the provisions were purchased in New York rather than the port of embarkation. "Wm. Bradford," who supplied the mission enterprise with $151.12 worth of groceries, seems to have been a New York merchant. Longworth's Directory (p. 110) for 1836-7 lists a "William Bradford, grocer 10 Avenue C." A firm such as Whitney Brown & Co., which supplied $189.63 worth of cabinet furniture, may have been a commission merchandise agency rather than a furniture factory. Still, a commission house by the name of Whitney Brown & Co. (or Whitney, Brown & Co.) does not appear in the directory either.

41. Articles of Clothing Sent to the Oregon Mission, July 1836, ibid. (See Appendix IV).

42. Mission Record Book, Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station Oregon Territory, North America, Commences 1836, Microfilm, Oregon State Library, 147-155.

43. Bill of Lading for Goods Shipped at Sandwich Islands for Missionaries from Oregon, April 7, 1837. Oregon Mission Correspondence, op. cit. (See Appendix V).

44. Dr. White's Account, "Money Received and Money Paid Out for Board of Missions," ibid.
Bill of Articles for Alanson Bœrs, ibid. (See Appendix VI). Longworth's N. Y. Directory for 1838-9, op. cit., 373, lists "Kissam & Co., Timothy T. mrs. 64 Liberty..." and Samuel and George Kissam, proprietors of a drygoods store at 230 Pearl. Either of these firms is likely to have supplied the $59.42 "box of goods" from "Kissam & Co." cited in Bœrs' account, and would tend to substantiate indications that most of the outfitting of the 1836-37 reinforcement was done by suppliers or commission merchants in New York City. The freight and passage bills are so slight in Beer's account that it seems possible they are short distance rates, such as from New York to Boston. However, Bœrs is credited with 250.00 which may have met the balance of the family's freight to the Pacific.
Conjectural portrait, Jason Lee, Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Oregon 1834 - 1843. From Cornelius J. Brosnan, Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon, courtesy of the Willamette University Library.
CHAPTER II

GAINING A FOOTHOLD

The Expanding Program

Despite the quantity of supplies landed with the reinforcement, the Oregon Mission was by no means independent of the retail stores of the Hulson's Bay Company. Dr. McLoughlin was deferential in his treatment of the missionaries. He was apparently at once sympathetic and, for tactical business reasons, determined to sustain the missionaries in their dependent role. To the Governor and Committee of the Company in London, McLoughlin explained in a report dated at Vancouver, November 15, 1836, that he had allowed the American missionaries, who had "applied for some Supplies" a 100 per cent advance on prime cost and their servants 150 per cent advance.

...and I promised them they would get such further Supplies as we could give till we received your Honors Instructions...the reason I make this difference is that their Servants are engaged at the Rocky Mountain Trappers rate of Wages say from 20 to 30 Dollars p. month in consequence of the high price of Goods there, and giving these men our goods cheap would be conferring a benefit on them. With the Missionaries it is different, they have no pay and devote themselves in the way they do from the desire to do good to their fellow men..."1

The description of Fort Vancouver included by Lieutenant Slacum

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in an official report to the Secretary of State reveals a developed depart-
ment of carpentry of which the missionaries might have availed them-
selves. In fact, Slacum recalls the missionaries' claim, during his
visit early in January, 1837, that the house and barn were constructed
by the missionaries and their Indian charges "with the exception of
three months' hired labor of a carpenter to finish the inside of their
dwelling and make tables, forms, &c. for their school room..."

Fort Vancouver, the principal depot of the Hudson
Bay Company west of the Rocky mountains, stands on a
gentle acclivity, four hundred yards from the shore,
on the north bank of the Columbia, or Oregon river,
about 100 miles from its mouth. The principal build-
ings are enclosed by a picket forming an area of 750
by 450 feet. Within the pickets, there are thirty-
four buildings of all descriptions, including officers'
dwelling-houses, workshops for carpenters, blacksmiths,
wheelwrights, coopers, tinners, &c., all of wood except
the magazine for powder which is of brick; outside and
very near the fort there are forty-nine cabins for
laborers and mechanics, a large and commodious barn,
and seven buildings attached thereto; a hospital and
large boat house on the shore, six miles above the
fort. On the north bank, the Hudson Bay Company have
erected a saw-mill on a never-failing stream of water
that falls into the Columbia; cuts 2,000 to 2,400 feet
of lumber daily; employs 28 men, chiefly Sandwich Islanders,
and ten yoke of oxen; depth of water four fathoms at the
mill where the largest ships of the company take
in their cargoes for the Sandwich Islands market.

Slacum gives insight to Fort Vancouver shipping procedures. In
1837, he noted that a battery of craft—including a ship, a brig, schooner,
sloop and steamboat—armed and manned by crews engaged in England,
remained on the coast to collect furs. A ship arrived from London with
"the annual supply" usually in early spring. After the cargo was discharged, a cargo of lumber was taken aboard and delivered to the Sandwich Islands. The ship returned to Fort Vancouver in August to receive furs which were brought to the depot once a year via the Columbia from the interior—"from the Snake country and from the American rendezvous west of the Rocky mountains, and from as far south as St. Francisco, in California." Collections were also made from the posts along the bays and inlets of the north coast where the chief traders purchased furs from the Indians with guns, powder, lead, tobacco, and beads supplied by the main depot.

A large ship arrives annually from London, and discharges at Vancouver; cargo, chiefly coarse woollens, cloths, baizes, and blankets; hardware, cutlery, calicoes, cottons; and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoa; tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, playing cards, boots, shoes, ready-made clothing, &c.; besides every description of sea stores, canvass, cordage paints, oils, chains, and chain cable, anchors, &c., to refit the company's ships that remain on the coast. 3

The second contingent of six, headed by David Leslie, sailed from Boston in the ship Peru, debarked at the Sandwich Islands, and proceeded to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia aboard a Hudson's Bay Company brig, arriving September 7, 1837. 4 The problem of housing the growing mission family was gradually solved by the construction of two log houses, one of which, with a blacksmith shop, was Alanson Beers'. A frame house, intended as a hospital, was built a mile distant on higher ground, and
was occupied by Dr. White and his family. Another dwelling was provided for the family of David Leslie when the mission absorbed the small log farmhouse of a French Canadian who had lately established a farm adjacent to the mission.

Certainly the most comfortable of the buildings was the hospital. It was so much in demand as a dwelling that several families temporarily boarded with the Whites. A picture of the housing conditions is given by Margaret J. Smith, a teacher at the mission school since her arrival in the fall of 1837. Extracts of her letter to Rev. N. S. Spaulding, dated at Willamette, October, 1838, were published in Zion's Herald and the Christian Advocate and Journal in July, 1839.

There are in the mission family and mission house, two boys and ten girls, who are provided for by Mr. and Mrs. Shepherd, Mr. Whitcomb, and myself. To conduct them properly is not a small task, Mr. Whitcomb has the superintendence of the farm, Mr. Shepherd the oversight of the boys and the school, while I engage to supply the place of Mrs. Lee in the mission family, and am to have the care of the girls. Mr. Wilson boards with us and occasionally we accommodate others, who seem to fall upon our hands. Doctor White lives a mile from us, Mrs. Leslie half a mile, and Mr. Beers a few rods.

The mission house, built of logs, is situated near the banks of the Willamette. We expect, by two winters more, it will, notwithstanding its great firmness, (for the logs are oak, and were strongly laid by Mr. Jason Lee himself) be drifted down the stream, and away from our sight. Dr. White has a fine block-house, situated upon a pleasant and extensive prairie, with a delightful ever-green grove of fir trees upon one side, and the agreeable variety of valley hill, ponds of clear water,
bushes, brakes, groves of fir, oak, maple, and cottonwood, and deer, wolves, snakes, &c. upon the back ground. Mr. Leslie lives in a one story, square logged house, formerly owned by one of our French neighbors, and occupied by half-breed people and Indians. Their number of rooms has been increased to three. Mr. Beer's house is of logs from the delightful fir-grove in front of the mission, laid together without squaring, barking, or straightening, and the openings filled with moss and mud. He has the finest situation in the whole potato field, and, I think, great reason to be thankful.  

Daniel Lee's sketch of activity at the mission house is revealing of the hardships undergone during the first years of establishing operations on the Willamette.

At the mission in 1836, 45 acres were under cultivation—yielding 750 bushels of wheat and 200 bus. of potatoes. Some 20 children had been taken in and the house enlarged to make them room. It was not a light matter to care for all these. The hungry, the unclothed, the sick, not to mention their teaching...Our mission was a sort of all-round affair—a farm house, a restaurant, a chapel, and schoolroom,—Bed-chamber—and not least or last a hospital. Obedient to authority, I entered at once and the same time upon the study and practice of Medicine—In one small room 16 children were down at the same time! But we 'Weathered the Storm'—The mill was 12 miles away, rains frequent—roads muddy—mules packed, conveyed our wheat to the place—being in charge of some of the older boys of the mission—A family of 30 had to be supplied.

One of the most evocative descriptions of the interior character of the original mission building is provided in a reflection on the career of Cyrus Shepard by H. K. W. Perkins, who arrived with Leslie in 1837.

I wish I could make you acquainted with brother Shepard's school, as it was when I first visited the country. I wish I could make you see the very log—
house, the school room, the chambers where the children slept, the little clapboard bedsteads, if bedsteads they could be called, the loose straw in which they nestled, the dining-room, the table, the bits of coarse bread, and basins of soup, as they used to be placed regularly along from one end of it to the other, and last, though not least interesting, to see the good man quietly seated at the board sharing the fare with them. I wish I could introduce you to them, as he knelt with them and offered up evening and morning prayers, that you might hear them while they sing, and listen to the simple, artless instruction they receive. The scene would impress upon your mind a vivid idea of the beauty of goodness. 8

Since February, 1836, the mission asserted its role in the moral affairs of the settlement. In an effort to keep "ardent spirits" from the experience of the already wretched Indians, Lee incited the neighboring community to visit the mission for the purpose of forming a temperance society. Signatures to the temperance pledge were gained at the mission house over several weeks. 9 On January 2, 1837, the members of the Oregon Temperance Society convened at the mission house and unanimously resolved to persuade Ewing Young and his partner to cease preparations for a commercial distillery. The resolution cited the laws of the United States prohibiting American citizens from selling liquor to Indians. The members in good standing—some twenty-three strong, including the missionary core of Jason and Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and Edwards—were called upon to contribute to a fund which would be submitted with a petition to the entrepreneurs as an inducement to abandon the project. Two of the members pledged bushels of wheat in
lieu of cash. 10

This action worked much to the credit of the missionaries. The motive was approved by Dr. McLoughlin, who dispatched a visiting United States government agent to Young and Carmichael with a similar appeal. In offering Young passage to California on his ship, Lieutenant William A. Slacum was successful in persuading the partners to stop the project. They did not accept the subscription of the Temperance Society.

William A. Slacum, a United States Navy purser, visited Oregon in the winter of 1837 on commission from John Forsyth, Secretary of State during President Jackson's administration. Slacum's assignment was to survey the Northwest coast, to explore the Columbia, to take a census of the white settlements and Indian Villages, and to make a record of "the jurisdiction the whites acknowledge; the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States, and the two European powers having possessions in that region; and all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical as may prove useful or interesting" to the government. 11

Slacum's findings were printed and submitted to Congress. They included a favorable factual report on the mission which he later elaborated as a glowing testimonial of Jason Lee's character and accomplishments for the readers of the Christian Advocate and Journal.
It would be doing the Messrs. Lees and their associates injustice were I to omit speaking of their happy and successful efforts in establishing a temperance society among men who are generally considered almost without the pale of moral restraint—I mean trappers. And it affords me great pleasure to add that every white man in the settlement entertains the highest respect for the conduct of the Lees and their associates.\textsuperscript{12}

The report placed emphasis on the manual training aspect of the mission school.

Their family at present consists of three adults, nineteen full-blooded and four half-breed Indian children, ten of whom are orphans. Seven girls and fifteen boys attend the school: likewise eight half-breed children of the neighboring settlers. The children are taught to speak English. Several of them read perfectly well. They are all well clothed and fed, and are already very cleanly in their habits. The larger boys work on the farm in warm weather. They can plough, reap, and do all ordinary farm work well, Several of them evince good mechanical genius. Mr. Lee assures me that most of the boys have earned their board, clothing, and tuition, estimating their labor at the lowest rate of wages allowed by the Hudson Bay Company.

Their school and family could be much increased, but they do not wish to add to their number until they receive farther assistance; thinking it the wisest plan at present, for the sake of example, to attend strictly to the mental and physical instruction of these "Neophytes."\textsuperscript{13}

The cordiality between Lee and Slacum facilitated the mission in its first economic diversification. The mission house was again the convention place for the settlers on January 12, 1837, for the purpose of
forming a joint stock company. Preparations were made for an expedition to California to acquire several hundred head of cattle. Slacum offered to convey the party—which included P. L. Edwards of the mission—to California aboard the brig at his command. Lee accompanied Slacum to the lower settlements and assisted in the census taking, and proceeded as an escort to Fort Vancouver. Before sailing, Slacum presented the Superintendent with a personal subscription of fifty dollars and an acknowledgement of his visit at the mission which stated:

On my return to the civilized parts of our country I shall not hesitate to express my humble opinion that you have already effected a great public good by practically showing that the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains are capable of the union of mental and physical discipline as taught at your establishment—For I have seen with my own eyes Children who two years since were roaming their own native wilds in a state of savage barbarism now being brought within the knowledge of moral and religious instruction, becoming useful members of society by being taught the most useful of all arts, Agriculture and all this without the slightest compulsion.14

The missionaries were better able now to consider the outreach of the evangelizing program. At a Christmas Day meeting in 1837, a missionary society was formed and a subscription of $240 was raised in behalf of the Calapooya Indians. Intentions were to inspire the Indians to settle permanently on a nearby plot of land, learn to cultivate it, and build comfortable houses with the assistance of the missionaries. Preoccupation with secular activities, disjointed organization, and, more
significantly, the undermined state of the Indians worked against the project, and, while a few meetings were conducted among the Calapooyas when the villages were stationary enough to permit, the effort was abandoned within a year. 16

Lee's determination to establish branch stations resulted in at least one project which was to have lasting significance in the mission program. On Lee's return from an exploring tour of the Umpqua Valley in March, 1838, a mission council confirmed its resolution to "commence a new Station at the Dalles (so called) on the Columbia." Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins were appointed to the task of establishing a station, known by the Indian name of Wascopam, which would be celebrated for its success in conducting large scale revivals among the Indians. 17

It seemed clear that, in view of these ambitious plans, more time must be made available for the ministerial department for preaching activities. A plea to the Missionary Board for additional lay men to attend to the all-consuming temporal affairs must be made. To have the best effect, the appeal must be made personally. 18 In October, 1838, the Superintendent, accompanied by Edwards and two of the Indian boys, William Brooks and Thomas Adams, began their journey across the Rocky Mountains.
Beginnings of Government

By fall of 1838, the Willamette Valley was ground for a second missionary endeavor. A mission dispatched from the Catholic diocese of Quebec was founded on the lower Willamette. Under the superintendency of Father Norbert Blanchet, St. Paul's began at once to administer services to the traders and French Canadian settlers formerly provided by the Oregon Mission. It was yet a period dominated by trading, missionary activity, small scale farming; but the era of American immigration was within a few years of breaking over the Valley.

On his way East, Lee made a circuit of the border states of the West, lecturing on Oregon. At Peoria, Illinois, his speeches inspired the organization of an emigration society which made plans to set out for the Oregon country early in the spring, 1839. Heading the party was a young lawyer who had recently emigrated from Vermont, Thomas Jefferson Farnham's purposes in making the trip were chiefly romantic and chauvinistic. He espoused the United States possession of the Oregon country, and disapproved of the fur trade monopoly. Farnham's writings, done mostly between 1841 and his death in 1848, went into many editions. His Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory, first published in 1843, liberally endorsed the Methodist cause and related the results of his consultation with the missionaries and settlers on the subject of
framing a provisional government.

Everyone appeared happy in his benevolent work. — Mr. Daniel Leslie, in preaching and superintending general matters; Mr. Cyrus Shepard in teaching letters to about thirty half-breed and Indian children; Mr. J. C. Whitecomb, in teaching them to cultivate the earth; and Mr. Alanson Beers, in blacksmithing for the mission and the Indians, and in instructing a few young men in his art. I spent four or five days with these people, and had a fine opportunity to learn their characters, the objects they had in view, and the means they took to accomplish them. They belong to that zealous class of Protestants called Methodist Episcopalians. Their religious feelings are warm, and accompanied with a strong faith and great activity. In energy and fervent zeal, they reminded me of the Plymouth pilgrims, so deeply interested were they with the principles and emotions which they are endeavoring to inculcate upon those around them...

Their object in settling in Oregon I understood to be twofold; the one and principal, to civilize and christianize the Indians; the other and not less important, the establishment of religious and literary institutions for the benefit of white emigrants. Their plan of operation on the Indians, is to learn their various languages, for the purposes of itinerant preaching, and of teaching the young the English language. The scholars are also instructed in agriculture, the regulations of a well-managed household, reading, writing, arithmetic and geography. The principles and duties of the Christian religion form a very considerable part of the system. They have succeeded very satisfactorily in the several parts of their undertaking. The preachers of the Mission have traversed the wilderness, and by their untiring devotion to their work, wrought many changes in the moral condition of these proverbially debased savages; while with their schools they have afforded them ample means for intellectual improvement. 20

Professor Jacobs points out that before 1838 the Oregon Question
had not appeared before Congress in the form of a definite program. Expansionist Thomas Hart Benton had been a champion of commercial interest in the Oregon territory since first taking his seat in the senate in 1824. Trade-oriented Congressman Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts called for more accurate information on the region. It was not until Senator Lewis F. Linn, Benton's colleague from Missouri, took up occupation of Oregon that a system was applied to promotion. Linn carried agitation beyond Congress to the nation at large by his correspondence, addresses, and newspaper articles.

Lieutenant Slacum's printed report on the expedition to Oregon, which was presented to Congress, December 18, 1837, had aroused Senator Linn's interest in Oregon. Therefore, when Jason Lee delivered to him, during his meeting of missionary appointments in Washington late in December, 1838, a petition for extension of United States government to Oregon it was quickly printed and circulated. The petition had been drawn during a convention of Oregon settlers at the mission house on March 16, 1838. It was presented to Congress by Senator Linn on January 23, 1838. The fact that American citizens settled in the territory demanded protection was impressive to the legislators.

The memorial itemized Oregon's natural, agricultural, and commercial advantages—namely its position for trade with the Orient
and Central and South America. It urged action in establishing possession of the country, and it explained the dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company for supply, hinting at a potential conflict of interests between colonists and the establishment. The document's phrasing, inspired by Lee and drawn by Philip L. Edwards, was calculated to appeal to a sense of patriotism.

Our interests are identified with the country of our adoption. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great state, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. We are fully aware, too, that the destinies of our posterity will be intimately affected by the character of those who emigrate to the country. The territory must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom. The natural resources of the country, with a well-judged civil code, will invite a good community; but a good community will hardly emigrate to a country which promises no protection to life or property. Inquiries have already been submitted to some of us, for information of the country. In return, we can only speak of a country highly favored by nature. We can boast no civil code. We can promise no protection but the ulterior resort of self-defense. By whom, then, shall the country be populated?

Lee effectively reinforced the appeal for governmental guarantee of possessions and commercial regulations in Oregon in response to an inquiry from Caleb Cushing. In his letter addressed from Middletown, Connecticut, where he was meeting with Dr. Fisk, January 17, 1839, he explained that if measures could be taken to secure their rights, it was likely that most of the missionaries would remain as permanent
residents after the mission's services were no longer required. In pointing out the need for more development at the mission site, Lee related objectives of colonization and smoothing the way for an expanded program of missionary services.

The exclusive object of the mission is the benefit of the Indian tribes west of the Rocky mountains. But to accomplish this object, it is found necessary to cultivate the soil, erect dwelling-houses and school-houses, build mills, and in fact, introduce all the necessaries and helps of a civilized colony; and this more especially, as one of the principal means relied upon for the improvement of the natives in the establishment of extensive manual labor schools for Indian children and youth. 24

The Era of Promise

In the earliest phase of the mission program all effort was concentrated upon minimal building, subsistence farming, the Indian boarding and manual training school, medical service; and regular and occasional preaching service for the neighboring community of French Canadians. Superintendent Lee's conviction that the operation ought to be entirely self-supporting reflected that of the mission's instigator, Wilbur Fisk. Owing to this, and to the establishment of the Catholic Mission, the missionaries began to diversify supporting enterprises which would eventually threaten to overbalance the missionary endeavor. The formation of the Willamette Cattle Company was considered a practical necessity, but it was the harbinger of other secular developments.
The mission's almost feverishly secular character--so disheartening to the ministerial branch--was summarized and worried over by Hudson's Bay Company Deputy Factor James Douglas in a report to the Governor and Committee dated at Fort Vancouver, October 18, 1838. "The Wallamatte Settlement is annually growing in importance," he acknowledged, "and threatens to exercise, in course of time, a greater influence, than desirable over our affairs."

The Population may be classed into three parties, consisting of:
- 23 Canadians formerly in the service
- 18 Americans stragglers from Calefornia &c.
- 10 Americans Clergymen, teachers &c. attached to the Methodist Mission with
- 51 Total
- 6 ladies

They possess, collectively, 600 head of neat cattle, a good stock of swine & houses in sufficient number for the purposes of tillage. One grist Mill is in operation, another in progress, and a saw Mill has been just completed. The Mission is, at present, the life and soul of the Settlement, dispensing its bounties with a liberal hand. Last winter its Members laid out upwards of £ 500 in various improvements, purchases of Land & farm stock, which gave an extraordinary impulse to industry and greatly enhanced the price of labour.25

Visions of regional outreach, an improved, central manual training school; and aspirations for an economic and spiritual role in the American settler community which seemed destined to develop around their choice location caused the missionaries to over extend. Their zeal apparently appeared ludicrous to the Company, for it caused Douglas to comment wryly:
No sort of manufacture is yet introduced, but the restless Americans are brooding over a thousand projects, for improving the navigation, building steam Boats, erecting machinery and other schemes that would excite a smile, if entertained by a less enterprising people, with the same slender means. 26

Only in underestimating the current popular interest in Oregon, did Douglas miscalculate the potential of the mission in furthering colonization.

The American Settlers have petitioned the legislature of the United States, to grant them a form of government, or in other words, to receive them as subjects. The petition will not, I presume, attract much attention, unless, in accord with the tide of public feeling; but it discovers the natural bias of our neighbors...

The interests of the Colony, and Fur Trade will never harmonize, the former can flourish, only, through the protection of equal laws, the influence of free trade, the accession of respectable inhabitants; in short by establishing a new order of things, while the fur Trade, must suffer by each innovation...

The Revd. Mr. Lee, their superintendent, returned this summer, by the overland route, to the United States, to make arrangements for importing goods. A vessel is, therefore, expected, in the course of next year, freighted by the Missionary Society, solely, or, in part, with other adventurers, who many be deceived by false hopes of gain. It is difficult to anticipate their real intentions, and perhaps unfair to question them; but I am naturally anxious about the design of a body of men, who have the power of seriously injuring our business, and whose conduct may justify suspicion. It is my opinion, they will engage directly or indirectly in trade and their interference will be more detrimental to our interests than the efforts of the most active commercial body. 27

Douglas claimed to be looking for a means of settling with the missionaries, but he avowed a contest would gain neither "honour nor advantage." In
the event of rivalry, the missionary cause would attract sympathy, arouse the attention of the government. To undersell the missionaries was considered hopeless. Douglas recommended that the Company's representatives in the region be "empowered to negotiate with the Missions for their future supplies of goods; at 70 or 80 p. cent on the 1st cost of imported articles, and country produce to be furnished at Servants Prices." He suggested that it would be even more desirable if the Committee could make a more advantageous arrangement with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, and the Methodist Episcopal Church.28

On the part of the Church at home the feeling of confidence in the promise of the Oregon Mission was ascending. The saga of the mission to the "Flathead" Indians--with its episodes both tragic and inspiring--had been documented in church papers from the first "Macedonian cry;" and it captured public imagination. Moreover, the enterprise was not only an important Cause for the Eastern conferences, it was regarded a vital influence in substantiating United States claims to the Oregon Territory. The Journal of Commerce pointed to the "wonderful achievement" of the missions established in the Oregon country by the American Board and the Methodist Missionary Society and quoted from the Missionary Herald for July, 1839:

The establishment of these missions will have an important influence in inducing an early settlement
of the territory. Already a number of men in one of
the western states have associated for the purpose
of emigrating thither, and the time is near when
hundreds and thousands will follow them. The ques-
tion of organizing a territorial government and
establishing a military post there has several times
been mooted in congress and very soon the measure
will be adopted. It [Oregon] is farther "west" than any
other portion of the country, and that alone is enough
to commend it to the attention of our people. 'All
things of heavenly origin, like the glorious sun, move
westward.'

The claims presented by Jason Lee and the appeals of his constant
supporters on the Board—Fisk and Bangs—evoked one of the most
extensive reinforcement of the Society's career. The Twentieth Annual
Report of the Missionary Society read before the convention at Greene
Street Church in New York May 20, 1839, included a paraphrase of the
Reverend Samuel Parker's findings.

It appears, both from his [Lee's] own account, from
letters received from Daniel Lee and Dr. White, as well
as from the published account of the Rev. Mr. Parker,
who traveled through that country under the direction
of the American Board, that the various tribes of Indians
inhabiting that region are not only willing but even
desirous to be instructed in the principles of the
Christian religion—and that though the natives are in
general in a deplorable state as it respects their
civil and moral condition, yet there is a wide field
open for usefulness among them,—that now is the time
to enter it before the native become yet more defiled
by the proximity and intermingling of unprincipled
while men, who may settle among them for the sake of
traffic. ... it may fairly be presumed that the country
will be, at a no distant period filled with white inhab-
itants. It is therefore highly important that the best
interest of all concerned may be secured for the
institutions of Christianity to be established there, that
the settlements may be saved from the contaminating
influence of vicious indulgences.
After deliberation over these prospects and after consultation with Bishop Hedding and others, the Board of Managers determined to send out a reinforcement of such proportions that the Board was pressed to justify what appeared to be sponsorship of a colonizing movement. The report continued with halting assurances that the projected reinforcement had as its primary object the Christianizing of Indians.

...it has been determined to send out a reinforcement of five missionaries, one physician, a blacksmith, millwright, cabinet maker, three carpenters and joiners, three farmers, a mission steward to take charge of the temporal affairs of the mission, and some young ladies for teachers, together with those farming and mechanical utensils which are necessary to carry on their respective trades and occupations, as well as a quantities of goods, composed of such articles as are needful for the supply of the mission family, and to enable them to purchase such articles as they may procure of the natives.

Though this outfit will be expensive, and for a time will require much to keep the mission in operation, yet if success crown our efforts by a prudent management, the expenditure to the Society will be diminished by the income from the cultivation of the farms, etc. And this mode of conducting the mission is considered essential to its successful operation, as there is no other way to furnish the mission family with provisions and other necessaries of life. The supply thus afforded therefore is considered only as subsidiary to the main object of the mission, which is to convert the natives... 31

Though little could be claimed toward the conversion of the Indians thus far, unquestionably it seemed that "a foundation" had been laid and "a beginning made."
CHAPTER II


4Young, "Slacum's Report on Oregon," op. cit., 186-187. Slacum cited the ship Nereide, the brig Llama, the schooner Cadborough; sloop Broughton, and the steamboat Beaver, built in London in 1835-36 (150 tons). The Methodist missionaries, as passengers, consistently availed themselves of Fort Vancouver shipping activity.

5Decker, op. cit., 70. Chosen to head the second contingent was Rev. David Leslie, minister, of Fairhaven Village, New England Conference. In his charge aboard the ship Peru were his wife and three daughters; Margaret Smith, teacher, from Saugus, Massachusetts; and H. K. W. Perkins, minister, of the Vienna Circuit of the Maine Conference. Decker notes that while no reference has been found to document Rev. Perkins' first name, "Henry Kirk White Perkins" appears scrawled on the back of the cover page of a letter in the Brewer Collection, Washington State Historical Society Manuscript Collection, Tacoma, Washington. Henry Bridgman Brewer, a member of the reinforcement of 1840, and H. K. W. Perkins were both stationed at the Dalles. On July 16, 1837, Jason Lee had been married to Anna Maria Pittman, and Cyrus Shepard to this affianced, Susan Downing. Mrs. Lee died after childbirth on June 26, 1838. Shortly after his arrival, H. K. W. Perkins married his affianced, Elvira Johnson, who had preceded him as a teacher to the Indian children.
Dr. White hired workmen to build the hospital, probably acquired along with supplies and materials from Fort Vancouver. That the building was warmed with stoves seems likely in the light of Mrs. White's later vindictive address to the Missionary Board. In defense of her husband's questionable performance Mrs. White assailed Lee, stating that he "was greatly pleased with the hospital &c. Everything seemed to move to mutual satisfaction till the late reinforcement [1829] reached the mission premises, some ten days after Mr. Lee's arrival. Then as the hospital was new and clean and the old mission house so infested with vermin that one of the sisters picked from her dress seventy three Bed bugs only by sitting during divine service, they all seemed anxious to get a place there, and such as could not get there begged to be admitted into our house, and this I believe was the real cause of the first uneasiness with Mr. Lee after his return for all at once he appeared disturbed and morose and this was much increased when my husband in kindness sold them a cow, horse or anything else to make them comfortable... Soon after as our family numbered nearly twenty and only two rooms, I felt the want of a kitchen exceedingly and prevailed on my husband to ask Mr. Lee's permission to put up one or provide for one of the families before winter set in, but he would do neither..." Mr. S. C. White to the Missionary Board, Slater Mills, New York, July 15 [n. d.], ca. 1843-1/2. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Microfilm, Roll 1, Willamette University Library, ms p. 2-3. Excerpts of letter, Margaret J. Smith to Rev. N. S. Spaulding, Willamette, October 1833. Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (July 5, 1839), 182. Per Brosnan, "Selected Material Relating to Jason Lee," op. cit., typescript, pp. 89-90. The house and its subsidiary buildings, except for the hospital washed away in the flood of 1863 which changed the course of the river. Decker, op. cit. 58. See also: Gustavus Hines, Wild Life in Oregon... (New York: Worthington Co., 1881), 26. On December 23, 1838, during Lee's trip East, Rev. Leslie's house burned. The fire consumed most of the family's effects. According to Leslie's report to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, Nathan Bangs, he was barely able to save his bed "(without a change of linen), a few pieces of wooden furniture, and some other small articles of little value." Leslie lost provisions, his daughters' library and cabinet, "consisting of a good selection of juvenile books," and "all our stock of beds, bedding, and clothing." David Leslie to the Corresponding Secretary, Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV (September 27, 1839), 22. Per Brosnan, "Selected Materials..." typescript p. 141.


9Carey, "Oregon Mission Record Book" op. cit., 242. The initial meeting was called February 11, 1836.

10Ibid., 248-250.

11Brosnan, op. cit., Appendix II, 284ff. Forsyth to Slacum, Department of State, Washington, November 11, 1835. As quoted by Frederic George Young, ed., "Slacum's Report on Oregon," The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, XIII (1912), 180. In his introductory notes editor Young cites reasons that have been posited for the inquiry of the Jackson administration into the Hudson's Bay Company and its effect upon American commercial interests in Oregon. "The data he succeeded in collecting during some twenty days while he was on land in Oregon were repeatedly used in later committee reports to both the Senate and the House, 'and referred to in debates in both houses as of the highest value!'" Sen. Ex. Doc. 24, 25th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. I. Slacum claimed to have received intelligence of Methodist Mission from the Reverend Samuel Parker, whom he encountered in the Sandwich Islands. He landed at Fort Vancouver January 2, 1837, and on January 10 set out for the mission by canoe on the Willamette. He was met by Lee at Champoeg, eighteen miles below the mission. Christian Advocate and Journal, XII (January 4, 1839), 77. As quoted by Brosnan, op. cit., Appendix II, 286.

12Christian Advocate and Journal, Ibid.


14Carey, "Oregon Mission Record Book," op. cit., 252-253. Slacum was sincere in his auwal. On Lee's return to the East in 1838 to campaign for reinforcement, Slacum appeared with the superintendent before a missionary meeting in Philadelphia. Slacum recounted the forming of the cattle company, his part in it, and its importance to the economic development of the Valley. He concluded: "I certainly view this measure as one of the highest importance to the future growth and prosperity of this fine country, even if no other object is attained
by my visit to the Columbia. In conclusion, I will only add that the day that witnessed Jason Lee's descent from the Rocky Mountains was a day of gladness and joy to those among whom he has cast his lot; and it will now be for you, my friends, to assist to perpetuate the glorious work in which he has periled every thing to give his life and light to those who were in utter darkness." Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (January 4, 1839), 77. As quoted by Brosnan, op. cit., 86. Brosnan sees the cattle company as the beginning of an independent economic life for the mission. Lee recognized that the possession of cattle was fundamental to health and economic independence. Hudson's Bay Company livestock was not available for purchase, though some had been gifted to the missionaries. Approximately $2,700 was raised at the meeting. Lee invested $400 for the mission, Dr. McLoughlin nearly $900 for the Hudson's Bay Company, and Lt. Slaun $500. The settlers made up the remainder. Articles of agreement say Ebenezer Young in command of the party because of his knowledge of California. P. L. Edwards was treasurer. Three hundred head of wild Spanish cattle were acquired from the mission at San Francisco. Five hundred from the mission at San Jose. They were driven overland, and the party arrived with six hundred and thirty of the original eight hundred in mid-October, 1837. The cattle were distributed to stock holders at $7.67 a head. Brosnan cites: Carey, "Oregon Mission Record Book," op. cit., 251; Jason Lee letter, Christian Advocate and Journal, XI (June 9, 1837), 166; Dr. John McLoughlin, "A Copy of a Document," Transactions of the Pioneer Association for 1880, 7, 51; Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (January 4, 1839), 77; Philip L. Edwards, Diary, MS, Bancroft Memorial Library, 2.


16 Daniel Lee and John H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (New York: 1844), 150-151. As quoted by Decker, op. cit., 70.

17 Carey, "Oregon Mission Record Book" op. cit., 259. Dr. Fisk's initial appeal established the concept of self-sufficiency and the experimental practice of manual labor boarding schools. "Let two suitable men, unencumbered with families, and possessing the spirit of martyrs, throw themselves into the nation. Live with them--learn their language--preach Christ to them and, as the way opens, introduce schools, agriculture, and the arts of civilized life. The means of these improvements can be introduced through the fur traders, and by the reinforcements with which from time to time we can strengthen the mission" Wilbur Fisk Proc. Christian Advocate and Journal, VII
(March 22, 1833), 116. As quoted in Brosnan, op. cit., 11-12. An interest in the current experiment of boarding schools organized in such a way that at least a major part of school expenses could be earned by students at the same time they learned agriculture is apparent in articles appearing in the Christian Advocate and Journal in 1837. Robert Moulton Gatke, Chronicles of Willamette: The Pioneer University of the West (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1943), 67n. Gatke cites editorial, The Christian Advocate and Journal XI (April, 1837), 139; a report on the Georgia Conference Manual Labor School for white boys and young men which had an enrollment of 115 in 1837, Christian Advocate and Journal, XI, (1837), 205.


19 Since their arrival in 1834 the Methodist missionaries had performed preaching services at Fort Vancouver and had officiated at marriages, baptisms, burials, had arbitrated disputes and settled estates for the French Canadians, as well as operating the early Sabbath School. Francis Norbert Blanchet, himself a French Canadian, later became Archbishop of the Portland Diocese. His assistant was Father Modeste Demers. The mission received reinforcements in 1840 and 1841. Decker, op. cit., 171, 174n. Decker cites: Rapports sur les Missions du Diocèse de Quebec qui sont secourues par l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi (Quebec, Canada: 1839), I, 22-23. Edwin V. O'Hara, Catholic History of Oregon, (Portland, 1916), chapters III-V. A fourth group of missionaries, five representatives of the Congregational Association of "United Calvinish Churches," arrived in the Oregon Country in 1838-9 and 1840. They established three stations in northeast: one in the vicinity of Fort Colville and two in the Nez Perce district. See James Douglas, "Report to the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee, October 18, 1838." op. cit., 243.

21 Jacobs, Winning Oregon, op. cit., 115-116. On February 7, 1838, Linn first introduced his Oregon bill to the senate. Its provisions: authorization of the occupation of the Columbia River, establishment of a territory north of latitude forty-two degrees, and west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called "Oregon Territory"; establishment of a fort on that river, and occupation of the country by the military force of the United States; establishment of a port of entry; an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for carrying the bill into effect. With successive modifications the militant aspects of the bill were subdued. Congressional Globe, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess., 380. In his capacity as chairman of the committee to consider the bill, Linn called for information from the War Department, which he combined with data he had gathered himself, and presented a report to the senate May 6, 1838. Linn introduced the bill for occupation of Oregon a second time in the third session. Congressional Globe, 25th Cong. 2nd Sess., 179; 3rd Sess., 22. As quoted by Jacobs, op. cit., 116-118.


23 House Report 101, ibid., as quoted by Brosnan, op. cit., 222. Brosnan (220) also gives the version, slightly varied, which appeared in the Congressional Globe, VII, 141. See also: J. Henry Brown, Brown’s Political History of Oregon (Portland, 1892), 54-56.


26 Ibid., 241.

27 Ibid., 241-242.
28 *Ibid.*, 243. No record of an attempted agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church seems to have survived.


P.S. A Missionary Steward will probably be given us with 5,000 Five Thousand Dollars worth of goods. Therefore pay as little, out of the store, at Vancouver for the Provisions you may purchase, as may be, as it will probably be better for us to pay our own goods. We shall not probably be there before the crops of 39 will be gathered in. Do not be afraid of purchasing too much for I would not like to have our people starve the first year. 2

Adopting proposals outlined by Lee, the Oregon Committee recommended to the Board of Managers that as many as thirty-one adults—including six ministers—be sent to the field and, further, that a missionary steward, four farmers, six mechanics, a physician, and a missionary teacher be numbered among the force. Nathan Bangs, Corresponding Secretary of the Board which approved this second reinforcement of the mission in Oregon, favored authorization of a saw mill and grist mill with the necessary tools and equipment. It was the advice of the Board that, where possible, men whose wives were qualified as teachers be chosen to fill the positions. 3

At the meeting of the Board of Managers on January 16, 1839, the Oregon Committee reported success in obtaining an offer for a ship to transport the reinforcement to Oregon from the port of New York. While aware of their "full powers to act in the matter," the Committee felt obliged to confer with the Board on proposals because of the peculiar "importance of the expedition—the expense [sic] to be incurred, and the number and comfort of the emigrating party," P. J. Farnham and Company would furnish...
CHAPTER III

THE REINFORCEMENT OF 1840

The Eastern Conferences Mobilize

Once in the East, Superintendent Lee was to realize unprecedented support for his program. His petition to the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society was considered by "the Committee on the Oregon Missions" which included Rev. P. Lindsay, chairman; Gabriel P. Disosway, George Luckley, W. B. Widmore, Stephen Dansb, and Nathan Bangs. Dr. Fisk was made a member by invitation, and Lee himself rounded out the eight-member body. By November, 1838, Lee was able to report to David Leslie, his acting superintendent in the field:

I think I shall succeed in getting forty men and women, and how many children I cannot say. For their support I shall trust to the resources [sic] of Oregon. You will therefore make an estimate of what will be needed for to keep such a host, and contract with the settlers for a sufficient quantity if possible, and if there should be more than is wanted we can send it off in the Vessel. -- By contracting before our arrival you will probably get things cheaper than after. --

Lee's post script reveals his hope that the combined resources of Willamette Valley neighbors and the Eastern conferences would begin to diminish the mission's dependence for supply upon the Hudson's Bay Company.
...a ship at least of 300 tons with comfortable accommodations for at least forty passengers, with every convenience for them, to be ready to take in freight by the 15th August and be ready for sea by the 1st of Sept. To be a temperance ship—no spirituous liquor /sic/ to be on board. Should any be found it shall be thrown over board. To touch at St. Catherines, Valpariso, and the Sandwich Islands. The price of passage to the Columbia river for those of 15 years and upwards, two hundred and fifty dollars each—children pro rata, say $16.23 for each year - servants half price - freight twenty five dollars per ton.  

At the same time this action was being taken by the Committee, a "Transcript of Plan for an Enlarged Program of Nine Mission Stations" was being worked out by Jason Lee and Dr. Fisk in Middletown, Connecticut. It proposed a substantial building program in line with an ambitious extension of mission stations throughout the Columbia River basin. The plan allowed carpenters for each of two stations at the Dalles and the mouth of the river. That three carpenters and joiners and one cabinet maker were considered for the Willamette Station was a forecast of the scope of improvements to be made at that site. Several months later, in keeping with his fundamental policy of providing education for the Indian youth, Lee would address to the Board a petition for a school building adequate to board from one hundred to three hundred Indian children. The request for such a generous edifice would be accepted by the Oregon Committee April 10 and approved by the Board on April 15, 1839.
In the interest of generating support for the Oregon Mission at conference level, Lee had addressed gatherings continuously since his arrival on the Western frontier. Now, three separate campaign tours were organized in an effort to reach the centers of Methodism in the East. His coverage of the Middle Atlantic began in December, 1838, with a meeting in Philadelphia—the same effective meeting during which Lieutenant William A. Slacum delivered his endorsement of the enterprise. The tour continued with appearances in Washington, D. C.—where Lee delivered the Oregon memorial to Senator Linn—in Baltimore; West Chester, Pennsylvania; and Morristown, New Jersey.

In the middle of January, the following year, Lee set out vigorously on a circuit of his own New England Conference—a tour which embraced New Haven, Connecticut; Middletown, Hartford, and Norwich. In Massachusetts he visited Newburyport, Foxborough, Lynn, Charlestown, Boston, and Lowell. The last loop of this trip took him North through Providence, Rhode Island; Portland, Maine; and New Hampshire, where he spoke in Portsmouth and Concord. He ended in Vermont and Lower Canada for a visit at his home in Stanstead. The campaign was completed by an intensive tour of Upper New York State in the spring of 1839. In April he began speaking in Albany, continued to Utica and Buffalo, and concluded in Schenectady in May. On his return to New York City, Lee carried on his visits to churches in the area as he managed the preparations.
The response was encouraging on the one hand, but it required of the Superintendent months of assembling, labeling, and preparing donation goods and merchandise for the voyage to Oregon. Lee was prompted to publish instructions in the Christian Advocate and Zion's Herald, the organ of his own New England Conference, which would facilitate the packing, further buying, and further trading in the field.

Those friends who intend to forward clothing for the Oregon mission, to go out with the expedition appointed to sail the 16th of September, will please observe that we are now ready for their reception. All who have their donations prepared will do well to send them without delay, for it is important for us to know as soon as possible, with what the liberality of our friends will furnish us, for we shall have many things to purchase, if they are not sent us; and if we begin to purchase without knowing what is intended to be given, the consequence will be, too great a supply in some things and too little of others.

N. B. That if our good friends, in addition to all their kind services to us, and the poor heathen, will comply with the following request, they will confer a special favor, save more trouble, and do more to subserve the cause of the mission than they could do in any other way by the same amount of labor.

Let me say that while, then, I tender my most grateful acknowledgements for your labor of love, on behalf of the more than miserable red man, let me beg of you, as a personal favour to attend to the following directions:

Let all your goods be put up in good, tight, clean barrels, well headed up, with the name of the place from which it comes, and Oregon Mission on the head; send with each barrel, not in it, but by the person who conveys it, or by mail to Dr. Bangs, 200 Mulbery-street, New York, a regular bill,
with the value of each article, if it is worth no more than six-pence. Upon each article pin a piece of paper with the price, unless there are several of the same kind. These may be put together in one bundle, and labelled thus, for instance: 6 boy's shirts, 50 cts. each, $3, and so of other things. And then should we have occasion to exchange some of these things for provisions, after we arrive in Oregon, we may at once know the value of them, and not be left to guess at the price of articles, of the value of which we have no knowledge. All will acknowledge that this must occasion great perplexity.

Bro. Brost and myself have just opened all the boxes that have arrived. With respect to some of them, we have no means of telling whence they came: but there was one large and valuable box from Black River Conference, one from Platt'skill, N. Y., and one from Wilmington, Del., but no scrap of writing in the two former, and the bill in the latter only named the articles, and the aggregate value of the whole. How easy it would have been to put the price of each article upon the bill, and upon the articles, as above directed and then there would have been no farther trouble about it. But as it is, we have now to examine each article, and guess at its value, and I question, after all, whether we shall arrive at anything like the same gross amount that is in the bill. Many may think all this particularity about the price unnecessary: but how are we to get our goods insured, if we do not know their value?

I will close by saying that whether the friends comply with the above request, or not, I shall not be able to attend to pricing and repacking goods in the future without neglecting business of such importance that the mission will suffer for years in consequence.

Recruitment

A "Call for Missionaries and Others for the Oregon Mission"

published by the Reverend Nathan Bangs in the Christian Advocate and
Journal revealed that, by March, 1839, only five appointments were wanting to be filled. Among them were the positions of cabinet-maker, mill-wright, and one carpenter and joiner. The candidates were advised that small families and knowledge of medicine would accrue to favor with the Board. In an effort to assure some kind of standard, prospective missionaries were required to provide recommendations from three elders—among these, one from the presiding elder of their circuit—attesting to their piety, state of health, and "competency in some branch of mechanical skill." It was important to be proven clear of debt. Furthermore, missionaries must be willing "to aid the mission in its spiritual interests, in teaching Sabbath schools, attending prayer-meetings, in teaching the natives, when not otherwise engaged in their appropriate callings." Those who engaged in the enterprise were expected to continue in the Society's service for a term of at least ten years, "unless released by sickness or death, or by consent of the superintendent of the mission."

Outfitting the Mission Family

As preparation progressed and the appointments were filled, the question of how to furnish an outfit arose, and Bangs was prompted to add notes to items published in the Christian Advocate in May and June.

It is expected that those who go with families will take their household furniture with them, working utensils, &c. The amount of salary is estimated on the same principle as that which
governs the estimate for other Methodist preachers, and is in proportion to the number in the family, and expense of living—their traveling expenses, outfit, and passage, extra.\textsuperscript{12}

Further instructions to the mission family already beginning to converge upon New York amplified the kinds of personal effects which could be accepted for passage. Heavier furniture forms were judged best purchased in New York, the point of embarkation, in order to avoid the expense of their transport from distant parts of the country.

Those who go on this mission are advised to furnish themselves with clothing for at least two years, and those who have families, with beds and bedding, and household furniture. The heavy articles, which may be expensive to move, such as bedsteads, tables, pots and kettles, may be purchased here. The lighter articles, which the families may have on hand, should be brought with them.\textsuperscript{13}

At the height of feverish activity concerted to ready the expedition, there appeared an appeal for instructive books for use by the "aborigines" which would help to "convert their desert wild into a fruitful field."

Books relating to "science and the arts, especially agriculture and manufactures," were very acceptable.\textsuperscript{14} Samples from a lengthy list of goods received for the Oregon Mission and acknowledged in the \textit{Christian Advocate and Journal} on October 18, 1839, suggest the range of interest and personal participation inspired within the Eastern conferences by one of the most extensive foreign missionary expeditions yet launched. Boxes and barrels poured in from New York conferences—and especially
from the home areas of the missionaries: from Prattsburg circuit, Genesee Conference; Onondaga circuit, Oneida Conference. A donation of $138.3 came from Elmira, New York, and a two dollar gift was sent by Rebecca Horton of New Rochelle. Contributions sprang from Vermont, from Portland, Maine; from Burlington, New Jersey; from Baltimore; and the "Union female missionary society auxiliary of Philadelphia." Two boxes from Boston" with 43 3/4 yds. of Canton flannel" valued at five dollars, and a quilt from the children of North Russell, "a Sunday school," were among the flood of goods welcomed in New York City.

**Conversion and Commitment**

However much the Oregon enterprise may have appealed to a romantic spirit, a spirit of adventure, or a spirit of opportunism, the missionaries were generally firm in their conviction that service among the Indians of Oregon would be attended by special grace. Some of the soul-searching was heartfelt. On the brink of his missionary endeavor, in the fall of 1839, local preacher Lewis Judson, who engaged in the capacity of cabinetmaker, confided in a letter to his sister Adelia addressed to Butternuts, New York, that he was approaching, also, the crucial point of conversion.

I have for some days past been visited by the spirit of divine grace, insomuch that I trust I have been thus highly favoured...my evidence of conversion is not clear...pray for me that I may
not fall back but that I may continue in the good way and receive a more full assurance of pardon. 17

In what must have been one of the most ingeniously clever applications received by the Board, future mission carpenter Hamilton Campbell had communicated his views of the missionary cause and his reasons for wanting to engage in it from Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois, in November, 1838. His experience among Indians on the American frontier and that of his wife as a Sabbath School teacher, must have been impressive to the Board on a practical level.

The missionary cause I am well aware is one of the greatest causes first to consider the immense value of immortal and never dying Souls and Secondly to consider the many thousands that are destitute of a Knowledge of heaven or the plan of Salvation and are daily falling into Eternity without it...

I am somewhat able from experience to know something of the deplorable [sic] situation of the poor Indian being amongst them considerable and from information to some extent, having [sic] this limited Knowledge of the matter I sincerely [sic] I think that every follower of Christ should do something for the advancement of the missionary cause....

My Reasons for wanting to engage in this matter is that I may glorify God in discharging what I believe to be my indispensable [sic] duty....

I think it is possible for me to do much more good amongst the Indians than here if nothing more than to teach them morality and domestic husbandry but I hope by the grace of God to [be] able to add to there [sic] Spiritual good. The Lord has some good design I know not in impressing me with such strong
desires, I sometimes try to make myself believe it is nothing more than a vain notion of mine and a mere momentary excitement with me but it lays hold of me the stronger. The condition of the poor Indian is continually harrowing up my sympathys... I am well aware that we shall have very many privations to undergo but it God intends us to do some good there I have great confidence in him carrying us through safe. I am also aware too that the task of civilizing the savage Indian is very great as arduous as the task may be I very much desire to bare a part of it...

I will bare my own expenses to New York I have endeavoured to lay my case before you as short as possible I now throw myself on the providence of God for your decision.

The young Virginian's qualifications as a carpenter must have clinched his appointment.

I have not spared any pains in acquiring a practical knowledge of different branches of mechanical arts I served as an apprentice to the cabinet Business since I have exhibited a facility in other branches such as carpenter, Waggon Right, turning, painting, chairmaking, and farming. If my offer is accepted I feel bound to go and stay while there is anything for me to do and to consider myself a servant to the mission...

Jno. T. Mitchell, Preacher in Charge of Springfield Station, Illinois

Annual Conference, stated in his supporting recommendation that

"the bearer, Mr. Hamilton Campbell, is certified to me by many members of the M.E.C. in this station to be a good & industrious mechanic, both as a cabinet maker and carpenter." The appointing committee seems to have decided in favor of Campbell without hesitation, for dashed in pencil in the margin of the application is the note:
Campbell
Architect "sic" 20
Joiner & Carpenter

A further note was added to the effect that Campbell was:

Sworn architect "sic" or carpenter & Joiner for Oregon Mission, Jan. 15, 1839.

Thus, the Oregon Mission received its first designate architect.

As the appointed assembled in New York, the picture of a pious and noble missionary band formed in the minds of the faithful at home.

The Farewell Meeting was held at Greene Street Methodist Church on the evening of October 3, 1839. The exercises included addresses from Dr. Bangs and several of the missionaries, and from the Reverend Dr. Alder of London, who was present to celebrate the centennial of Methodism in America. What with prayer and singing, the event was described:

...a most interesting, solemn, and delightful occasion--There was, indeed, a degree of grandeur, of holy sublimity, and touching pathos about the scene, which we have rarely felt in similar circumstances. The platform was occupied by that devoted band--in number, a little army, and in energy and faith and hope, a host--who had, from all parts of our country, the rice plains of the South, the prairies of the great valley, and the granite hills of New England, responded to the loud call from Oregon.

The final preparations for leave-taking and the day of embarkation were subjects of interest and comment among New York journalists.

It was observed that Farnham's ship, Lausanne, was brought round to pier No. 11 on the East River, from which point she received her stores and freight.
...here, for a week previous to the departure, the family was very busy in their preparation. The evening before she was put out into the stream we noticed that each one of the state rooms presented very much the appearance of a well packed trunk, and, like that still remembered boyish puzzle of a reel in a bottle, it seemed a wonder how so many and large pieces of furniture could possibly gain admittance, much less a local habitation, in so small a given space. Indeed, all the paraphernalia of a well furnished parlor and dormitory seemed here to have met to grace and furnish out a cubical space, something less than 6 feet in each of its dimensions. The author of the romantic account of the Lausanne's departure further described the moving partings of the missionaries from families and friends on the morning of October 9 at Whitehall dock. Further religious exercises surrounded the occasion which coincided with the centennial observances of the founding of the Methodist Church in America. It was an auspicious day, replete with baptisms for infants of the mission family, the "seraphic strains" of Methodist choirs—in all, an "almost unearthly scene." Adding the ultimate dimension to the event was the perfect romantic type—the noble savage—in the person of the Indian youth, Thomas Adams. To the eloquent observer, the Indian boy from Oregon, by his "perfect composure amounting almost to indifference," his "good natured smile" which "would in a moment light up his tawny features" as he "grasped the offered hand," recalled the poetic:

'Stoic of the woods, the man without a tear.'

The author concluded in his summary of the overwhelming occasion the remark that the Oregon Mission seemed, surely, the "child of a special providence."
We would say with our esteemed friend of the Commercial Advertiser, 'Never have we seen a more beautiful exhibition of the true enlightened Christian spirit than on this occasion...'

What an epoch this is in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church! It is worthy of the first centennial.25

A System for Outreach

"The Great Reinforcement" sailed up the Columbia in May, 1840, reaching Fort Vancouver opposite the mouth of the Willamette on the first of June. The party's anxious cicerone, Superintendent Lee, had struck out by canoe for the Willamette station in order to prepare for the assimilation of the strong new force.26 Once again it fell to Dr. McLoughlin to receive and accommodate the incoming missionaries. Addressing the Reverend Fuller Atkinson in Persia, New York, from his situation at the Fort on June 9, 1840, Alvan Waller attested the Hudson Bay Company Factor's consideration.

Dr. McLoughlin, governor of the company in the territory, very kindly received us, and finds store-houses for our goods...27

Here, at Fort Vancouver, on the evening of June 3, 1840, Lee brought the newly arrived together in council for the purpose of making assignments--somewhat adjusted from the original plan devised by Lee and Fisk in Middletown. The rapid decline of the Indian population which had taken place during Lee's two-year absence had not been
foreseen. Nonetheless, the program of establishing subsidiary stations was urged into effect. 28

The Willamette Station—soon to be expanded to two sites including the "Old Mission" and a new, central station—received the major buttressing. Superintendent and Mrs. Lee, and the Reverend David Leslie headed the ministerial department. They were assisted by William W. Kone and by Gustavus Hines, pending assignment to the Umpqua station. Dr. Elijah White served as physician; George Abernethy and Miss Orpha Lankton were designated steward and stewardess. Misses Margaret Smith, Chloe A. Clark, Elmira Phillips, and Almira Phelps were assigned to the mission school at the Willamette station, pending assignments elsewhere. Senior members of the secular department were Alanson Bears and J. L. Whitcomb, who had charge of the farm. 29 Lewis Hubbell Judson, bringing to bear experience in his family's Otsego County, New York, wheelwright business, served as cabinetmaker and carpenter. He was assisted by his brother-in-law, James Olley, carpenter.

John P. Richmond was dispatched to Fort Nisqually to assist William H. Wilson who had, in June, 1839, established a mission post three quarters of a mile from the Hudson's Bay Company trading center at the southern point of Puget Sound at the direction of Acting Superintendent David Leslie. 30 Joseph H. Frost was to establish a post among
the Clatsop tribe, and numbers of the Tillamooks and Chinooks who traded at Fort George at the mouth of the Columbia. Completing the program, Dr. Ira Babcock and Henry Bridgman Brewer were sent to Wascopam station at the Dalles of the Columbia to reinforce the work begun by Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins. Alvan F. Waller was left without appointment in order that he might assist in mill-building at the nascent station on the Willamette. Waller succinctly reported the denouement in his June 9 communiqué to the Reverend Mr. Atchinson.

We have received our appointments, and shall soon scatter abroad. Some have already gone. One farmer, and most of the mechanics, for the present, go to Willamette for the purpose of building a saw-mill, so that we can get lumber for building, &c.

Thus, in the concentration of mechanical skills at the Southern spur of Willamette Station, was laid the groundwork for the major post of the Oregon Mission during the second--the expansion--phase of its development. Here, too, at Mill Creek on Chemeketa plain are to be found the beginnings of the settlement of Salem.
CHAPTER III


2Lee to David Leslie, dated at New York, November 21, 1828 [1838]. MS, Oregon Historical Society.


4Report of the Oregon Committee to the Board of Managers. Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, III (January 16, 1839), 152-153.


7Decker, op. cit., 95. The account of the December 4 meeting in Philadelphia was published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (January 4, 1839), 77.

8Ibid., 96. The New York tour was described: Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (May 24, 1839), 160. See also: Brosnan, Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon, 144-145.
This would seem symptomatic of the breakdown in widespread adventurous zeal for missionary service described by Dr. Barclay as evolving in America after about 1830. Recruiting campaigns were increasingly necessitated after consistent published reports of serious ill health and perilous hardships experienced in missionary fields—and particularly in Oregon. Barday, op. cit., 273-274.

In August, 1839, Lee urged the need for millwright—a need which was never to be fulfilled—as well as a substitute for an approved carpenter who had broken his arm. "There are wanted still for Oregon mission a millwright and carpenter. Is there no one who will go in the capacity of millwright? We have had no offer yet. And is there none to fill the place of brother Burns, as carpenter, who is prevented from going by a broken arm? Several have offered for carpenters, but they are at such a distance there is not time to send for them. Will any one in this vicinity go? Another farmer will probably fail. Who is ready to go, in case they should be needed? Time is short! Should the Lord stir up any to respond to the above call, let them write me immediately, and no doubt preparations could be made in time." Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV, No. 2 (August 30, 1839), 7.


Brosnan, Source material, ibid., p. 48. Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (May 3, 1839), 147.

Ibid., p. 58 Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII, No. 42 (June 7, 1839), 166. On June 5, 1839, Alvan F. Walker had addressed Dr. Bangs from Lima, New York. He explained that he had just received a communication from Bishop Bedding advising him of his appointment to the Oregon Mission and that questions should be directed to the Corresponding Secretary. "Shall I take my household furniture?" he asked, enumerating "Beds, Bedsteds, Table, Chairs, Bureau, &c., &c." "If I can obtain them: Shall I bring on some barrels of bedding flannel, clothing, &c. for the mission exclusive of my own?" Oregon Mission Correspondence, microfilm, Roll 1, Index 3, Willamette University Library.
During a meeting of the Committee on the Oregon Mission on September 2, 1839, the Secretary was requested "to call on the editors of the Advocate Journal" and "such others of the Daily Papers, as he may think proper" to solicit their help in asking for "Donations in books for the Oregon Mission." The appeal was also to be voiced to the congregations from the pulpit by "each of our stationed preachers." Minutes of the Committee on the Oregon Mission, September 2, 1839. Two other acquisitions of interest were discussed in the minutes for October 5, 1839. The Committee's Secretary, Gabriel P. Disosway, recorded: "A larger Camp meeting tent having been presented to the mission by the Forsyth St. Church, on motion, resolved. That Geo. Dando have the same put in perfect order. Bro. Lee stated that he had purchased for Gov. McLaughlin [sic] of Oregon a Pianoforte, and desired its insurance with the other goods, and it was so ordered."

Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

14 Brosnan source material, op. cit., 120. Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV (September 13, 1839), 15. Reference to architectural handbooks, of which there was a various supply by 1840, has yet to be found among mission records. However, Mr. T. Bridgeman [Thomas Bridgeman], author of several horticultural handbooks, was acknowledged by the Oregon Committee for his personal contribution of "vegetable seed in varieties, savory and medicinal herbs, flower seeds in varieties, one copy of the Young Gardner's Assistant, one copy of the Kitchen Gardner's Instructor, and two copies of the Florists' Guide. The donor says: 'they are intended for propagation of the species and varieties in a new country, rather than for immediate consumption, for which purpose some, however, may be spared the first season." Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV (October 18, 1839), 35.

15 Barclay, loc. cit., 232. When "The Great Reinforcement" reached the field and complemented the forces already at work in there, the Methodist missionary family in Oregon became the "largest single group of foreign mission workers anywhere in the world."

16 Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV (October 18, 1839), 35, cols. 2-3.

17 Lewis Judson to Miss Adelia Judson, Butternuts, November 50, 1839. Leslie Family Letters, Microfilm. Oregon State Archives. The November date is puzzling, as Judson would have been voyaging aboard the Lausanne in November of 1839. It is possible that the letter was misdated. It may have been a kind of "white paper" addressed to a member of his family living in the same town as the writer, as "Butternut" appears on both envelope and letterhead. In any event, the confidence proves a predisposition for religious feeling—the basis of missionary endeavor.

Because of the early date of the application, it seems certain that the candidate made the acquaintance of the Oregon Mission Superintendent—
or at least heard him speak—sometime during Lee's trip through the frontier areas in 1838. The notion of a trustworthy God and the anticipation of difficulty in administering to the Indians seem likely results of contact with Lee. Lee spoke in Springfield in fall 1838. Decker, 104. Brosnan, 100.

Ibid. Campbell listed, among his "circumstances," a family including a wife and child; excellent general health; "a common English education." His wife's age was "not quite 21 yet;" and he gave his own as "little upwards of 26." He expected to have about three hundred dollars to contribute to the missionary enterprise, and he added that he and his family "were but little over a year old in Religion..." Campbell was born in Kanawha County, Virginia (West Virginia), June 12, 1812. Supposedly, his ancestry "dates back through a long and distinguished lineage to the Argyle clan of Scotland." He was the second child of a Robert Campbell, who emigrated to America in the late 18th century and became a manufacturer of salt in Virginia. He married Harriet B. Biddle, February 5, 1835, and settled in Sangamon County, Illinois, and pursued related trades of carpentry. See Fred H. Sylor, ed., "Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton Campbell," Oregon Native Son and Historical Magazine I, No. 8 (January, 1900), 455-459. Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims Abstracted from Applications by the Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, Vol II (1959), p. 38.


Ibid.

Brosnan, Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon, 155. Zion's Herald, X (Boston, October 16, 1839), 166.

"The Departure", ibid., Thomas Adams and William Brooks were the son and charge of Thomas McKay, fur company clerk who married a daughter of Chinook Chief Concomly, and who had entrusted Lee with escorting the boys from Fort Hall to the East to be educated. Upon William Brooks' death in the East in 1839, Lee published an obituary notice in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (July 26, 1839), 196. Here Lee explained that the boy had arrived at the Oregon Mission with a letter of recommendation from Dr. McLoughlin in autumn of 1835. He had exhibited an extraordinary capacity. His original name was Stammann; he was a member of the "Chinook" tribe, and had been born at the mouth of the Columbia around 1818. See Brosnan, Source material, relating to Jason Lee. Notes and Extracts, 1929. Microfilm of typescript, P-A, 318, Vol. 2, p. 101. The Bancroft Memorial Library, University of California, Berkeley. Also: Decker, 87.


During a visit to Osman C. Baker at the seminary in Newbury, Vermont, in February, 1839, Lee read and was impressed by the valedictory address delivered by one of the seminarians during the previous fall. He wed Lucy Thompson, age 28, at the home of her parents in Barre, Vermont, July 28, 1839. Robert James Decker, "Jason Lee, Missionary to Oregon, a Re-evaluation." Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1961, p. 16. Decker cites: H. Francis Grubbs, Jason Lee Memorial Souvenir (n. d.), an item compiled by Lee's son-in-law. Grubbs married Anna Lucy Maria, Lee's daughter by
this marriage. Also: Zion's Herald, X (August 14, 1839), as quoted in Brosnan, Jason Lee, Prophet..., 151-152.

26 Barclay, op. cit., 232.


28 Decker, op. cit., 111-112. Barday, op. cit., 233. In Barclay’s words, the accelerated decrease of the Indian population during these last two years went to “practically dooming in advance any plan that could have been formed for the dying tribes.” Barclay cites: Gustavus Hine, A Voyage Round the World... (Buffalo: G. H. Derby Co., 1850), 90.

29 Barday, op. cit., 234.

30 Decker, op. cit., 112. Barclay, op. cit., 249. Leslie took the initiative as a result of his interest in establishing circuits among the Indian population centered about trading posts in the North. He imagined six to seven thousand could be reached by an outpost at Fort Nisqually, and he expressed confidence in the “bravery and enterprise” of the Northern tribes. In June, 1839, Leslie stated in a letter to the Board that he had “explored and commenced a new station.” William H. Wilson was left in the area to begin construction of a mission house and to learn the native dialect. Barclay, 249. Author cites: David Leslie, letters published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XIV (May 15, 1840), 154; XV (September 30, 1840), 25.

31 Barclay, op. cit., 245.

32 Decker, op. cit., 112.

33 Ibid. Decker gives: Gustavus Hines, A Voyage Round the World... (Buffalo: George H. Derby and Company, 1850), 90. “The lay members of the reinforcement were principally located in the Willamette Settlement, that being the place where the main business operations were carried on.”

34 Alvan F. Waller to the Reverend Fuller Atchinson, loc. cit.
Stations of the Oregon Mission

CHAPTER IV

MISSION ACTIVITIES ON THE WILLAMETTE

The Shift to Chemeketa

Immediately upon Jason Lee's return with a corps of mechanics from the triumphant campaign in the East, work on the combination saw mill and grist mill at a stream ten miles up the Willamette was underway. An entry in the Superintendent's journal recalled:

Soon after we reached the Wallamette, it was judged best to proceed forthwith to erect a sawmill, in order to facilitate our building operations in this station. This together with the transportation of our household furniture, goods, &c., and the furnishing all with provisions, furnished business enough for all hands.

In order to examine more thoroughly the potential of an outpost projected for the Umpqua Valley—some 225 miles South of the Columbia—Lee formed an excursion party including Dr. Elijah White and Gustavus Hines, one of the two missionaries tentatively assigned to the Umpqua station. Setting out on August 18, 1840, the party stopped at noon at the new site and, according to Lee's journal, they

...Dined with our friends who are erecting the saw mill. Distance 8 or 10 miles from the mission.

Despite the lack of a professional millwright and the inconstancy of the water course, intensive effort sustained the project, and by the following
spring, lumber from the third saw mill operative in the Willamette Valley was available for the scheduled construction program. 3

Chemeketa Plain was the intended site of the Oregon Mission Manual Labor Training School. Early in May, 1841, the first Yearly Meeting of the Oregon Mission ministerial branch convened at the Old Mission House and named Gustavus Hines Preacher in Charge and Director of the school which was to be established "in the vicinity of the sawmill." 4 During the next month Lee wrote to the Board of Managers and advised that it was impossible to attempt another winter in the Old Mission House, as it was infested with vermin and threatened by the fast-encroaching river.

The Bugs having fairly driven us out, the Mission School was removed to the Saw Mill, where we hope to be able to erect a suitable building for their /Indian scholars/ reception in the course of the summer... I left my things with the Bugs, and have no house where to lay my head, but still think the children must first be provided for.

The Superintendent explained that self-sufficiency through enterprises such as the farm, the store, and the mill was important to the success of the Indian School.

...it cannot be supposed, that the school can support itself, at least until we have suitable buildings, and are able to bring its energies to bear more systematically... The past winter we have hired some help, in order to keep our saw mill moving, and though we have pressing calls for lumber, we are under the necessity of keeping all for ourselves thus far, but we hope thereafter to pay some of our expenses by means of the Mill.
Carrying the gospel to the Indians of Chemeketa had not been
daunted by lack of buildings. Several missionary families were en-
gaged in building the mill. They camped in tents, traveled the Indian
trails, and preached amid the unfixed, native villages until temporary
log houses were ready for occupancy. Elvira Raymond, wife of
William W. Raymond, principal mechanic in the endeavor, reported to
her parents that "if every any needed the gospel it is the wild indian
of Oregon." On September 3, 1840, she explained her situation.

I am now a number of miles from the mission house
w/h/ere our brethren are building a saw mill...

Mrs. Raymond's description of meetings with the "poor indians--very
wretched and miserable without the blessings of God's grace or provi-
dence--" during this interim is a sample of the sentient Methodist's
naive expectation of familiar standards in native life.

On sabbath morning about 9 on clock we left our tent,
following an indian trail. About a mile and a half at
length we came to what the people here call an indian
village, but to my surprise I found nothing in the form of
a house. The indians had their lodge on a small island near
a pleasant stream of water with nothing but the trees and
s/h/rubs for their protection. Here we found them on the
holy sabbath morning--many of them much engaged in
gathering camus, a root they use for food. They appeared
som/ething/ indifferent to us and all around. The/y/
expressed no surprise at our coming among them.

...after singing to them about a half an hour we collected
some of /them/ together. Mr. Raymond then spoke to them
through an interpreter. He spoke to them of the existence
of a God and the creation of the world... They listened with
some attention. After the close of the subject we again
sang and prayed, and then left them until the next sabbath...
The singing and expounding missionaries must, indeed, have been a curiosity in the unruffled river bed setting in late summer, for.

Mrs. Raymond continued:

...most of them were waiting for our arrival. They were more of them collected and they were more attentive than on the sabbath before, and from that time to this they have appeared more attentive.⁶

For a time, during the difficult period of assimilation and the lag of communication, Eastern conferences could only speculate as to the progress of the promising foreign mission in Oregon. Typical of concerned parents was Jemima Brewer of Wilbraham who began a letter to her children 'Care of J. Lee, Willamet Settlement.' February 28, 1841.

We have heard in the Advocate that you had arrived an unbroken company to Oregon. Praise God...

The ladies in the Academy are going to have a fair at the gentlemen's boarding house this evening. The avails of the fair are to educate a heathen girl in Oregon...

The senior Mrs. Brewer's concept of the status of the Oregon Mission was clearly cued by the Christian Advocate and Journal.

The Lord is doing great things for Oregon. I rejoice that the great work of salvation had already begun, and the fields were white already for harvest when you arrived...

We should be glad to know whether that barrel that was fitted out by our sewing society arrived at Oregon. In the Advocate there was no notice of it. I should like to know whether your goods landed safe.
Setting up housekeeping was inconvenient at best, even with the quantities of supplies which were included in the reinforcement. Much of the equipment seems to have been lost in transit. Mrs. Raymond explained:

...We have lost much and give away much and many of our most valuable things were not shipt at New York as they were ordered to be by Mr. Lea. He'd had so much other peoples business to attend that he could not attend to his own. These things that I spoke of was our crockery and stove apparatus [sic]. I feel the lost of these things but do not mourn over them... ⁸

If others, like Mrs. Raymond, were philosophical about such privations of missionary work, the lack of "society" was the insuperable hardship which drew expressions of regret from all. Overlooking the "fever and ague" suffered the first season particularly by the missionaries on the Willamette, Mrs. A. J. Olley, wife of one of the mechanics working on the mill—and sister of Lewis Judson, wrote on November, 1840, to Mrs. Brewer at Wascopam:

We are here supplied with every necessary comfort and I think all our privations can scarcely amount to Missionary trials, except it be the loss of society both social and domestic... ⁹

The Secular Departments

During the early stages of development at Willamette, residents throughout the Valley had been dependent upon one another for goods and services. An account book kept at the Willamette Station by mission blacksmith and manager of the farm, Alanson Beers, is revealing of
the interchange. The sole surviving record of the kind, it was begun in the spring of 1838 and it appears to have been the second in a series of bill books. The entries show that payment for mission surplus and blacksmith work varied from notes of hand, produce; and objects of local manufacture needed in mission operations, to such types of labor as construction, branding cattle, and transporting supplies.

Trade was consistent between Willamette Cattle Company stockholders Ewing Young, who was also the operator of the region’s second saw mill, and George Gay, as well as the former Hudson’s Bay Company employees retired to farming in the Valley. Among the latter class, Étienne Luder was a close neighbor of the mission and a dependable supplier of grain and staples in return for the smithing he needed. Some of the immigrants were skilled tradesmen, and, by their production or acquisitions elsewhere, were helpful in augmenting mission importations. In 1840 former ship’s carpenter Felix Hathaway was credited for 120 lights of sash valued at eighteen dollars. On an active day of trading—September 21, 1838—Webley J. Hauhurst, a close associate of the missionaries who shared in the championship of United States jurisdiction in the Oregon country, drew a silk handkerchief ($1.50)—the item most valued for trade with the Indians—as well as a bear skin, elk skin, and an inexpensive oil stove. His bill was offset by a total of $42.00 credit for repairing saddles for the missionaries and supplying a chair, three cradles, eight rakes, an ox yoke, and two fans.
Charles Rondeau and Charles Plante earned credit by several days labor on Dr. White's house. Calvin Tibbits was another who worked for the mission at a dollar-a-day wage scale. During six days of marking Willamette Cattle Company stock, William Turner cleared half the price of a coat he had drawn from the mission store the previous month. "One large Beaver" valued at $2.20 gained trapper Billique sewing silk and an unspecified subscription—perhaps to the short-lived Calapooya mission—on the second of July, 1838. Availing himself of the preparations at Willamette for receiving the newly-announced reinforcement, W. Anderson cleared his bill for "sundries" in November, 1839 by twenty-one days work salting salmon and a five day commission to Fort Vancouver. In January, 1840, he provided the mission the opportune service of "himself and horse"—a two day commission paying $3.00.

Clothing, yardage goods, bedding, and foodstuffs are the most frequently specified of trade items. Only occasionally are there references such as the "6 large Tumblers" and "11 cups and saucers" of Alason Beers. Usually, aggregate evaluations were given for "sundries from the mission store." The picture of specific household articles is made more complete by intra-mission correspondence. The brethren made their wants for tools known to the mission steward, and, from his depot on the Willamette and the store at Fort Vancouver, George Abernethy watched that the next available "pitt saw" was sent to Wascopam. The sisters lamented the
lack of combs and promised to watch for "mortars" and "strainers" during their visits--frequently confinements near the physician--to the central station. After the reinforcement of 1840, stoves were regular equipment. There seems always to have been a dearth of clothing, fragile wares--especially crockery--which could not as easily sustain the shipping and portaging involved in supplying the widely-scattered mission families.

The marketing of surplus goods became a major division of mission operations on the appointment of a steward. The Superintendent held to his hopes that the mercantile department would redound to the stability of the mission. Completing a letter to Nathan Bangs at the Mission House at "Wallamette" March 15, 1841, he was pleased to report on the spiritual revival at the Dalles Station.

The Lord has done wonders there, and shall not a powerful effort be made to sustain the work, and make it permanent!

In the midst of his enthusiasm over this progress, Lee wondered if the store was making advantage of what the market would bear.

...we have fixed the N. Y. retail price, (at which the salaries were to be paid,) at fifteen per cent, on all wholesale prices. Perhaps that is too low, and if so I wish you to have the N. Y. retail price attached to the Bills of goods that may be sent out, and we shall know what to charge.

By November, 1841, the mercantile branch had become so shot with logistical problems that Abernethy was forced to complain to the Board.
...In the first place our last Cargo of goods was landed at Vancouver, and stored; a division of the most necessary articles made in proportion to the wants of the different stations. The largest quantity and, in fact, nearly the whole was intended to be forwarded to the principal station. Part was forwarded as far as the Falls of the Willamette, and Part left in the store at Vancouver. Of the part got up to the Falls, a portion was sent on to the Willamette Station, where a store was opened and goods sold to the Missionaries, and settlers of the country— I, under the direction of Br. Lee, acting as storekeeper. This employed all my time nearly. Of the goods left at Vancouver, the Missionaries from the different stations would get the key of the Store, go in, and open the Boxes & Barrels and if they saw any thing they wanted take it, and write to me that they had taken such and such articles—and in some instances I would receive another Letter from them afterwards saying they had forgotten to mention some articles &c. Now I do not think it possible to keep correct accounts when business is done in such a way. I think my proper place is on the Columbia River where I can receive the goods at once, and charge them to the different individuals as they leave the main depot, but if my place is to furnish the families, of course, I must be where the most of the families are— I have requested Br. Lee several times, as we have no store on the Columbia, or place of our own, to build a storehouse, but he thinks I had better remain here as they must have some person to do the business of the station here. 

Revealing of the volume of business handled by the mercantile division is the letter written by Abernethy from Willamette on August 3, 1843, in which he acknowledged receipt of goods brought in the Ship Dania /Diana/? that May. He told Charles Pitman, then Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society:

...the packages appeared to be in good order generally—much better than those received /per/ Ship Lausanne, I found in one of the Donation Boxes a small Slip from Brother Dando wishing to know if the Donation goods were in good order. I am happy to say they were all in good order and the goods dry—they were well put up. I found
a discrepancy in the number, as I thought, but I may be mistaken. In the margin of the Invoice they are all called Cases and I expected to receive 39 Cases or Boxes. I fell short in the number but since I commenced opening the Goods I find some of them are packed in Barrels. I will examine closely into it and should there be an error will let you know.

Abernethy proceeded with instructions for marking boxes for transshipment via the Sandwich Islands in order to lessen the confusion arising "from articles strapped or tied together getting loose and making two or more out of one."

A Bill of Lading should be very explicit and not have marks & numbers alike for different Invoices. - A Letter is the best shipping mark. Where there are so many marked "Rev. Jason Lee," and [when] the Goods are reshipped, as these were, the New York Bill of Lading and the Island Bill of Lading will differ; in this case I could not compare them. In the Island Bill of Lading every thing was particularly described and they made out thirty eight packages more than the New York Bill. This may [arise] from articles strapped or tied together getting loose and making two or more out of one-- the Island Bill of Lading being so clear enabled me to compare with the Invoices. For instance it states 10 nests Tubs, six Bundles Brooms (70). The Invoice says shipped 6 doz-- showing a loss of 2 brooms. - And 11 crowbars, showing a loss of 1 as [per] Invoice which says 12. - These are all the losses I was able to discover in landing the Goods; on the Island Bill of Lading Cases were called cases and Barrels were marked Barrels. In the N. Y. Bill of Lading all are called packages. I told Cap. Nye I was short five cases. In examining his Bill of Lading we found the missing. Marks were not shipped at Oahu as Cases, and as I went by the Invoice marks of the donation goods, I will probably find them in Barrels. -

I am now busy opening the goods and supplying the Brethren who are very much in want of many of the articles and many that did not come. - We have been obliged to purchase as individuals from other stores; and pay the
men working for the mission by giving them drafts on other stores. Consequently, a much larger amount will be drawn for in the States than would have been drawn had the Goods arrived here last Fall—... As far as I have sold goods to settlers since the arrival of the new Cargo I have obtained from 100 to 150 per cent advance on the Invoice and in every case refused to give credit. I shall endeavor to get in what is due the mission and as far as I can prevent any new debts from being made... 

Willamette Falls was approved as the new head office of the mercantile branch by action of the second Annual Meeting in 1842. The Superintendent was grateful to report to Charles Pitman during a visit there that:

Two American Brigs have visited us this season and brought a good assortment of goods, for this country. Our stock, such as was needed for ourselves, was exhausted and our people were in great want of many things that came in the Brigs.

He felt that the missionaries were justified in the necessity of giving "drafts on the Brigs to a large amount."

This will be advantage to the Board, for it is much better to pay cash in N. Y. than to pay goods at N. Y. retail prices.

Lee reported, further, that Abemethy had purchased a "pretty large quantity of Salt, which he got low." The profit this stock could provide for payment of wages of the hired help made it seem a most useful transaction.

The Steward's diverse interests had, by 1844, developed to such an extent that he was selling stock in a "press & necessary apparatus
for printing in this country." With a letter to Charles Pitman dated at Willamette Falls March 27, 1844, he remitted drafts totaling $800.6i, an amount he presumed would be "all sufficient to start a small paper and print books that may be wanted." Abernethy could report that business was pressing as usual,

...there is a great deal to do in the mission store now since the arrival of our Goods. The population has been nearly doubled and the store is always occupied by one or more purchasers during the day-- and what makes it worse for those attending stores is the want of circulating medium...

With reference to the competitive Hudson's Bay Company post nearby, "individuals of the Mission," he concluded, run up a large account, "and Mr. Campbell has procured goods there for the School. His bill alone was £ 128.16.10."

Abernethy's assistant in the mercantile department was Alvan F. Waller. The diversity of secular missionary labors on the Willamette is suggested in a single, conceitful, phrase written by Waller in answer to his correspondent's question about the work and how it prospered.

My labor has been a little of almost everything. I have been carpenter and joiner, receiver and forwarder of goods, retail merchant, salmon trader and salter, boat and canoe maker, stone layer, blacksmith, farmer, cooper, cobler, nurse, and physian, &c. &c., &c.

Thus far, Waller assured,

we have had something to put on, though my every-day appearance at times is more like a ploughman, or even a pauper, than a minister. We frequently need buckskin pants...
Waller described his burden as host at the nascent metropolis.

We are so situated as to have an abundance of company. My house sometimes presents more the appearance of a public house than otherwise. We have frequently set three tables for breakfast, in order to feed all who are in want.

One of the Wallers' guests--Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, who was in command of the United States Navy Expedition which explored the Valley in the summer of 1844--was impressed by his hospitable reception and noted Mrs. Waller's admirable management of her cooking stove.

Mr. W.'s wife is one of those peculiar bodies that will not suffer any part of her house to be soiled many minutes, although all is of the roughest material. Her management of her cooking stove fairly excited my admiration, no engineer ever knew his engine better or could manage it with more adroitness. She well knew on which side the heat was operation & by a proper tuning gesture &c., &c., dinner was served consisting of salmon, tea & bread & butter it evidently showed the woman's determination to carry what she had been brought up to along with her in whatever part of the world she might go.

Waller's recounting of his situation in the spring of 1843 revealed Mrs. Waller "weak, discouraged, and homesick." Also revealed was the status of servants employed by the mission:

I have been obliged to hire a Hawaiian at ten dollars per month to assist in household affairs, as no female help can be got here. This I have to pay in addition to paying his passage to and from this country. He milks my cows, washes, fetches water, cuts wood, and sows some in the garden. It is, however, difficult to get him, some days, to do enough to pay for his board. My wife cannot [atten] to all that is necessary to be done in this place, and this is the best help we can get.
Spurred by his faith in the mission's influence for good among the Indians and settlers, Lee consistently sought to refine the supporting secular projects. In November, 1841, he instructed the steward to apply for "articles for a Shingle Mill" to be "forwarded by the first conveyance." It is significant that he specified "Four circular Saws - 2 of them 28 Inches diameter & 2 of them 30." He also asked for "Two Axles for said Saws three feet in length made of 1 3/4 inch square bar, with collars to hold the saw..." It is not known--and it is not likely--that such a substantial order for equipment was honored by the Board at a time when the Missionary Society faced financial crisis, but the specification for circular saws--representing advanced technology in lumber milling of the day--is indicative of the earnestness with which Lee was meeting the challenge. In the interest of permanency he was not about to stint the department of carpentry. Where requests seemed reasonable, he was receptive to advancement within this sphere.

During his campaign tour through Upper New York State in the spring of 1839, the Superintendent encountered Joseph Wheeler--a "zealous & devoted Christian," a "Blacksmith" and "Brickmaker" who could "operate to some advantage as a carpenter if needs be"--an accommodating man who eagerly sought engagement to the Oregon Mission and was disappointed. Wheeler added the following post script to his application.

P.S. Br Lee requested me to examine some Turning Lathes bequeathed [sic] to the Oregon Mission by Br Colby deceased. 2 of them are tolerably good, 1 is an old one not of much service. The tenoning machine is a large framed machine and probably would be better sold
here than to take it along as it will fetch about all it is worth in this City. The saws are not the best but will undoubtedly do what work will be wanted of the [at] the Oregon Mission. The waggon I did not see as that is in Lockport, but Br John Colby told me that he believed it nearly new and thinks the Harness is tolerably good. You will therefore dispose of the whole in that way you think best for the interests of the Mission...

By a twist of fate, one of the mission carpenters recruited for the reinforcement of 1840 originally enlisted for service as a missionary steward. He preferred the position as steward, but was careful to let his application show qualifications "in the mechanical line" and for "school teaching." His post script was well marked, for he thought to add: "Should the department of Missionary Steward be already filled I would still further apply for the department of labour as cabinet maker." He thought of his appointment was assured by the accompanying attestations of his "good knowledge of bookkeeping and of business transactions in general," as well as his ability "to carry on some light branch of mechanical business such as cabinet making." Charles Star, Preacher in Charge of the Chinango circuit of the Oneida Conference provided the crowning endorsement.

Br L. H. Judson... possesses more than ordinary talents for a Local preacher.

At the Willamette Station Judson was given ample opportunity to practice his range of talents as preacher, carpenter-mechanic, as well as cabinet maker. His requisition for supplies which was addressed to the Board by the mission steward on March 11, 1842, includes items
which suggest the decorative scope of cabinet work planned. "By request of Brother Judson and sanction of the Superintendant," Abernethy itemized "6 turning saws assorted from 2 feet 6 inches long and 3/4 inch in width to 1 foot 6 inches long and 3/8 of an inch wide;" "2 keyhole saws," a pair of 1/2 inch molding planes. He listed brushes of assorted sizes for oil paint; "two marble tables for grinding oil paints and two millers to accompany them;" as well as "6 Camels Hair pencils for ornamenting cabinetware assorted sizes from 3/8 inch to 1/8 inch."

For mixing thinning and varnishing, Bro. Judson would also need "50 lbs Gum Shellack; 2 lbs Gum Benzoin; 2 Gallons Alcohol, "90 proof; "20 lbs Red Lead; 10 lbs Brown Umber; 6 lbs litharge; 25 lbs white Lead;" and "84 Gallons Linseed Oil." Rounding out the cabinetry supplies which could be forwarded "to the Islands care of Messrs Ladd & Co. Oahu, if there should be no opportunity to send them direct," were: "1/2 Ream of best ground glass sand paper - coarse & fine;" "1 malleable cast Iron vice (patent) weight 20 lbs," "6 doz pair of brass butts" of assorted sizes from 1 to 3 inches; and a "1 Piece Turkey Oil Stove."

Thus, there is ample evidence that the men of the Oregon Mission made every attempt to comply with their Superintendant's imperative to be independent of Fort Vancouver. Yet, setbacks in the operation of the mill, the loss of shipments and other reverses, seem to have forced a degree of dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company. It was in
1841 that the mission "borrowed" 13,000 feet of lumber from the Company--possibly to replace "four or five hundred dollars worth of lumber" which had been "consumed by fire"--but acquired, in any case, for the construction at Chemeketa. 35

Fort Vancouver Sale Shop and Depot Inventories for 1840-1841 show that a full complement of carpenters tools for preliminary and finishing work was available in the Valley at the time of the mission's major expansion and building program. If such items were not already furnished by their own resources, mission carpenters had access to jack plane irons for cleaning rough lumber; and--for shaping and hollowing--grooving plane irons as well as one, one-and-a-half, and two-inch grooving planes ready-made. 36 From the Depot at Fort Vancouver, also they might have augmented their backlog of pit and cross cut saws; hand, cooper's frame, and mill saws; and specialized sash, turning, keyhole, and tenon saws. 37

Other essential items available on the spot were paring and socket chisels, shell and screw augers, scribing awls, files and rasps, and hardware--fittings such as hinges, plates, and locks--and a variety of cut nails, screws, and rivets. Among the building materials on hand at Vancouver in the spring of 1841 were 1,571 panes of window glass 7 x 9 inches and 602 panes measuring 7 1/2 x 8 1/3 inches. There were also to be found glazier's putty, soft lead; and paint, which ranged in color from black, blue, and green, to "Spanish Brown," yellow, and white. 38
Materials for building—as well as palm leaf and such staples as sugar and molasses—were imported by the missionaries from the Sandwich Islands. From cargoes of coral, the Oregon Mission is known to have obtained lime, presumably for chimney mortar or for the binder of brick foundations. For "framing, joinery and fencing purposes," remarked Gustavus Hines, fir is "the principal timber used in the country. Cargoes of it are shipped annually to the Sandwich Islands, where it finds a ready market at a high price."

One of the detailed accounts of the variety of woods available for construction purposes was provided by Alvan Waller—who was ever alert to milling potential in the region.

Fir is the principal timber. This is of two kinds, red and white. In growth it very much resembles the pine, and is very tall... We have the yellow pine, cedar, hemlock, cypress, yew-tree, oak-maple (not the sugar-maple,) ash, oak, alder, godwood, laurel, cotton-wood or balm of Gilead...

Writing from "Clewewalla," August 19, 1842, regarding the average potential of the site, Waller reported to his regular correspondent, the Reverend Fuller Atkinson:

I am stationed at the Willamette Falls. This is rather a romantic spot, yet many things conspire to render it rather pleasant than otherwise. Its advantages for water power are very little, if any, exceeded by those of Rochester. There is at this place now a cooper's shop, two small stores established this season, by two Americans, named Briggs. One is to be permanent, if circumstances will justify. It is established by Mr. Cushion of Newburyport,
Mass. I understand he takes a deep interest in the affairs of Oregon. We have two mission buildings. The store house, which I first built, and in which I have till recently lived with another family—the chamber pretty well filled with goods—and a dwelling house so far done as that brother Willson, one of our carpenters, has moved into it.

Waller explained his situation further, stating that "two other families live on the island," and that a saw mill was raised and expected to be running within a few weeks. The Hudson's Bay Company had two houses in the settlement "for their convenience;" and Waller proposed to build the needed meeting house within the year.

By May, 1843, Waller could report the development of a second saw mill. It was operated by some of the missionaries and local entrepreneurs under the title of the Island Milling Company, but had no formal connection with the mission.

We have at this place a growing little village. Two saw mills in operation—and one flowering mill will be ready to run soon. Besides these there are 29 buildings, principally frame, some very good. Others are preparing to build...

With the re-shuffling of appointments owing to vacancies in the field, some of the missionaries less skilled in mechanical arts found themselves responsible for construction. Writing to Henry Brewer from Clatsop, where he had recently been sent from Willamette to fill the breach left by W. W. Kone, William Raymond described the improvements at the station near the mouth of the Columbia.
Since my arrival at this station - a house has been erected 35 x 39 - shingled (shaved shingles), sided, part of it floored & ceiled - house moved 8 or 10 miles on horse carts and canoes - Sleepers & plates hewed in the wood. The first I ever undertook - if you should see the / y you would consider me a carpenter of the basest sort or one who had but little knowledge in the business before - However it is good enough for Missionaries. 46

At Wascopam, near the Dalles of the Columbia, building was carried out on a more sophisticated plane. Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins had managed, with the help of Hawaiian laborers hired from Fort Vancouver, to build a one and a half story mission house measuring 20 by 30 feet as early as 1843. A complement of log structures was gradually added. Perkins' account of the Oregon Mission dated March 21, 1843, and published the following September, described the necessity of hiring "gangs of natives" to drag timber. Red fir was packed ten to twelve miles from the mountains by horses. Perkins amplified the "great perplexity of settling with the crews," as it was "rarely possible to make them satisfactory equivalent for their labor." "Without drawing upon the Hudson's Bay Company, " he remarked, "we never should have been able to obtain help from them at all." 46

In those days the pay of a native for a trip to the Willamette Settlement (about one hundred and fifty miles,) was one shirt, one fathom of baize, headchief, knife,awl, needle, gunworm, flint, pint dipper, and fifteen or twenty loads of ammunition. 47

As immigration to the Valley via the Columbia gorge increased and raised the demand for "native help," the multifarious wages "more than doubled."
With the arrival of the reinforcing party in 1840, additional buildings for Wascompaam were contemplated. Henry Brewer and lay associate, David Carter, completed a barn in the summer of 1841, and in the fall, Perkins recalled, they helped in the construction of a "house of worship for the natives" which measured 40 by 30 feet, was built of logs, and roofed in shingles. The gable ends of the combination school and house of worship were covered with boards, and "six good windows" were set "in the lower part." Once a workshop had been devised, effort was concentrated on a more suitable dwelling for two missionary families.

**Educational Service**

It is Decker's opinion that Superintendent Lee's program for the Indians embraced distinct areas of spiritual guidance, education, and evangelization of the youth. The school was regarded as a means of teaching "new concepts of living by example and through active, personal participation."

It was in New York, during Lee's preparations for reinforcement, that plans for the manual labor training school had begun to take shape. On April 10, 1839, a meeting of the "Committee on the Oregon Mission" included—by special request—Henry Moore, supplier of sash. On this occasion the Committee resolved:

...that Rev. Lee be authorized to build a school house 50 x 40 at the mission calculated for the accommodation...
of 200 children— the first floor for the female and the second for male scholars, to be divided into eight rooms.

"H. Moore" was "to make 32 pr sashes for the school." Furthermore, plans called for "a boarding house" for the accommodation of the Indian children and for the Steward or Proctor of the school, to be 100 x 30 feet and two stories high.

For "the boarding house" Moore was authorized to make 40 pairs of 50 sashes.

Inevitably, the missionaries determined the success of plans as they took shape in the field. Minutes of the first Annual Meeting of the ministerial branch of the Oregon Mission convened at Willamette in 1841 show a tendency for ambition to overtake prudence. It was the impractical element—those least qualified to carry out construction programs—for whom buildings seemed the desirable tangible sign of accomplishment. On the opening day of the policy-making sessions which were to lay much groundwork of consequence, W. W. Kone moved that the Meeting have power to appoint a building committee "whose business it shall be to consult the wants of each Station, and to make appropriations of such funds as the Superintendent [sic] may place at their disposal." Ultimately, the resolution was reconsidered, acted upon, and expunged from the minutes. 51
The fourth day of deliberations during this initial ministerial meeting was enlivened by the arrival from Clatsop Station of J. H. Frost, who had been delayed by inclement weather. The session was notable for its consideration of the "literary wants" of the country. David Leslie's resolution of May 5 regarding education was called up, and the "mover" of the resolution offered, among "many plausible reasons" for immediate effort in "instructing the rising youth" the "security of female virtue," and "the prospective political and national interests of Oregon."

Supporting remarks on the role of a literary institution in elevating character were made by J. P. Richmond. J. H. Frost added the argument of permanent good to be rendered the half breed population who had benefit of "education under protestant influence." The resolution passed unanimously, and a committee was appointed to recommend a plan of operation in educational matters. Appointed were Gustavus Hines, Chairman; J. P. Richmond, and David Leslie.

When the meeting reconvened the following Monday, May 10, the committee on the "Willamette boarding school" was ready with a report.

...it is both desirable and important to pursue such measures as will effectually sustain the school. We therefore consider it necessary that a Steward and Stewardess should be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the boarding house, and to exercise the entire control over the children while out of school, and particularly, to regulate their conduct while at their meals; to see that they are properly clothed, and to perform family devotions with them.
On May 12 the Report of the committee—now headed by Leslie—was read and reconsidered. As revised, it recommended that

...Gustavus Hines be appointed as the Superintendent of the School, Mr. Robert Shortess as the Teacher;—Mr. Brewer and Wife (or Mr. Raymond & Wife) as Steward and Stewardess.—The Teacher and Steward to act under the Supervision of the Superintendent of the school.54

The committee further recommended that the "buildings for the accommodation of the mission school" be erected "on some healthy situation, selected for that purpose; and that in connection therewith a small farm should be commenced and cultivated, exclusively by the labors of the male students, under the supervision of the Supt. of the Establishment..." The report was adopted, and David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, and Superintendent Lee, as President ex officio of the Meeting, were elected to determine a site for the Mission boarding school. Two days later, on May 14, the sub-committee reported that:

...after having examined a number of places, we are of the opinion that a site in the vicinity of the Saw-mill offers more facilities than any others we have examined. Your Committee therefore recommend that immediate measures be taken to erect such buildings in the vicinity as are necessary for the accommodation of the institution.55

The report was adopted, thus initiating the next phase of building at Chemeketa. At a distance of about a mile southeast of the Mill, construction,—not of a school house and boarding house, but of a boarding school and parsonage, was put under the supervision of Hamilton Campbell, "Architect."
On the final day of the Annual Meeting—May 14—it was proposed by J. P. Richmond that plans for a literary institution go forward and that the appropriate committee be authorized to solicit contributions during the ensuing year. A report from the committee was requested for the next annual meeting. It was resolved that David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, and Jason Lee "be authorized to use exertions to provide for the present educational wants of the community." Thus, in the projection of a separate school, which was to provide an English curriculum for the children of missionaries and settlers, was the base laid for the Oregon Institute—which later became Willamette University.

Another accomplishment of the final day of the ten-day session was the recording of the stations of the preachers. Missionary in charge of the Wallamette Settlement—a concentration of thirty-nine missionaries, seven half-breeds, and three Hawaiians—was the Reverend David Leslie. Gustavus Hines was Preacher in Charge and Director of the Oregon Mission Manual Labor School. Heading five missionaries at Wascopam Station was the Rev. Daniel Lee. The Rev. A. F. Waller was Preacher in Charge of the "Indian mission at Wallamette Falls;" and the Rev. J. H. Foster and Rev. W. W. Kone were in charge of Clatsop mission. The Rev. J. P. Richmond, M.D., had charge of Nisqually Station. The meeting adjourned, according to due process, but not without a presentation of thanks of the Meeting, on David Leslie's motion, to the Superintendant for the "patience and forebearance" with which he had "presided over its deliberations."
The status Chemeketa gained as central station on the Willamette through its building program in connection with the Manual Labor Training School was demonstrated by the chosen meeting place of the second Yearly Meeting which convened May 16-25, 1842, "at the Carpenter's Shop near the O. M. M. L. School." Unable to carry out its charge from the previous year, the Committee on Education made no report, but Hines and Lee pressed for resolutions on the fulfilling of steward's and teaching posts for the Training School. "After some discussion," it was resolved that a committee of two be appointed "to confer with Mr. Little John [sic] in reference to his engaging as an assistant [sic] in the O. M. M. L. School;" and it was recommended that "Br. H. Campbell be employed in the Steward's department of the M. Labour School, so soon as the building shall be ready to receive the school." By the end of the first week, a favorable report was brought in, and it was deemed "advisable" to "employ Mr. Littlejohn in connection with the O. M. M. L. School and that he be paid $500.00 dollars," with his "House-rent, use of a stove, and his firewood" in gratuity. Finally, in connection with the training school, it was determined that a committee of one be appointed to visit the Mission school semi-annually, and report to the Meeting, and A. F. Waller was named to this post.

It was at the mission headquarters at Chemeketa that plans for the school for missionaries' and settlers' children were launched. In keeping with the resolution of the first Yearly Meeting, Jason Lee called the
missionaries and interested members of the community together on January 17, 1842, at which time a committee was appointed to arrange a major policy meeting. The preliminary meeting can be viewed another example of what Decker calls the "peculiar dichotomy" in which the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley acted "both as members of the mission and independently as members of the settler community."^62

The public meeting pursuant to the English School was held at the Old Mission House on February 1, 1842. It produced a name for the institution—"Oregon Institute"—and a mission-controlled, nine-member, board of trustees which included Jason Lee, David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, Josiah L. Parrish, Lewis H. Judson, George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, Hamilton Campbell, and Dr. Ira L. Babcock. It remained for a convention at the parsonage at Chemeketa on October 26 to confirm the constitution of the Oregon Institute and fix the Methodist representation on the board at no less than eight of nine members. On action of a further convention in May, 1843, it was determined that the school should always be assured of supervision by some Christian Church. Later in the fall of 1842 the building of the Oregon Institute was begun on nearby Wallace Prairie under the direction of William H. Gray, a lay missionary recently retired from Guty at the American Board's interior mission at Waiilatpu and employed by the Oregon Mission as secular agent in charge of the English school.
Much as he disclaimed it, David Leslie was a man of romantic vision; and he showed himself to be an eclectic litterateur. With a view to raising funds, he presented the most optimistic—nearly euphoric—picture of civilization in the Willamette Valley. As the plans for the Oregon Institute neared final shape, Leslie, having labored over many versions, sent his appeal from Honolulu to be published in the Christian Advocate and Journal March 1, 1843.

...The rich and extensive valley of the Willamette is already regarded as the site and centre of civilization. The flocks of the husbandman feed and lie down, and the ploughshare of industry brightens the soil, where the haughty chief and savage warriors of a departed race once marshaled their savage hosts. And whatever be our sympathies for the red man, we cannot resist the conviction, that when his wasting race shall disappear, or be lost in amalgamation, then agricultural districts, manufacturing villages, and commercial towns, will occupy these fertile and extensive plains. The elements of a rapidly increasing population are already here...

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This brethren, is our field. Here we have an infant nation committed to our care, whose future character and destiny will tell to posterity how we have fulfilled our high and important trust.66

The well-honed phrases of Leslie's communiques give the causes for his concern. He felt the Catholic rivalry.

...an ominous night of Papal darkness is brooding over the land.67

He was convinced that "by right of discovery & preoccupancy this portion of our Lord's inheritance" belonged to the Methodist Church as it was "She" who first heard & responded to the Macedonians cry..."
It is not ignorance alone that we have to deplore and contend with, not one of those least sickening causes which are always present in a semi heathen state are wanting here. --The very moral atmosphere seems charged with a deadly measmi, exhaled from the mouths of degenerate humanity & stagnant minds. -

The deplorable want of anything like a suitable early training, instruction or discipline of the young, either by precept or example, is laid the foundation for the early development & rapid growth of the animal propensities, - selfishness & pride, -- While every germ of intellectual & moral worth is crushed in embryo.

I feel well assured that the only hope that remains in prospect for the sons, & especially for the daughters of Oregon is in need of an institution which will furnish an asylum for the security of their morals & virtue, & afford them the means of intellectual improvement.

Thus, Leslie made his bid for support.

Were I to propose a plan I would say, let every traveling preacher make an effort on his own circuit or station throughout our connection, and make returns, at, or before, the time of our next General Conference, in 1842, to the treasurer of our Missionary Board; and let the treasurer designate and authorize some person in Oregon to draw on him for such amount as shall have been received for said object.

It may be proper here to observe, that as missionaries we do not feel ourselves at liberty to turn aside from the specific work assigned us by the Board. But at the same time we have felt that something must be done in the cause of education, and some incipient measures have already been taken; a Board of Trustees has been chosen, and some money is pledged on subscriptions, and we are resolved that we must, and will have a school. What do you say to the subject?

The Oregon Mission Manual Labor Training School is seen by

Barclay as the best demonstration of the "practical common sense" of the
Superintendent. The tradition of the operation of such a school, providing classroom instruction on the underpinning of manual training in agricultural and domestic arts, was known to Lee—first hand—in his native region of Lower Canada and through his observations at the Shawnee Mission in Kansas—point of his stopover on the first trip to the East in 1838.

Construction of the boarding school—a three story frame building measuring 71 by 24 feet—was begun in the summer of 1841, lapsed, and was not yet complete with weatherboards and cornice before the retrenchment of 1844. With its three stories and square belfry tower, it was for a time, the most imposing edifice in the territory. It had cost the Board "in excess" of $8,000 to provide the facility. While it was incomplete, the school building began to receive Indian scholars transferred from the original station as early as 1842.

The first to be erected of the two buildings in the training school complex was a dwelling house for the Director of the School and Preacher in Charge of the Willamette Settlement—Gustavus Hines. Thus, the central station gained the first Methodist parsonage in Oregon and a building which would eventually have a tenure as the premier building of the Oregon Mission. From all indications, it was considered a worthy building—perhaps too worthy a structure for the resources of the mission. The Superintendent later aired his vexation over its expense during a special meeting of the Board of Managers.
A house was wanted for himself and Bro. Campbell. The plan was drawn out. I thought it was too small for two families, and it was agreed to build a larger one, the size was defined, and Mr. H. profess'd himself much pleased. I went from home. On my return I found he had altered the plan on his own responsibility. He said it would cost but little more, I thought it would cost $100. more. I expressed my surprise. He was displeased and told me I ought rather to have congratulated him upon the noble looking house he had raised.  

Though enrollment at the Training School had been reduced by an epidemic owing to the influx of white settlers, the Indian students appear to have profited by the new situation. The missionaries were much encouraged. Carrying out his assignment as visiting committee to the School, Alvan F. Waller made a favorable report in 1843 to the Yearly Meeting assembled at his mission house near the Falls of the Willamette.

The visiting Committee to the Or. M. M. Labor School begs leave to report. That having visited the school last fall, he found it in an orderly state. To some questions on the Scriptures correct answers were given by the children. The situation of the School in reference to convenient buildings was such that but little had been done in teaching letters. Several of the children had recently professed religion and gave good evidence of a change of heart. May 12th, S3 visited the School, in the new house erected for that purpose. The State of religious feeling had increased during the winter. Four children had died, leaving a satisfactory evidence that death to them was 'gain.' The health of three or four is at present poor. From 25 to 30 had been taught during the winter, and are yet connected with the school, and receiving instruction. Some of them were studying Geography, Grammar, and Arithmetic. Several new scholars had been received into the school and were doing well in the rudiments. Some of them read in letters and pronounce readily.
Upon the whole the school is in an encouraging state. And it is a source of gratitude and praise that God has so signally sanctioned the undertaking by letting his blessing rest upon it all...

In the expansive spirit engendered by this report, the Meeting resolved that the Manual Labor School is deserving of our confidence and support, and also the confidence and support of the Church, and that we will do what we can to sustain it by increasing its numbers. - and otherwise promoting its interests.

Thereupon, a committee of two was appointed to visit the School semi-annually the present year and report to the next annual Meeting.73 It was during the same Meeting that Gustavus Hines was granted his request to be released "from the direction" of the Training School. He maintained his post as Preacher in Charge of the "Walamäté Station and the Manual Labor School."74

Posting Henry Brewer from Fort Vancouver on October 24, 1842, school steward Hamilton Campbell was reassuring, but at the same time he revealed that, the slow process of building continued to stand in the way of instruction.

The Lord is still with us at the Wallamäté... Children are coming into the School, faster than I can take care of them. I presume I could get 200, into the School this winter if I had the means to take care of them--...I never have at any time seen them more deeply engaged than at present. A few evenings since, I met them in class. The Lord was indeed in the midst. The most of them expressed a Strong desire to be Sanctified from all sin.75
Early in the summer of 1841, the mission was visited by the United States Exploring Expedition to the Pacific under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. Teams of officers, topographers, naturalists, and artists explored the length and breadth of the valley of the Willamette, accumulating data for a map of the region and a comprehensive report to be submitted to the government. The survey of the Northwest Coast was presented to the Twenty-seventh Congress in January, 1843—in time, in the words of James C. Bell, "to be of use to the emigrants of 1843, who considered it the most accurate and valuable source of information at their command." 76

Wilkes stopped at the Old Mission site and noted "the log houses which the Messrs. Lee built when they first settled here." His description of the hospital, in which he was pleasantly received by the Abernethys on June 7, indicates a predilection for double porch construction common to "Mill Place."

The hospital is now used for dwellings by some of the missionaries. It is, perhaps, the best building in Oregon, and accommodates at present four families: it is a well-built frame edifice, with a double piazza in front. Mr. Abernethy and his wife entertained us kindly. He is the secular agent of the mission. Order and neatness prevail in their nice apartments, where they made us very comfortable, and gave us such hospitality as we should receive at home. It seemed an out-of-the-way place to find persons of delicate habits...
Here the Commander was "waited upon" by a committee of five, "principally lay members of the mission," who wanted to consult him "relative to the establishment of laws." Wilkes advised that, as United States citizens, they were in the minority and lacked the right to opt for United States Jurisdiction. By their own account, the incidence of crime and threat to personal property seemed not to have been great enough to warrant a legal code which would be a poor substitute for the moral code already established. Wilkes predicted discord in the enforcement of law in so small a community, and he foresaw the unfavorable impression such action might make at home. In short, forging a set of laws would be tantamount to admitting that their moral force was not "sufficiently strong."

...Their principal reasons appear to me to be, that it should 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 this subject in such a light, and differed with them entirely as to the necessity or policy of adopting the change.

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From my own observation and the information I had obtained, I was well satisfied that laws were not needed, and were not desired by the Catholic portion of the settlers. I therefore could not avoid drawing their 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. I further advised them to wait until the government of the United States should throw its mantle over them.
While at the Old Station, Wilkes and his squadron were tendered "an invitation from the settlers of the Willamette to celebrate the 4th of July with them"—a privilege which he declined "on account of the various duties." Before striking out for Chomeketa, Wilkes was accorded a view of the "missionary gardens"—including a "kitchen garden," which he regarded indifferently, judging that "vegetables appear to grow here wild and are miserably." 78

The Commander's graphic reflections provide the most detailed record of activity at "Mill Place" in its primary period yet known. They are peculiarly mordant.

At noon we reached the Mill where I was told I would see the missionary operations their Indian school &c &c, which was in fact my principal object in making the visit— I was greatly disappointed. Some 25 ragged & half clothed Indian boys of large size were lounging about under the trees. Their appearance was anything but pleasing. A small mill worked by a small stream together with a small frame 2 story house occupied one corner of an extensive Prairie surrounded by some fine old oaks gave the whole at a distant and first view the appearance of an old settlement and a thrifty one from the numerous piles of lumber that was seen about the mill for in connexion with its run of stone they use it as a sawmill also. The whole is quite small but fully adequate to the extent of power they have 15 bushels a day is as much flour as they can grind. This however supplies all their wants & part of those of the Settlement....

The mill I understood was under the charge of Mr. Raymond. I was told by the Mission that he was the greatest raunter among them. I was extremely desirous of hearing but I had no opportunity of doing so.
We were invited to stay dinner which we accepted and it would be difficult to give an idea of the repast without having been present. We dined a la Methodist on Salmon, Pork, potted cheese, and strawberries, tea & hot cakes, they were all brothers and sisters some with coats, some without, red flannel shirts, and dirty white arms, higgledy piggledy. I shall not soon forget the narrow cramped up table, more crowded round it than it would hold, with the wooden benches, high backed chairs & low seated ones, perchance all the tall ones seized the high backed chairs & low in stature were even with the well filled board. The meal was eaten by us all in brotherly love, but hunger assisted me or I never should have been able to swallow mine.  

Wilkes' incisive view of activity on Chancota plain in June of 1841 included the parsonage under construction at the time by Hines and Campbell. His attempt to learn about the program projected for the Manual Labor Training School went ungratified, as definite plans beyond building apparently had not yet been formulated.

I rode with the Rev. Mr. Hines to his quarters or farm to which he had just removed his wife & child & his worldly goods. I found them in a shanty of boards in the center of a fine prairie of which he informed me they had taken possession. They had the ordinary comforts about them that one would expect in this country.

He pointed out to me the position of the site for their Seminary which is to be occupied by their scholars. I could derive little or no satisfactory information relative to their views and prospects in forwarding the education of the Indians from what tribe they proposed taking them and the manner of teaching &c. &c. from all that I did hear however my impression is that there is no field for the numbers that are now attached to this mission & in a very few years none of this army will be left.
Provisional Government

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes had arrived in the Valley at a time when its residents under the influence of Methodist missionaries, were agitated over the organization of a provisional government—a kind of holding action which would serve common interests until such time as the United States Government would extend its jurisdiction to Oregon. It is pointed out by Earclay that the increased sense of need for a legal system at the beginning of full-scale immigration was inevitably to find its first formal expression through the Oregon Mission, "so integral was it a part of total life" on the Willamette. In Decker's view, as early as 1838—the time of David Leslie's appointment as a "justice of the peace"—the Methodist mission had become "a focal point of leadership and opinion for the steady stream of Americans who were finding their way to Oregon,"82 All that was needed was "an act of sufficient magnitude to galvanize the settlers into action." This act was provided on the death of Ewing Young, the influential operator of a saw mill on the Yamhill, and "one of the principal men of the colony." Young died intestate on February 15, 1841, thus forcing the procedure for settlement.83 On February 17-18 the second meeting to consider the possibility of establishing a provisional government was begun at the funeral and resumed the following day at the Methodist mission house. The first meeting of Willamette Valley settlers had convened at Champoeg February 7, with Jason Lee presiding.
The third meeting was held at the parsonage at Chemeketa, and was significant for its provision for a code of laws and the election of a battery of officers. According to the chronicles of Gustavus Hines, this meeting was "properly called" "The Primary Meeting of the people of Oregon, as it seemed to include "nearly every male inhabitant south of the Columbia." Jason Lee was "excused from officiating as Chairman," and the Reverend David Leslie was elected to the position. Hines, himself, served as one of the secretaries. Father Norbert Blanchet, Jason Lee, Hines, J. L. Parrish, and Etienne Lucier were among those nine chosen "to form a constitution, and draft a code of laws." Dr. Ira L. Babcock, of the mission, was elected to fill the office of Supreme Judge, "with Probate powers;" and he was instructed to "act according to the laws of the state of New York" until such time as a code of laws was drafted by the committee and accepted by the people. Xavier Ladaroot and Pierre Billique, cited earlier for their transactions at the mission store, were named as two of the Constables. The nine-member committee on laws was to submit its report to a meeting of the settlers at the Catholic mission, eight miles from the Old Willamette Station, on June 11, 1841.

When the meeting convened at St. Paul in June, Father Blanchet was excused from serving on the legislative committee "at his own request." Having made no report, the legislative committee was advised "to confer
with the commander of the American Exploring Squadron now in the Columbia river, concerning the propriety of forming a provisional government in Oregon. It was early in June that Wilkes recorded his gracious reception by Father Blanchet of Mission St. Paul. The Commander spoke with the prelate of the French Canadians under the latter's purview and the "Laws that they were desirous of establishing." Noting Blanchet's objections to the movement, Wilkes recalled that "the numbers and country embracing the Willamette could not warrant the establishment" of the laws. Wilkes, himself, saw no necessity for taking action before the boundary between British and United States possessions was fixed.

At Chemeketa, during his visit to the incomplete parsonage of "Mr. Hines," Wilkes was again confronted with the question of government which he put down with typical dispatch.

...I understood this is contemplated as the permanent settlement of the Mission being considered more healthy removal as it is on the high prairie & in this part the missionaries have as they told me marked off their 1000 acres in prospect of the country falling under the protection of our laws, and the Bill of Mr. Linn or some other passing giving them a gratuity...

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...had a long conversation with the Missionaries and stated the same objections I had given them before but more fully & I found them well satisfied...
In citing motives for the involvement of the missionaries attached to the Oregon Mission in forming a provisional government, Decker steps between secular and church apologists. He acknowledges both the need to protect claims to property with a "veil of legality" and the necessity of securing independence from the controls of the Hudson's Bay Company. Father Blanchet, who because he was hopeful of having the Oregon territory come under British rule and because of his influence with the French Canadian settlers, was effective for a time in thwarting subsequent gatherings aiming for governmental organization. But the proponents of political organization were not long quelled, and, in Hussey's words, they determined to "employ subterfuge." Because the problem of wild animal attacks on livestock was common to all, notice was given of a public meeting at the home of William H. Gray—at the site of the Methodists' English school—in order to consider, according to Gray, "the propriety of adopting some measures for the protection of our herds against the beasts of prey in the country." On February 2, 1843, a large number of settlers—both Americans and Canadians—gathered at the home of the secular agent in charge of the Oregon Institute. Dr. Babcock was in the Chair as the meeting appointed a committee of six to notify inhabitants of a general meeting to be held at the farm of Joseph Gervais in March. The committee was to report at that later date on proposed measures for alleviating the "War" against "Wolves, Bears, Panthers" and "all such animals." Thus, as Hussey points out, the wolf issue, as a pretext to assemble, gave its name to the
meetings which were a part of the evolution of a provisional government in Oregon.

The Oregon Mission was eclipsed in its role of political leadership by the time of implementation at Champoeg in 1843. As individuals, however, the missionaries were to take an active part in the formative government. On May 2, during a meeting for which Babcock served as chairman and William H. Willson and William H. Gray were among the secretaries, a committee was named to supersede the ineffectual former nine-member committee. Associates of the Oregon Mission sitting on the first Legislative Committee were Alanson Beers and William H. Gray. On May 23, 1843, having participated in the landmark meeting, Alvan F. Waller expressed his confidence in the proceedings.

We have this spring organized a sort of government, with a code of laws and proper officers for the regulation of affairs in this country. The colony has become so large that it is considered absolutely necessary to take this step; but we mean to be subject to the home government, and would greatly rejoice to have her extend her jurisdiction over this country.

Articles to serve as the fundamental law of Oregon were presented by the Legislative Committee at the next meeting, held at Champoeg, on July 5, 1843. On this historic occasion, during which Gustavus Hines presided and Hamilton Campbell joined Willson and Gray in duties as secretary, "The Organic Law" was adopted by Willamette Valley settlers. Provisions of the new Law resulted in the demarkation of
Oregon's four early districts: Tualatin, Clackamas, Yamhill; and Clatsop district in which the Willamette Station was located. Based in large part upon the Laws of Iowa, the Articles also provided for voting rights, structure of courts, regulations of weights and measures and land claims. Jason Lee, Gustavus Hines, and Alvan F. Waller were elected to prepare a summary of the day's proceedings to be forwarded to the Congress of the United States. Lee and Leslie, furthermore, were among those named to draw up the oath of office to be administered to officers elected under the ratified articles. Significantly, Alanson Beers, Oregon Mission farmer, blacksmith and early accountant, was elected one of the three-member Executive Committee which served the Provisional Government to the spring of 1844. William H. Willson was elected Treasurer; Lewis H. Judson, Magistrate. 93

In the spring of 1844 the Organic Laws of the Provisional Government of Oregon were refined, and the structure of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches was altered. The "important changes" effected in the Organic Laws "respecting land claims" reveal the Oregon Mission a waning force. Gustavus Hines explained: by the "previous arrangement" the "different missions in the country were confirmed in their occupancy of the tracts of land of which they had taken possession, for the benefit of the Indian tribes." With the limitations set by the amended Code, "no such mission claims were allowed." A special election determined that the amended Organic Law would become "the
law of the land" after the first of June, 1845, when the election of a
Governor and members of the House of Representatives was to take place.
The people would elect former Oregon Mission steward George Abernethy
as Chief Executive by a margin of one hundred votes in five hundred cast.

Thus, through a series of public meetings—the earliest of which
was called by the Superintendent—and an endless round of committee
appointments, the Oregon Mission helped to transmit order until such
time as the people of Oregon were able to establish their own polity.
Dr. McLoughlin, Hussey points out, had withdrawn his opposition in
1844. By the summer of 1845, the Provisional Government was on a firm
footing with an elected governor and a petition on its way to Congress for
establishment of territorial government under federal law. McLoughlin
agreed, before his retirement to Willamette Falls, to permit "the
Company's establishments to come under the jurisdiction of the Provisional
Government and to pay taxes, although the allegiance to Great Britain of
the Company and its officers was not prejudiced." In Hussey's view, the
Chief Factor felt that, by cooperating with the Americans, "the firm would
actually gain, through having an organized machinery of government
which could be employed for the collection of debts, protection from
lawless elements, and the eviction of trespassers from the lands claimed
by the Company."95
The irony of the recognition later gained for Jason Lee is discussed by Decker. His direct or indirect influence on the formation of a provisional government, the Superintendent would have considered secondary to administering to the Indians. By entrenching the Oregon Mission he allowed the Willamette Valley to become a center of "American influence." Because of his inability to "proscribe the activities of his missionaries in political and commercial activities," the men of the Oregon Mission were enabled "to take an active part in the name of the mission in the events leading to the formation of a provisional government." Their actions were thus given the "influence, prestige, and resources of the mission which they might not otherwise have enjoyed." 96

Financial Peril

It was the Oregon Mission's secular development which most severely taxed relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. The independent mill stock company at Willamette Falls was a threat to commercial interests of the Establishment; and it caused the first apparent rent. Lee availed himself of the return of the United States Navy Exploring fleet to insure a speedy contact with Nathan Bangs, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society's Board of Managers. On September 23, 1841, the Superintendent wrote from Fort Vancouver:

We cannot depend on Vancouver at all. Dr. McLaughlin [sic] took a freak, that we had done something, by way
of trade, that did not suit their interest, and consequently, refused to let me have a pair of Blankets; alleging \sic\ as the reason, that Blankets were scarce. But when I learned the real cause, I conversed with him on the subject, and he was convinced that he had been misinformed. This, however, shows how little dependence is to be put upon the Com. for our Supplies.  

Lee appealed to Bangs for authority to draw directly on "Sands, Hodson, Farmer and Co., London," explaining that "Dr. M'Loughlin would receive money no where but in London for goods here..." The Chief Factor was accommodating enough to put the mission's bills in his private account, but, in Lee's words, the disadvantage was that this procedure would "not raise the credit" of our enterprise "in the estimation of the Company's \sic\ Agent in London." Lee's sense of urgency--in this case--was increased by the loss of shipments, particularly those goods aboard the Peacock, one of Commander Wilkes' fleet, which was wrecked traversing the treacherous bar at the mouth of the Columbia.

Dr. M'Loughlin offers to give us goods as usual, and let the debt lay over till next year, by our paying the interest--\sic\ from the\ Time the first draft \was\ drawn\n\ after I left for the States, The Oregon Mission was in debt till the last drawn; and I did hope that we should never be obliged to go in debt again at Vancouver; but I see no way to avoid it. Especially as the Peacock, (one of the U. S. Exploring squadron) was wrecked crossing the Bar, and everything on board lost, including the goods shipped \sic\ by Bro. Dando Oct 16, 1840, and those shipped by Bro. King in the same Vessel (the Gloucester.) Nov. 3, 1840. Letters saved, except those in Barrels & Boxes. Had those goods reached us they would have been of great advantage at this time.
Lee called for a compensating order and the traditional precaution for assuring safe delivery—namely, trans-continental shipment via the Hudson's Bay Company express route.

I hope no time will be lost in making arrangements with some house in London, that we may, at least, be able to pay the Com., a year from next March. Should you get this in time, for the surest way will be—send by the Express, Via of Canada— we shall look for goods from N. Y. next summer.

It proved an unfortunate fact—for the sake of the Superintendent's personal career—that the barrage of bills, drafts, and appeals for supply resulting from the great expansion hit the Board at the access of anxiety over mounting debt and the internal dissension over the issue of slavery. Isolated as he was, Lee was understandably preoccupied with his epic struggle. But he was not oblivious of the crises faced by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1841 and 1842. Instructions from the Board imploring a detailed accounting of assets and expenditures were not long in coming; and Lee was duly forewarned.

That the Board's borrowing limit had been reached during the months of 1839 when the "Great Reinforcement" was being assembled, is a point considered by Barday. But, in Barday's words, "Lee's passionate missionary appeals were winning ready response and some members of the Board felt that a great missionary advance would challenge the Church to largely increased giving." In fact, it was proven that the Board "was
actuated more by calculating enthusiasm than by missionary statesmanship." "The managers," Barclay continues, "sent out the reinforcement without accurately estimating the expenditures it would involve." 99

The Board of Managers had been guilty of over-extending a beneficent hand without firm control of funds. The Bishops called for correction. 100 For each missionary expedition dispatched through the agency of the Missionary Society, funds were needed to meet costs of salaries, outfit allowance and passage for the missionaries; freight and insurance for the goods. While the Oregon Mission operation may have been the most extensive, and the most demanding, there were "pressing calls" to be answered from other foreign missions—-from Liberia, in Western Africa; from Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Monte Video, in South America, where "drastic retrenchment" had already taken place, as well as the missions of the American frontier and Texas. 101

The Constitution of the Missionary Society, as revised by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840, provided that:

Whenever, a foreign mission, or one not provided for by an annual conference, is to be established, or is already established, either among the aborigines of our country, or elsewhere, it shall be the duty of the bishops making such appointments immediately to notify the treasurer of the Missionary Society of the place, the number of missionaries to be employed, together with the probable
amount necessary for the support of any such mission; which information shall be laid before the managers of the society; and they shall make an appropriation according to their judgement, from year to year, of the amount called for to sustain and prosecute the mission or missions designated; for which amount the missionary, or the superintendent of the mission or missions, shall have authority to draw on the treasurer of the Society, in quarterly or half-yearly installments.102

The Treasurer, who kept account of all receipts and disbursements, and the Corresponding Secretary, who was the liaison between the Missionary Society and the missions--both foreign and domestic--were assisted in their tasks by several standing committees. These included the Estimating Committee, which estimated the cost of salaries, outfit and passage foreign missions; the Finance Committee; the African, Oregon, South American, German, and Indian Committees. The Publishing Committee prepared and published the Monthly Missionary Notices.

The Board became critical of immense expenditures for the Oregon Mission early in what was to become the most severe financial period in its history. In approving an order of goods recommended by the Oregon Committee, the Board acted, on October 22, 1841, to the effect "that the order be met only so far as it embraces articles for the supply of the Mission family," as much of the order

...seems to be designed for the purposes of trade, and as the creation of a trading establishment in connection with any of our Missions would give them too much of a commercial aspect, and as this would be likely to prejudice the minds of those we especially desire to benefit, if not indeed to secularize the minds of the missionaries,
Within months of this action, economic straits forced the Board to adopt a list of instructions for the use of foreign missionaries at a meeting on December 3, 1841. In accord with the policies recently set forth Charles Pitman, the Board's new Corresponding Secretary, advised Lee of the necessity for major accounting "as to the fiscal state of the mission, what amounts were received from the board, distinguishing between Cash, Drafts and Merchandise." He also called for an account of what portions of the revenues from the Mission were provided by contributions, produce, or receipt for services rendered by the physician or "artizans" to those not connected with the Mission. It was important to supply the estimated value of the mission's property, distinguishing between "real estate, stock, goods in store, produce, furniture, farming utensils, mechanics tools & c." Finally, Pitman cautioned Lee to submit a comprehensive report of this nature annually; to subordinate business enterprises, and to not over-draw appropriations. The Oregon Mission had entered a new era in the eyes of the Board.

Lee failed to accommodate this major requirement of the Board. Apparently, he was too engulfed by the day-to-day problems—the provisioning, meetings, services, construction, and periodic trips from station to station; the obligation of keeping the missionaries in a state of health and the operation as a whole afloat—to see clearly the significance of careful financial reporting.
Yet, as early as June, 1841, he had replied to similar admonitions from Nathan Bangs.

I am very sorry to hear that your finances are low, especially as we have been under the necessity of drawing on you so much more heavily than you would have anticipated...

The Superintendent explained that the things he had been "under the necessity" of getting at Vancouver and some "Bills we were obliged to pay there to get provisions &c. have amounted to a large sum, which I fear you may find it difficult to pay." He continued:

I hope, however, that you may not suffer any serious inconvenience and I assure you it shall be my study to have our drafts as small as possible in future. We have written for a pretty large amount of goods this year, all of which will be required to carry forward our operations here efficiently; but the Board will of course act their judgment about sending them. One thing is evident-- that it will take no small sum to support the number we have in this field.

Lee judged that there was about "Twelve Thousand Dollars" in available funds in "our outfit" when the last reinforcement arrived. This sum was an estimation of assets in saleable goods, after each station had received its "quota of tools, building materials &c." What with wages for transport and construction labor at various stations; salaries, table expenses, and traveling expenses "of all in the field," the cost of the operation in Oregon was expected to fall not much short of "fifteen Thousand Dollars annually." The farm, he allowed, would lessen expenses somewhat, but any margin would be absorbed in the support of the school. It is significant that in the light of this reality, the Oregon Mission's own "Estimating Committee"
decided "that every family shall have the privilege of receiving Thirty Dollars at Vancouver this year, and indeed," the Superintendent added, "we cannot be comfortable without trading there..." "But we hope," he concluded, "to be able to pay them something this year from the means we have in the country..."

A letter sent by Lee, late in the summer of 1842, to the Corresponding Secretary revealed his uneasiness over mounting expenditures and dissatisfaction among the members of the mission family less suited for engagement in an isolated field.

I hope the Lord has so prospered you, that you will not be embarrassed by our drafts, especially as so many evil reports, are said to have gone home in reference to our prospects here.

Clearly, the Superintendent recognized that his program was imperiled.

Spiritual Service

For his immediate purposes, it was well that Lee's sedulous effort was concentrated on the frequent and inspired reporting on spiritual aspects of the Oregon Mission operation. While troubled by the morass of drafts and the lack of accounting, the Board could not fail to respond to the impression given of great spiritual revival among the poor, benighted, "sons of the forest."

Perhaps the greatest success in "Christianizing" the Indians was realized at the Oregon Mission's interior station near the Dalles of the
Columbia. There the program consisted of cultivating classes and conducting mass meetings. Daniel Lee, Preacher in Charge, itinerated among classes formed in six villages. H. K. W. Perkins traveled among villages between the Dalles and the Cascades, teaching, preaching, and catechizing, while Mrs. Perkins provided instruction at Wascopam. Perkins, further, assumed a special project of translating the scriptures in the Chinook language—a project approved by resolutions of the Yearly Meetings of the Oregon Mission.

Perkins provided insight to the inspiration of the translating project which absorbed so much of his time and energy in his account of the Oregon Mission published in the Monthly Missionary Notice for October, 1844.

His single-mindedness was a keystone of the peculiar success of the evangelizing program carried out at Wascopam.

...I have scarcely laid down my pen since Monday morning, except for meals and sleep. I have translated (including some copy which I had before) and printed with my pen, in a little book which I have prepared, one hundred and ten verses of the Gospels. The plan I have hit upon to convey the Gospel histories to the natives is that of Doddridge, as printed in his Family Expositor. His plan of harmonizing the Gospels, and giving all in connected lessons, has many advantages for the natives, as it prevents all apparent contradiction, and makes but one story, which is more easily remembered, and saves them from many perplexities. His Paraphrase also is very beneficial to the translator in conducting to the sense of the original. By the help of this, and Clarke's Commentary, with Wesley's Notes and Campbell's Gospels, I suppose one may come near enough to the sense for all common purposes of translation. I print all with my pen, as fast as I get it translated to my satisfaction, that I may more easily
read from it to the natives, and that it may serve for a
copy to those who may wish to print from it, should I
be taken away; and also to serve for my pocket Testament,
which I may always have about me in travelling, from
which I select texts, and subjects for discourse. 108

In the fall of 1839 the Indians at Wascoam were receptive to
religious awakening. As Perkins explained it, they were in awe of the
white man's power to decimate their race with his diseases, which were
graped by many as punishment delivered then for former atrocities. 109
Baptisms and conversions flourished; and the missionaries' hopes were
sent abroad. In the spring of 1840 a week-long camp meeting was con-
ducted on the open plain about three miles from the mission station--
which was located six miles below the Dalles. It culminated in the
administering of sacraments to several hundreds of persons; and it was
the occasion which helped to raise the enthusiasm of the officers of
the Board to an eloquent pitch. A subsequent camp meeting in April,
1840, was attended with still greater intensity, as it was reported that
between 1,000 and 2,000 Indians were camped at "Cowellaps." 110 A note
of encouragement appeared in the Twenty-Second Annual Report of
the Missionary Society in 1841 as a result of intelligence of the safe
arrival of the reinforcement and the attendant revivals.

...From our post of observation, commanding, as it
does, a view of the whole work, both foreign and
domestic, we see the signal displays of the divine
majesty descending to impress the seal of his approval
upon the labors of our missionaries everywhere. Now
we rejoice over revivals of religion among the remote
settlements of our own wilderness, and next we welcome the news of salvation descending upon the poor Indians of our forest in their distant home. Soon we learn that among the slaves of the south, the missionary is gathering seals to his ministry by the conversion of souls, and anon the winds of heaven bear us the intelligence that in Africa the native tribes of heathenism are flying to the cross of Christ, and finding refuge there by scores and hundreds; and scarcely have we offered our tribute of praise for this good tidings of great joy, before the voice of Oregon is heard from the far distant shores of the Pacific, that hundreds of the savages of that coast are gathered into the fold of Christ, and thousands more are eagerly listening to the word of life.

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The Rev. Jason Lee is still the superintendent of this mission, assisted by his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, and other missionaries, who are now spreading themselves abroad through that interesting country on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and diligently laboring to plant the gospel literally upon these ends of the earth. The expedition, named in our last report, which accompanied brother Lee on his return voyage to his field of labor, arrived in safety, and found the work of God prospering among the Indians to an extent which greatly cheered them in entering upon this distant field. Five hundred Indians had been converted during a single revival, and at a camp meeting, which was subsequently held, upward of a thousand of these sons of the forest were assembled for divine worship, all of whom have become humble and devout worshipers, renouncing heathenism and embracing Christianity. Including the reinforcement, furnished by the last expedition, there are sixty-eight persons connected with this mission, men, women, and children, all supported by this society.

In addition to the labors of the missionaries in preaching the gospel, they have organized schools, in which they and their wives are employed, with the male and female teachers, in instructing the children of these poor natives, not only in letters, but in the arts of civilized life. The boys are employed in agricultural labors upon the farms, which at every station are cultivated
for raising the necessaries of life; while the girls are
instructed in sewing, knitting, and household work of all
kinds. Carpenters are there to build mission houses,
chapels, and schools, in the erection of which the Indians
are employed, and taught this trade. A cabinet maker
constructs the necessary furniture for the families of the
missionaries, while a blacksmith makes the needful
tools for farming, and the farmers, who have been sent
out for the purpose, superintend the pattern farms at
the principal settlements, and teach the Indians how to
cultivate the soil. The wives of all these working men,
by their example and influence, with the Indian women,
are training them in habits of domestic comfort and econ-
omy, and preparing them for civilized life, to which the
gospel is destined to introduce them. A saw mill has also
been erected, which promises to be a valuable auxiliary
in the secular department of the mission; so that, under
all these salutary influences, we may look, with the divine
blessing, for a nation to be raised up in the Oregon
territory from the wretchedness of barbarism to the
blessedness of a civilized and Christian people.

For a time, the vast expenditures in outfitting and sustaining the Oregon
Mission seemed justified.

The unbelief which seemed to pervade many minds in
relation to the expediency of the large appropriations
necessary for founding this expensive mission, in view
of our embarrassed treasury, has all been dissipated
by the extraordinary success of the gospel as reported
to us during the last year. The news from Oregon, that
the revival of religion in that mission had resulted in
the conversion of so many hundreds of the Indians,
seemed to give a new impulse to the prayers and liber-
ality of our entire church fellowship. And notwith-
standing the tens of thousands of dollars which have
been already expended in its establishment, and the heavy
expense which must still be incurred in its support, there
can be little doubt, from the interest now everywhere felt
in behalf of Oregon, and the missionary zeal the success
of this mission has already inspired among our ministry
and membership, that every dollar expended or demanded
for its support will soon be refunded into our treasury
as the fruit of our appeals in its behalf. Instead of hundreds
of Indians, we hope soon to report thousands and tens of
thousands gathered into the fold of Christ, when the fires of civilization and the lights of Christianity shall everywhere illuminate the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and reflect their holy beamings until the darkness of heathenism shall be driven from that portion of our western continent, and this light shine upon the very summit of the Rocky Mountains. 111

Superintendent Læ had returned from the East in time to be present during the third major camp meeting at Wascopam in October, 1840. He recorded his elation over the spiritual reformation in appropriate style.

I had rather be a laboring, suffering missionary in Oregon than to fill the presidential chair, or sway the most potent sceptre in the old world. 112

In the Willamette Valley, the spiritual awakening developed according to the different character of the population. Its access came December 29, 1838, at Willamette Falls among the white settlers, Hawaiians in the employ of the mission, and the Indians connected with the Indian school. As it is explained by Decker, a protracted meeting was held in connection with a watch-night service, during which "several prominent members of the community professed conversion," including several missionary children, some of the Hawaiians, and a number of the Indian school children. While twenty-seven were received into the Church as a result of the meetings, no Indians had been won. 113 He further explains that, while services were not conducted especially for the settlers, the settlers benefitted from the planned program of the mission, and thus, by 1840, "the Christian Church... was established
as a living institution whether or not it was fully realized by the missionaries or settlers themselves." In Decker's view, "so far had the interests of the mission been concentrated on the surrounding white population that the missionary phase of its history might be said to have come to an end in the Willamette Valley."114

Willamette Falls had become a strategic location—an objective, a central point of reception for emigrants who learned of the settlement while stopping at the Dalles, where they were attended at considerable expense by the mission family at Wascopam.115 By November, 1843, approximately 850 immigrants reached the country—a majority of them to settle in the Willamette Valley.116 The steady pressure of serving the needs of the immigrants was commented upon by an unbegrudging Henry Brewer, who wrote to his father-in-law, Walter Giddings, from Wascopam.

Emigrants are pouring into the Willamette this year uncommonly... They drew heavily on our little supplies, but we could not see them pass hungry and starving without supplying them.

Brewer's wife added:

...the emigrants began to come and come, and kept coming, till I was tired of seeing Bostons...117

The advance guard of the immigrating parties swelling the Methodist constituency in Oregon arrived October 5, 1842. The party was led from Elm Grove, Missouri, by Dr. Elijah White—returning under his
commission as sub agent of Indian Affairs. This was the party which, in Barclay's words, augmented the American Colony to an extent which greatly increased the American Colony's influence in behalf of establishment of United States rule over the territory. 

The following summer--in July, 1843--Jason Lee conducted a camp meeting on the Tualitin Plains, some thirty-five miles west of the falls of the Willamette. In the administration of this, the first camp meeting for the white population ever held on the Pacific Coast, Lee was assisted by Gustavus Hines, R. K. W. Perkins, and Harvey Clark, a Congregational minister who had come to the community in 1841. The meeting opened on July 13 with few more than a dozen in attendance; and by the fourth day sixty persons were counted. Sixteen had professed conversion--among them, Rocky Mountain trappers Joseph Meek and Robert Newell, of Champoeg.

Day-to-day preaching in the Valley was exacting, and its results less dramatic. From his post at Willamette Falls, Alvan Waller reported that his efforts were divided between the Indians and the civilized element burgeoning on the banks of the Willamette.

I generally try to preach two or three times on the sabbath, first to the Indians near me, then to the whites, then walk about three miles, and have meeting with another class of Indians return and hold prayer and class meeting in the evening. I sometimes preach during the week. Once in four weeks I ride about twenty-five miles and preach at a small settlement.
Waller reminded his correspondent that "the natives are a hard material to cultivate. They are superstitious and deceitful."

The present prospects of the mission are not as favorable as we desire. But this is not the work of a day; futurity is to reveal the results of its establishment. However, we are not at all disheartened; but believe that God will yet appear for our help, and that the Church will not regret having sent missionaries to this land. I think the mission, to this moment, is increasing in interest and importance. We have a large house building for the reception of native children for instruction. At Wascoam station, we have a good-sized meeting-house for the natives.

For Waller, whose hopes patently rested on development of the colony, it was tactical to confirm that the men of the Oregon Mission were "yet desirous and determined" to prosecute their work.

Disillusionment and Disaffection

Discouragement came first as a result of circumstances beyond control--the inanition of the Indians, the isolation of the field; and, on the Willamette, the fever and ague. But discontent bred among the weaker members of the latest reinforcement and among the opportunists. The blow was dealt by the disaffected, who carried home unfavorable accounts of the mission and its administration by Lee. It might have been predicted that there would be a "romantic let-down" among those recruited in 1839 at the height of enthusiasm over the Oregon Mission. In Decker's words, "the realities of the field were an anti-climax to the romantic expectations of the missionaries in the image they held of their calling."
Owing chiefly, to a concretion of financial differences, Dr. Elijah White was the first to abandon the field. He had been criticized for his conduct during the voyage of 1837, of which he was acting head, and he had overspent in the building of his house, the hospital. During Lee's absence in the East, White had prevailed upon David Leslie to "obligate the mission" for a more substantial sum than Lee was willing to approve. To fill the gap in medical service left by White's withdrawal in the middle of the summer, 1840, Ira L. Babcock was summoned urgently from the station at the Dalles.

In November, 1840, Mrs. A. J. Olley, wife of one of the carpenter-mechanics working on the mill, compared her situation in regard to the Indians to that at Wascopam. Among the newly arrived force, hers is an early sensing of futility. Yet, her letter to Mrs. Brewer, reveals a conscientious attitude and reflects the promise of the expansion in its first phase.

I greatly fear we are not doing all our duty towards the Indians at Willamette. They are doubtless perishing for lack of knowledge and yet few and feeble are the efforts to save them. I am becoming more impressed with my own duty towards them—Do we feel for them as brethren? Until we do our hands & hearts will not be stretched forth to aid & save them. You doubtless have seen more of the saving effects of the Gospel among them than I have; and the contrary. Indeed we know but little about the indians of Oregon from what we see here.
Another one-time occupant of "Mill Place," Mrs. W. W. Raymond, revealed that independent Congregational missionaries, the Reverend and Mrs. Harvey L. Clark, were temporary boarders in their detached dwelling during the time the Clarks were teaching at the English school. In her letter to "Sister Simmons" of New York, addressed February 7, 1842, Mrs. Raymond expressed the necessity of coping with "sickness, sorrow, pain and death."

...if you could see the females belonging to this mission you would see a company of pale faces. We that are stationed on the Wallamette are more subject to the above mentioned complaints than those at the out stations...

We have a school taught for the mission children by Er and Sister Clark who crossed the rocky mountains and came to this country as missionaries. They belong to the Presbyterian order [sic], but we know and tell little distinction in this country... Br and Sister Clark board with us and four children one man that all attend school, these with our native boy Charles compose our family. 126

J. L. Parrish, as blacksmith, appears to have spent but a brief time at the mill--doubtless to help provide the castings and fittings required. By April, 1842, he confided to Brother Brewer at Wascopam: "our people at the Mill nearly all of them have or are coming down with the ague & fever this spring and as for us here at the Old Station we are all ready [sic] broke down and we are not able to accomplish at all what we might if we were located at a healthy station." "No doubt." Parrish narrowly concluded, "we are being held here by our Superintendent." 127
That Parrish could believe the Superintendent would willfully hold the missionaries to their work under such circumstances without a greater propose is symptomatic of Lee's failure to apprise his subordinates of a total plan.

The usually equable Mrs. Raymond was finally forced to admit a shade of despair. Writing to her parents in Amsterdam, Montgomery County, New York, from Willamette on March 7, 1843, she noted that the natives were dying off, and the country "filling up" with those who were equally in need of salvation.

...There is a great sameness to everything in this distant land. It is true we have fine country salmon and wheat and many things grow finely [sic]. These things are good we thank our heavenly Father for them. But these things we did not come here to seek, and therefore they do not satisfy us. We came here as you know to seek to serve the wandering souls of men. For this we will try labor and pray until we see the salvation of the heathen. I am no less engaged for them now than I was before I left my home. No I am trying to do what I can for this people, and here is work enough for our hearts and hands.

The years 1840-1842 were expected to be the years of unreserved effort in extending the outreach in Oregon. In the East, it was a period attended by financial crisis following the depression; for the mission, it was a period plagued by the reduction of personnel. Mrs. Leslie, wife of the mission's staunch substitute administrator, died February 5, 1841.

By his own request, Leslie was left without appointment from March, 1841, to the spring of 1843 in order to recoup in Hawaii and find suitable arrangements for the education of his daughters. By January, 1842, the
health of J. L. Whitcomb, lay worker lately married to Cyrus Shepard's widow, had failed to the extent that his release was recommended by the physician. By a note dated at "Mill Place" January 27, 1842, Superintendent Lee granted Whitcomb leave for illness, stating that he had "served well." Following closely on this, was the death of the Superintendent's wife after childbirth, March 29, 1842. In December, James Olley, the local preacher and mill mechanic with whom Lee shared "Mill Place," was lost in an accident on the Willamette.

At Wascopam, Daniel Lee's stated tour terminated co-incidentally with a period of discouragement. With his wife ailing, Lee determined to return to the United States--much to the disappointment of his uncle, the Superintendent. He booked passage on the English ship Diamond for Boston via the Sandwich Islands August 15, 1843. The station near the Dalles suffered the withdrawal of H. K. W. Perkins the following summer, in 1844. Meanwhile, the lately-established stations were beset with difficulties. William W. Kone and Joseph H. Frost had proven less than effective in their posts at Clatsop. It had been, according to Lee's later reflection, the "injudicious remarks" of Bro. Kone which "caused excitement among the laymen." For self-protection, Kone carried his indictments of Lee's management to the East, when he fled in November, 1841. In an acrimonious communiqué to Pitman, dated February 26, 1843, J. H. Frost claimed that the prospects of the mission's effectiveness had been "very much over-rated," and that as a result, "the Missionary Board
and the Churches" and been "deceived." Frost described the Indians as the
dregs of former tribes fast fading. His labor had been "perverted" and
his "calling's hope destroyed." The request for release which Frost
entered as early as January, 1843, was granted in March, and he left for
the East on the Diamond with Daniel Lee and Ira L. Babcock—who was to
be sojourning six months in Hawaii for the sake of his wife's health.
J. L. Parrish, blacksmith, was dispatched to Clatsop to assist W. W.
Raymond and to serve as preacher in charge. 135

In spite of attempts to sustain it, the Nisqually Station on the
Cowlitz River near Puget Sound had proven the most abject failure of all.
In 1840 William H. Willson had been joined by Dr. John P. Richmond,
preacher in charge, and teacher Chloe A. Clark, whom Willson wed in
August. From their site three quarters of a mile from the Hudson's Bay
Company fort and within view of Mt. Ranier, the missionaries found
Leslie's estimation of the numbers of the tribes in the area too generous.
There were not over two to three hundred to be served, Richmond judged;
and these were lazy, gamblers, and had to depend upon sea food as the
soil was so poor. Late in the summer of 1842, the Willsons were
transfered to Willamette and Nisqually was abandoned. 136 The mission-
aries at Willamette Falls seemed preoccupied with secular affairs.
It was a time of Indian unrest at the inland station near the Dalles; and
at Willamette, only the Manual Labor Training School was being accom-
plished in behalf of the Indians—and the scope of its effect among them
was questionable.
Even the Superintendent despaired, at times, over the cause of the Indians. In a letter to Bangs dated at Clatsop June 18, 1841, he confided:

The labor of taking care of such a family of heathen children, is more than you who are in the civilized world can possibly imagine; indeed it seems to 'use up,' nearly all who have anything to do with it...  

By November, 1842, the hopelessness of bringing the heathens grace was confessed to Charles Pitman in full and bitter disappointment. He was agonized over the fact that many thousands were going unreached. "Where there are enough to form a trading district there are enough to form a missionary circuit," he stated. Nonetheless, it seemed, "they cannot be saved by the Gospel of Jesus Christ."  

When the unity of the mission's ministerial branch was undermined, the Superintendent's unsure administration foundered. Much of the trouble was forecast in the first Annual Meeting. The Minutes for May 11, 1841, suggest that several of the branch were in quest of more formal control of their jurisdictions. The Superintendent's stand that there was but one quarterly conference in the Oregon Mission compelled Gustavus Hines to propose that a report of "the true state of the Oregon Mission"—including the number of stations, relative location, and number of persons employed in each—be prepared and sent to Bishop Beverly Waugh, whose province was foreign missions. Hines' object was to elicit an opinion from the Bishop regarding the legality and expediency of the Superintendent's organizing a quarterly meeting conference at each station. Dr. Richmond
moved that the Superintendent decide whether preachers in charge had the right to appoint stewards and class leaders within their purview and to receive, try, and expell members according to the Methodist Discipline. Hines recommended, and it was resolved, that the Annual Meeting have a voice in policy regarding establishment or abandoning stations and that it advise the Superintendent on missionary appointments.

As the Oregon Mission was beset with practical and internal difficulties, the Yearly Meetings became progressively impotent. The ministerial body dwindled; the self-interested became more intractable. Nonetheless, the recorded proceedings are, throughout, a valuable indication of the reaction of the Oregon Mission, as an official body, to its milieu. A resolution which lost, when the vote was taken, showed that the Methodists were attempting to deal with the threat to their constituency they felt from Catholic forces in the neighborhood.

...in view of the progress of Catholicism in Oregon by means of the annual increase of Canadian French settlers under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, /Resolved/ that it is important for the Board to provide a Missionary who is versed in the French language.140

Proof of the cordial relations built over the years of stop-over passages, trade, and retreats and recuperations with the missionaries of the American Board in the Sandwich Islands is presented in the minutes of the second Meeting. In response to "two very interesting letters"
from the Sandwich Islands Mission requesting that an official correspondence be opened with the Oregon Mission, it was resolved that

...this meeting acknowledge with much gratitude the late kind communications from the Sandwich Islands Mission inviting our correspondence (in behalf of the Oregon Methodist Mission) on all subjects of common interest to our missionary work; and that we do most cheerfully accede to their request.

Jason Lee was appointed to the task.

There were those in both ministerial and secular branches who were as committed to the idealistic cause as their Superintendent. Among ministers, David Leslie was solidly aligned. The teaching missionaries were consistently gallant. In a letter to Brother Brewer at "Waskopam" dated at Wallamette Falls, where she was in charge of "mission girls," an ailing Elmira Phillips confided March 22, 1844:

...when I look at my own happiness [147] think I would to go back to the states, but when I look around and see how Oregon is filling up with great wickedness, I can but think every Christian ought to stand firm at his post & strive with all his might to put down wickedness... 142

With similar concern for the growing population and the need to provide a proper cultural atmosphere, Chloe Clark Willson--en route to the Oregon Institute, where she would begin teaching--wrote to the Brewers, who were now alone at the Dalles.

I know not what is before us in this land no doubt trials and afflictions await but shall we through far leave the field and leave the heritage of our God to the will of his enemies.
What would be the state of this country 5 years hence
if every Christian should leave it?143

Revealing his dim view of the exodus of his fellow missionaries, Hamilton
Campbell wrote to Brewer from his post at the Manual Labor Training
School at Willamette.

But ah - How is it, that so many have left the field.
Mistery /sic/! God Sends his servants to Oregon,
to labor for the poor heathen - They obey the call - they
leave all, come to Oregon, look into the lodges of a few -
and at once decide, that these are out of the Reach of the
Gospel, and forsooth, God sends them home again, as
they are the best judges in this matter...144

In Barday's view, the Board seems not to have appreciated the
"length of time required for the reinforcement to reach Oregon, to get an
expanded program underway, and to return reports..." By January, 1843.

George Lane, Treasurer, presented a resolution to a meeting of the Board
of Managers.

Whereas, from all the intelligence received from Oregon,
it appears that the number of Indians in that territory,
is much smaller than we had been led to suppose--and
Whereas the few tribes, or fragments of tribes which
are found there appear to be fast wasting away by
disease and
Whereas, their constant removal from place to place
and the influence exerted over them by the Catholic
priests, render them extremely difficult of access,
and
Whereas the prospect of the Mission, when viewed in
the more favorable light, does not appear to warrant
so large an expenditure as is necessary to sustain the
number of people now employed in that mission, and
Whereas other doors appear to be opening with vastly
more promising fields, the cultivation of which will
require many men and large sums of money, therefore
Resolved, that the Oregon Committee be instructed to enquire into the expediency of reducing the number of missionaries and laborers in Oregon by recalling or dismissing them as circumstances may determine.  

However, as letters of defense arrived, and earlier reports from H. K. W. Perkins were reviewed, the Board became thoughtful for a time over what may have seemed a too hasty judgement concerning the Oregon Mission. The Annual Report of the Missionary Society for 1844 conveyed an affirmative attitude.

The spirit breathed in these communications commands our honest approval, and merits our highest commendation. For although our brethren in Oregon are evidently aware that unfavourable rumours have reached the Board concerning the mission, yet with an unyielding firmness they reassert their confidence in the success of their undertaking. They evince a spirit of patient endurance, invincible purpose, unconquerable zeal, and unwavering faith, which seems almost to preclude the possibility of defeat.

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We have put our hands to the plough which is to break up the fallow ground of heathenism beyond the Rocky Mountains, and we must prove by our perseverance in the work, that we have undertaken it at the call of our heavenly Master. Relying less upon human instrumentality, and more upon divine efficiency, we must not cease to labour and pray for the salvation of Oregon, until the conquests already won shall be repeated, and even eclipsed, by future triumphs.

The re dedication was short-lived, for a salvo which Hines addressed to the Corresponding Secretary from his new situation at Willamette Falls March 15, 1843, struck the heart of the enterprise.
The report Gustavus Hines submitted to Charles Pitman in March, 1843, was persuasive. It was, in Decker's words, "the most penetrating analysis" of the Oregon Mission the Board of Managers had received. It gave even those members of the Board sympathetic to the operation cause to question. In his capacity as Preacher in Charge of the "Wallamette" Station, Hines felt it his duty to inform the Board that it was the "deliberate opinion of a majority of 18 adult missionaries or members of the mission, residing at the Falls and in the settlement above," that more were engaged in the work than the results justified. Hines was "sensible" of the false impressions which could be conveyed by biased reports. He could not, in clear conscience, remain silent any longer. It was his purpose to present the "sober, candid truth."

Our Farmer, with his numerous gang of 'kanakas' whose labour does not pay their board, but who are paid ten dollars per month whether sick or well, our merchant with all his dependents, our Blacksmith, Sawyer and Cabinet maker, with all their liabilities, as so many redundancies to our mission that were never appended to it understandingly, nor can they be continued with good policy, provided there is any way that they can, in justice, be set aside. You perceive that I am for 'retranchment.'

Within the secular framework, Hines was especially critical of the expense for transportation and personnel involved in the operation of the mission store, which, after all, had to contend with competition.

There is an abundance of Goods generally in the Country to supply the wants of all. The Hudson Bay Company have always a large stock on hand, which they can sell fifty
per cent cheaper than can be sold from the mission store. Commercial men from Boston are establishing a permanent trade in this country, and it would be folly for the mission to attempt to compete with them.

He conveyed the impracticality of the farm, which only produced surplus to the wheat available in abundance from the Hudson's Bay Company. The blacksmith was not needed in a community now able to provide such services less expensively. The saw mill was a losing concern in spite of the fact that it had been, as Hines allowed, "useful in supplying us with lumber to shelter us from the indemency of the weather." Only the grist mill and cattle raising could be considered profitable to the mission.

The state of spiritual affairs seemed definitely to call for retrenchment. There was simply not the Indian population formerly believed. The potential for learning and salvation did not exist. Hines supposed that a proliferation of dialects would render full-scale translating projects impractical. Moreover, the "perishing heathens" were "a broken and dispirited race of men."

So far as the prospect of accomplishing much good among the Indians of this lower Country, is concerned, there is nothing to warrant the Board in being at the immense expense necessary to support the mission in its present form. The only motives for continuing missionary operation in this portion of the country exist in the present and prospective settlement of this Valley by white people, and in the Oregon Mission School. The school, though it is far from being in a prosperous condition yet it is the only hope of any of these wretched Indians.
The need for service to the settler community was real enough, but even here there were major problems, as the independent missionaries of the Congregational order were promulgating a "strictly Calvinistic" creed.

...this small community of less than 300 persons who are Protestant, is beginning to be divided by Sectarianism.

Finally, Hines implied because of all this, and because of short comings of the Superintendent, the disheartened missionaries could not "discover that the grand object for which they left the inearments of civilized society" was being "secured."  

Jason Lee's Removal from the Field

The Superintendent had not lived long in his new mission house on the Willamette when he was impelled to leave Oregon. He was destined never to return. While the self-exonerating reports to the Board from the misfits and malcontent cast the die for Jason Lee's recall, the machinations for retrenchment had begun even before the comprehensive criticism by Gustavus Hines reached New York. On March 18, 1843, Corresponding Secretary Charles Pitman sent a directive to the Superintendent in the customary fashion—one copy by Hudson's Bay Company express, another "by way of Fort Independence." The special "Instructions to Superintendents of Foreign Missions" adopted by the Board on December 3, 1841, and transmitted by his letter of February 28, 1843, were repeated in the event the information had not reached Oregon. To
this was added a late resolution of the Board which required, in essence, keeping of accounts, making reports, and submission of diaries from everyone—superintendent and missionaries alike—which were to account for the activities of the secular members.

As the Board was at present having great difficulty in raising funds, it was determined by action of the Board on March 15, 1843, that no further appropriations for support of the mission would be approved after July 14 of that year until a satisfactory accounting was rendered. Pitman entreated:

You will please be careful to run the Society to no further expense by the erection of buildings, &c, except where it is positively unavoidable.

While Pitman expressed personal regard for the Superintendent, he warned, nonetheless, that the Board was dissatisfied with the neglect of financial reporting from a mission on which more than $100,000 had been expended.

The cost of the outfit of the great reinforcement to that mission, was about $40,000... The argument in substance was, that when the farms should be opened, and the mills, and mechanic's shops go into operation the mission would soon be able to support itself. Since then however, we have responded to another pressing call by sending out, dry goods, groceries, medicines &c &c, reaching in value the aggregate amount of $11,000. Besides this, our Treasurer, since the arrival of that reinforcement in Oregon, has paid drafts—including the sum paid for the education of the three Indian boys in this country, amounting to rising $14,000.

It was Pitman's duty to inform Lee that, following the resolutions of the
Board, a "special agent" was being sent out to assess the "financial concerns" and "spiritual progress" in regard to the Oregon Mission.

Ostensibly, the operation of the mission went on according to design, though the sequelae were evident in formal procedures. The Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission held at Willamette Falls May 20, 1844, for example, was a one-day affair which seems to have died of starvation.

In the chair was the Reverend David Leslie, who had returned in spring the previous year from his leave in the Sandwich Islands. Leslie was Preacher in Charge of the Willamette Station, supported by Alanson Beers, farmer, and Hamilton Campbell, steward. Gustavus Hines was to be stationed at "Willamette Falls" and be in charge of Tuality Plains. A. F. Waller was put in charge of the "Indian Station" at Clackamus—not far from his holdings at the Falls. J. L. Parrish, preacher, and W. W. Raymond, farmer, carried on the work at Clatsop. H. K. W. Perkins was to be in charge at "Wascomb," but within a few months the management of the interior station would devolve entirely upon H. B. Brewer as a result of Perkins disengagement. The next Annual Meeting scheduled to take place at the Mission School at Willamette in May, 1845, was fated never to convene.

The Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1844 carried the latest determination on the Oregon Mission.
The superintendency of this mission has been transferred to Rev. Geo. Gary of the Black River Conference. The conflicting and unsatisfactory reports concerning it, which, from time to time, have reached us, seemed in the judgment of your Board, and of the Bishop having charge of Foreign Missions, to call for a thorough and impartial investigation of its conditions and prospects. For this purpose our beloved brother has been appointed. His age and standing, and particularly the design of his appointment, rendered it fit and proper, if not indispensable, that the superintendence of the mission should be in his hands. We wish it distinctly understood that it is on these accounts brother Lee has been superseded in the charge of this mission, and not because there is any loss of confidence in his moral and religious character, or of his entire devotion to the interests of the Oregon Mission.

At the same time, it presented Lee's note of encouragement born of his consistent concern for the future of the country. The Superintendent had addressed his statement October 13th, 1843, it was explained.

On one point I have not the shadow of a doubt, namely, that the growth and spread, the rise, glory, and triumph of Methodism in the Willamette Valley, are destined to be commensurate with the growth, rise, and prosperity of our now infant, but flourishing, and rapidly increasing settlements. Such is the adaptation of Oregon soil to the genius of Methodism, and such the fruit she has already produced in this country, that I am persuaded she is destined to flourish here in spite of all the chilling blasts of adversity that can be brought to bear against her. I cannot conclude without saying, that there is the best state of feeling among our people that has existed since our arrival in 1840; and the emigrants are perfectly surprised to see the religious state of this country.

With a "grateful acknowledgement" of the "kind attentions" the missionaries and their families so often received from "the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, stationed at Vancouver, and other points,"
the Board was moved to agree that now—since service to the Indian was no longer the primary cause—the future generations depended upon Methodism's foundation in a heathen land.

This mission still calls for our Christian sympathies, and demands our unabated zeal and untiring efforts in its prosecution. We must continue our Christian efforts in those trans-mountain regions. Already many of the Indians there have been ensnared by the wily Papists, and received baptism at their hands. The Romish priests are constantly strengthening their missionary corps, and making arrangements to extend their operations and influence among these aimless children of the forest. The country is rapidly filling up by emigration. Dr. Whitman, in May last, left Missouri with a body of emigrants, embracing nearly a thousand persons; and from the signs of the times, many others will soon follow, for this new home in the western wilderness. How unspeakably important is it that these settlers and their families should meet the Christian missionary on their arrival, and thus be brought under the salutary restraints of the holy ministry, and the wholesome influences of religious institutions! These are a few of the many strong reasons for patient and energetie perseverance in the department of our missionary work.

A letter from Pitman dated January 3, 1843, and brought to Lee's hand by the Brig Pallas, prompted Lee's hasty booking of passage for another trip East. His position must, it seemed, be presented clearly to the Board. He began his explanations in a letter to Pitman dated at Wascopam October 13, 1843.

...It is to me, perfectly unaccountable, how you can hold me delinquent in my accounts of disbursements, to the amount of $100,000 Dollars. Surely you ought not to be ignorant, that the money expended for the outfit, passage, &c. of all the reinforcements except the last, did not pass
through my hands, and no account of the same ever rendered me. Surely I left with the Board every item concerning the outfit, passage, freight, &c. of the last reinforcement, which I think amounted to more than half of the 40,000 Dollars, besides they always know the amount paid for salaries, for they make their own estimate.

Lee continued his defense aboard the Pallas, "Mouth of the Walamette,"

October 27, 1843.

It is well known to the Board when we left N. York that they gave us to understand that they not only intended to sustain those sent, but to send more if the success would warrant it, and it was with this view our locations were made.

Due to circumstances and sickness, it had not always been possible, Lee concluded, to accomplish his own view of "economy in expenditures." 153

A letter Lee sent to Pitman and dated, at Willamette Falls, February 11, 1843, included a journal entry for January 23. A description of his setting off for the Dalles Station suggests that the Superintendent was then boarding at the parsonage—perhaps having moved, following the death of Mrs. Lee, to the spot little over a mile removed from the mill.

Left my residence near the Mission School, 12 o'clock, noon, on horse-back, for the Bute, traveling baggage, tent, Blankets, food for the trip, &c. in a small waggon

From the Willamette Station he escorted Narcissa Whitman to the Dalles, where she was to meet her husband, who was returning from a trip East with the emigration party of 1843. 154 News of his recall reached Lee second-hand. Whitman had just been informed by Edward R. Ames, the
Board's western secretary, of the decision. Yet, Lee was hopeful of regaining acceptance of the Board. Furthermore, Barclay points out, the information had overtaken him that "the joint occupancy convention of 1827 between the United States and Great Britain was soon to be terminated by Congress and he felt that renewed representation of the claims for mission land titles should be made." On December 25, 1843, Superintendent Lee boarded the Columbia, then at the mouth of the Willamette, but, owing to inclement weather, he did not cross the bar at the mouth of the Columbia for a full month. On his arrival in Honolulu Bay, February 27, 1844, he was greeted by Dr. Babcock with the news that, without benefit of hearing before the Board, he had been superseded in his post; his successor—no mere special investigator—had already been dispatched to Oregon.

The Reverend George Gary had been instructed...

to dispose of the farm at Willamette, the saw and grist Mills, the various Articles of Merchandise, the Blacksmith & Cabinet makers shops, & to discharge from the service of the Mission, all surplus hands in its employ at his earliest convenience, unless on his arrival he should find sufficient reasons for delaying to carry any part of these instructions into effect, in which case it shall be his duty to give the earliest information to the Board with his reasons for such delay.

Charles Pitman presented his charge to Lee's successor in a letter dated at New York January 6, 1845.
...it had always seemed to me... perfectly farcical to appropriate a given sum for the support of the mission and then pay every draft that came though the drafts may amount to twice the sum originally appropriated. Besides, the Mission has within the last two or three years undergone such a change, that the Board are hardly in circumstances to judge of what is now necessary to its support. With our present want of light on the subject, we shall most confidently rely on you for the exercise of such a supervision, as shall conform the expenses of the mission to its real wants, and sober demands.

Owing to his detachment, Pitman could present this pellucid view on the mission and its partly unreasonable inspiration. His remarks point up the place of the Oregon Mission in the diffusion of the romantic ethos which had earlier helped to spread Weslyanism.

There is in my mind no doubt, that a little too much of the romantic, has mixed with this Oregon enterprise from the beginning. How far some of its original projectors and friends may have been (unconsciously) influenced by it, I shall not even hazard an opinion. But certainly some of the missionaries themselves, went out, more in the spirit of romantic adventure, than in that of the self denying, self sufficing Missionary of the Cross. The most of these I presume have returned to this country. Alas! for us that they ever went! Alas, for us that they ever returned! The evil reports they have brought from that country and most imprudently circulated in this, have had a most paralyzing effect in many places, upon the Missionary Spirit of our own people. But we have reason to hope the worst is over; and that hereafter instead of being called to support a colony in Oregon—many of whom were almost necessarily useless—the mission being reduced to its proper dimensions, its expenses will be proportioned to the object, reasonably expected to be achieving. 157

In New York, Lee acquitted himself masterfully before the Board. At a specially-arranged hearing, which convened periodically from July to July 14, 1844, Lee countered a spectrum of charges. In Barclay's
words, "he was modest in regard to his own abilities and achievements but stood his ground, making no concessions to the charge of maladministration." 158

To the accusation that the site on the Willamette was ill chosen, Lee answered that the "Committee" appointed to examine locations reported in favor of "continuing at the Walamette." As to the sickness "at that place, as reported by Bro. Kone," he added, "I am persuaded that had the mission been at any other place, the sickness would have been the same," it was "so generally throughout the country." Lee revealed that he knew of Hines' report when it was being drafted, as parts were read to other missionaries who, in turn, "hinted" of the communication. Lee explained, to Hines' complaint that the Hudson's Bay Company could sell goods at a cheaper rate by fifty per cent, that Hines was one who went, not to the Hudson's Bay Company, but "to other stores" to buy at a "much dearer rate than we sell." Furthermore, the mission made ploughs available to the settlers, by which they greatly improved their condition. In defense of the farm and its management, Lee said of Beers, "he manages the farm, and is as good a man to work as you will find anywhere. When he first began he was not a farmer, but has now got used to it. He is one of the Executive committee, at the head of the Oregon Government. This does not interfere with his labor much."
In regard to the mill, Lee mentioned the difficulties encountered in its operation, and revealed that the mission had "now let it out for two years," with rights to half the lumber and the "risk" of the Damn and ironwork. Lumber sold at $12 to $15 a thousand. On the charge of unwarranted expenditure, Lee explained that he had already "persuaded" several of the laymen "to go for themselves." He described the retrenchment lately induced at Chemeketa.

At the Mill we have none of our own people. Bro. Judson has gone to work for himself. At the school we have only Bro. Campbell, his wife, and Sister Philips, who will probably not remain long at the school. This is nothing like an adequate number. To carry on the school at the Shawnee Mission, I was informed, they have 14 individuals, directly employed in school, male and female, they have 100 scholars, we have about 40.

The former superintendent explained that he had lived as frugal an existence as possible, most of the time doing without table expenses. During his eleven years of engagement he had received no more than $13,00--"with the exception of his livery." Yet, he and his brethren had "contributed as liberally as any men towards any benevolent project." Lee, as Superintendent, was expected to give more than others, and, in consequence of this, he had "sold the clothes of his deceased wives, and his furniture &c, in order to meet these demands.

He alluded to "the great vortex" that had "swallowed up" $40,000. By this, he meant "the immense distance between the United States and Oregon, "the transportation... the extra expense of outfit, the freight"
of goods, & the return of the missionaries." He guessed that "between $13,000 and $14,000 worth of goods" had been taken to Oregon. Because of the expenditure in that country, Lee asserted, "from the President down," acknowledged that the Methodist Episcopal Church was entitled to lands in Oregon. In his estimation, the "Walamette" Valley would require more missionaries in proportion to the constituency than almost any other country. With the exception of the great distance, it was "as cheap as any that promised as well." The people were not yet able to "pay for themselves." The appointed preachers would have to depend upon the Missionary Society for a time. There must be a "large amount of missionary labor expended there" if the Church was to "retain" her possessions.

On the evening of July 10, Lee stated his shrewd surmise that—in order "to appease the people"—he and his administration had been made a scapegoat for inconsistencies in the Board’s resolutions and reports. He was crushed that the Board had not informed him of their action in appointing a new superintendent before carrying out a first hand investigation. 160 Nathan Bangs initiated a testimony to the Board’s appreciation of Lee’s integrity, "his indefatigable labors, his great privations and hardships," and for "whatever good may have been accomplished." 161 Lee was thus cleared of the charges of speculation and maladministration, but he was profoundly disappointed not to be given the reappointment to Oregon he sought.
Lee then headed for his home in Stanstead, Lower Canada, stopping en route to attend sessions of the New Hampshire and New England Conferences. Here, he was welcomed, applauded; and awarded— at his own request— appointment as special "Agent of the Oregon Institute"— a determination not to be realized. Once at home, Lee caught an acute cold which, in his debilitated condition, he did not withstand. He died March 13, 1845, a few months short of age forty-two. An apprecia-
tion was carried, in the usual elaborate style, by the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society for 1845. It suggested that attention would be increasingly fixed upon a potential possession of the United States.

Our beloved brother was the great Missionary pioneer in the Valley of the Columbia River; where, for ten years, he labored, suffered, and sacrificed, to an extent beyond what the Church generally has ever realized or appreciated.

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... With the aid of his faithful coadjutors, he has laid a foundation of good in Oregon, which is already visible; and which we have strong reasons to believe will be permanent. Future generations will rise up to call him blessed; and scores of redeemed spirits from among the Rocky Mountain trappers, and the children of the forest, will hail him on the heights of the celestial Zion as the honored instrument of their salvation.
CHAPTER IV


2 Entry for August 18, 1840, Journal of the Rev. Jason Lee, ibid., Brosnan, Source material, 309. Gustavus Hines reported: "At noon we arrived at a place called by the Indians, Chamake, where the Oregon mission have commenced erecting mills and were it is contemplated to establish the Mission Manual Labor School. This place is ten miles up the Willamette river from the old mission station, and is one of the most delightful locations in the whole valley. The fertile plains surrounding it, the enchanting nature of its scenery, and the fine water privilege afforded by the beautiful rivulet that meanders through it, render it a place of considerable future importance." Gustavus Hines, Wild Life in Oregon (New York: Worthington Company, 1887), 95. This volume is a later edition of A Voyage Around the World... (Buffalo: George H. Dorso and Company, 1850).

3 Hines explained that because William H. Kone, who had been appointed to labor with Hines among the Umpqua Indians, "was a millwright by trade, it was intended by Mr. Lee to retain him for some months on the Willamette, to assist in the erection of the mission mills..." Wild Life in Oregon, 94. Whatever expertise Kone was able to provide was lost to the mill upon his appointment to Clatsop Station by the Yearly Meeting of May, 1841.

By 1828 the Hudson's Bay Company had a saw mill in operation in its Columbia District. It was located on a small stream about seven miles East of Fort Vancouver. At Dr. McLoughlin's suggestion it was "almost entirely rebuilt" during the spring of 1838 on "a new construction." It was equipped with "double gearing, lighter frames, diminished cranks, with a greatly accelerated stroke," in order to do "more work, in better style." The improvements were begun in February and completed toward mid April. Despite shortcomings cited by the Fort's interim principal, James Douglas, the mill managed to produce 90,000 feet of inch boards during its four months of operation before October, 1838. John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure (Portland: Washington State Historical Society in cooperation
It is likely that the improvements of the Hudson's Bay Company mill were induced by competition from a new enterprise launched on the Yamhill River in Chehalem Valley by Ewing Young, lately arrived from California. From his location Young could more readily supply scantling, weather boarding, and flooring to those missionaries and French Canadians—former Hudson's Bay Company trappers—situated above the falls of the Willamette. Some lumber milled by Ewing Young was used at the original mission site. With the arrival of the second contingent of the reinforcement of 1838, the rough-hewn Mission House and a cabin occupied by Alanson Beers were no longer adequate. Dr. Elijah White filled a much-needed position in the missionary family by extending medical services to the missionaries, their Indian charges, and the neighboring community of French Canadians. He chose a spot on higher ground nearly a mile southeast of the headquarters upon which to build a house for himself, his wife and two children. "Dr. White has a fine block-house situated upon a pleasant and extensive prairie, with a delightful evergreen grove of fir trees upon one side," wrote mission teacher Margaret Smith from Willamette in October, 1838. Dr. White hired Kanakas from the Sandwich Islands and French Canadians to erect the house under the skilled supervision of missionary William H. Willson, a former ship carpenter from New Bedford, Massachusetts. The fittings might have been supplied, in part, from the imported goods of the Mission, or from the Hudson's Bay Company stores at Fort Vancouver. The lumber may have been supplied from the Company's mill on the Columbia, or from Young's mill on the Yamhill. Young is known to have supplied white fir, pine, and oak lumber to the settler community above the falls as early as February, 1838. The missionaries waged a constant battle against the "fever and ague" and other infirmities. The need was pressing enough to require the use of Dr. White's house as a hospital. An entry in Ewing Young's day book for April 4, 1839, shows that White ordered a quantity of milled lumber, including weather boards and two-inch plank, possibly for an expansion—or a porch. The forty dollar account was settled by the Mission in August, 1839. See Margaret J. Smith to Rev. N. S. Spaulding, Willamette, October, 1838. Miss Smith's letter was published in Zion's Herald and the Christian Advocate and Journal, XIII (July 5, 1839), 182. C. J. Brosnan, Source material relating to Jason Lee, loc. cit. Also: Ewing Young's Day Book from December 1, 1838, to January, 1841. Provisional Government Documents,
Territorial Government File, Oregon State Archives. Document 407. Mr. Cannings' account was brought forward from February 9, 1838. See also: Mission Account Book, 1838-1840. Ms. Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon. Credit entry for Charles Plante: "1838 Nov 13 By 3 days work last year on Dr. Whites /sic/ house 3.00." Credit entry for E/wing Young: "1839 June 21 By Lumber delivered E. White 40.34."

4 Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Oregon Mission, 1841-1844. Microfilm copy, Ms, Oregon Historical Society. The first yearly meeting of the ministerial department of the Oregon Mission convened at "the Mission house of the Willamette Station" May 3, 1841. It is likely that this is the old mission house. Those present were: the Reverend Jason Lee, Superintendent; Daniel Lee, of Wasco; David Leslie, J. P. Richmond, Gustavus Hines, and W. W. Kona. The Rev. J. H. Frost was prevented from attending, owing to "the inclemency of the weather" until May 8. It was proposed by Hines that the Meeting consist of only those admitted to full connection in "some Annual Conference at home." This exclusion of the missionaries laboring in the secular department was to prove a bone of contention. The subject of "laymen's rights" was taken up as it was learned that lay members of the mission were dissatisfied not to have opinions represented in the policy-making sessions. On May 11 the Meeting appointed a committee to confer with the lay representatives. A letter "from several laymen of the Oregon mission inquiring into the extent of their rights in their annual meetings" addressed to the "Officers and Managers" of the Missionary Society can be found among Oregon Mission Correspondence. The signatures of "Your Brethren in a far distant land" included on the petition were those of J. L. Parrish, George Abernethy, W. W. Raymond, Ira L. Babcock, James Olley, Lewis H. Judson, Alanson Beers, William H. Willson, and Joseph L. Whitcomb.

5 Jason Lee to the Reverend Nathan Bars, letter dated at Clatsop, mouth of the Columbia River, June 18, 1841, Oregon Mission Correspondence, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. Riel 1, microfilm, Willamette University Library.

6Elmira Raymond (Mrs. W. W. Raymond) to her parents (Mr. & Mrs. James David of New York State), letter dated at "Willamette" September 3, 1840. Oregon Collection, University of Oregon Library.

7Jemima Brewer to Henry Bridgman and Laura Brewer, letter dated at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, February 28 and March 1, 1841, "Care of J. Lee, Willamet Settlement," and received October 28, 1841. Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library. See note 111, infra.
Mrs. A. J. Olley to Mrs. Henry Bridgman Brewer at Wascopam, dated at Willamette Station, November 18, 1840. Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library. Adelia Judson Tarkington Olley was the sister of mission carpenter and cabinet maker, Lewis H. Judson. James Olley was to drown in December, 1842, in an ill-fated and unauthorized expedition up the Willamette to obtain logs which he attempted to float down river, lashed to his canoe, at high water. The Rev. David Leslie also lost family to the Willamette. His eldest and youngest daughters and his son-in-law, Cornelius Rogers, drowned when a mission canoe—carrying also Dr. White and W. W. Raymond—was swept over the Falls of the Willamette on February 4, 1843. Leslie became a widower in February, 1841. He married Mrs. Olley in January, 1844. See letters: Læ to Bangs, March 15, 1842, Oregon Mission Correspondence, as quoted by Decker, 254-255; Abernethy to Pitman, February 4, 1843, note attached to Lee’s letter of March 27, 1843, Oregon Mission Correspondence, as quoted by Decker 237-238. Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims Abstracted from Applications by the Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, Vol. I (Portland: The Genealogical Forum, 1957), No. 403.

On November 8, 1840, Lewis Judson wrote from "Wallamette Mission" to Henry Brewer at Wascopam. The uniform suffering of those stationed on the flood plain described by Judson is compelling. It is clear that Olley and Judson—and presumably J. L. Parrish and Hamilton Campbell as well as W. W. Raymond, were fulfilling assignments at the mill. It is likely that these families were yet living in the log dwellings built for mill hands at Chemeketa. "With us at this station it has been a season of severe suffering through sickness—. About the last of August and first of Sept there were scarcely enough of our people here enjoying health to take care of the sick—. At my house at one time—myself, Mrs. Judson and all the children were sick— and in the other part of the house Bro Olley and wife were both sick. We were by the kindness of our Heavenly Father preserved from death and raised to the enjoyment of a better state of health. At the Mission House but very few escaped the ague: But at present only a few are sick—Bro. Parrish’s Norman is now very sick—. Sister Campbell is in a poor state of health—my little Helen is now afflicted with ague and fever every two days. Others are in feeble health— others but partially recovered from the sufferings and disease of the past sickly season..." Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.

Mission Account Book, 1838-1840, Ms, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon. The 6 by 11 inch, leather-bound day book appears to be the second in a series of account books.
(See Appendix X-H, Mr. Billec's entry "transferred [sic] from Book No. 1"). After his arrival, in June, 1840, mission steward, George Abernathy, took charge of the book.

11 Ibid. (See Appendix X-H). George Kirby Gay, sailor, b. 1797 in Gloucestershire, England arrived in Oregon for the third time--to settle--with the Cattle Company party from California which included Ewing Young and F. L. Edwards, of the mission. Settling a claim on the West bank of the Willamette near the first mission site, Gay began production for the "first brick house west of the Rockies." The house was in ruins when it was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1934. At present, there is scarcely a trace of the landmark. See: Howard McKinley Corning, ed., Dictionary of Oregon History compiled from the research files of the former Oregon Writers' Project with much added material (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1856), 97. "The bricks were molded and baked on the premises. The structure was 2 by 22 feet, 14 feet high, with a large fireplace at either end adorned by woodwork, hand-carved and dressed." The south wall of the house was on "the Yamhill-Polk County line, a circumstance which dates from the act of the Provisional Government, of July 5, 1843, describing the Yamhill County line as running in part south along the coast of the Pacific Ocean to a point due south of George Gray's (Gay's) house; thence due east to the middle channel of the Willamette River." The house was a noted early day gathering place of government officials and visitors to the territory." It was noted by Lt. Wilkes, June, 1841.


13 Ibid., Appendix X-C

14 Ibid., Appendix X-D

15 Ibid., Appendix X-E

16 Ibid., Appendix X-H Calvin Tibbits was one of the adventurers who came with Nathaniel Wyeth's expedition of 1832 and remained; Charles Roe had been in the second overland party, which included the Lees and
their small band of missionary assistants, led by Wyeth in 1834. See Decker, 173. During the auspicious services held at the Old Mission on Sunday, July 16, 1837, and which included the first religious marriages performed in Oregon, Charles Roe became the first white man to be baptized in a Protestant service. Wabley Hauxhurst was the first white man to profess conversion. These two were also the first white men in Oregon to be accepted into Church membership. According to Decker, the event was one of the most widely chronicled in the history of the Oregon Mission. See 184. The author cites: Leo's "Diary," Oregon Historical Quarterly, VII (1906), 225-232; Mission Record Book, 256; Daniel Lee and Joseph H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (New York: published for the authors, 1844), 149-150; Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions, Comprising a Full History of the Willamette University... (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1865), 25; Albert Atwood, The Conquerors... (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1907), 55; Bancroft, loc. cit., I, 159-160.

17 Ibid., Appendix X-H

18 Ibid., Appendix X-H


20 Maria T. Ware Lee (Mrs. Daniel Lee) to Laura Brewer at "Waskopam," Ms, Northwest Collection, Willamette University Library (See Appendix XIII).


22 George Abernethy to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, letter dated at Willamette November 11, 1841. Oregon Mission Correspondence, University of Puget Sound Microfilm copy, Reel 1, Willamette University Library.

Between 1841, when George Foster Emmons—a member of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes' United States Navy Exploring Squadron—labeled it in his journal sketchbook, and 1845, when the Oregon Mission retrenchment had taken place, the storehouse within the palisade at Fort Vancouver was called "Missionary Store" because it was "used by the American missionaries to store their property." See John A. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver, loc. cit., Plate II, 146, 189. See
Emmons’ entry for July 25, 1841, original Ms among journals in collections of the Yale University Library. A complementary perspective view of the Fort by Henry Eld, Jr., of the same expedition brings the conclusion: the Missionary Store was “along the south stockade wall near the southeast corner of the enclosure… it was a gable-roofed structure, evidently one story high.”

23George Abernethy to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, letter dated at Willamette August 3, 1843, Oregon Mission Correspondence, Microfilm Reel 1, Willamette University Library. This revealing commentary on shipping procedures suggests that bills of lading—especially those originating at Oahu—once proliferated. Almost none dating from the “Great Reinforcement” seem to have survived. Abernethy’s accounting also provides evidence of the induced dependence of the missionaries and other settlers upon the Hudson’s Bay Company despite intentions to the contrary. Apparently, the arrival of shipments was inconsistent in this period.

In a letter to Fuller Atchinson, dated at Willamette Falls August 19, 1842, Alvan P. Waller explained that the “Sandwich Isles are to the western world that the West Indies are to the United States. We obtain sugar & molasses from these, nearly, or quite as cheap as they can be afforded in the states. It is only about sixty days’ sail to China, and fifteen or twenty to the islands.” Waller’s remarks were submitted for publication in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (November 8, 1843), 50. They are one of the evidence of dependence upon the Islands as supply source and reminder of Oregon’s detached position in the “western world.” See Brosnan, Source material, loc. cit., 406.

24Lee to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, letter dated at Wallamette Falls, August 20, 1842, Oregon Mission Correspondence, Microfilm Reel 1, Willamette University Library.

The Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of the Oregon Mission for 1841 show that the mission steward did, in fact, operate at an early date from a depot at Willamette Falls. On May 6, 1841, Gustavus Hines proposed that “it is necessary to recall Alanson Beers from the Falls for the purpose of taking charge of the mission farm for the ensuing year” and that “we recommend Bro Raymond to be appointed to labor in connection with the Mission Steward.” Thereupon, the motion was made by Dr. Richmond and it was resolved that a committee be appointed to look into the expediency of relocating the mission store. Hines recommended that the committee take into consideration the subject of erecting “a store house on the Wallamette, below the Falls, or on the Columbia River where it will be convenient for a vessel to discharge her cargo.” As Superintendent, Jason Lee was made a member ex officio of the
committee. By May 12 the "committee on the Mission Store-house," had prepared a report recommending "the erection [sic] of a storehouse and other necessary buildings at the lower mouth of the Willamette, if possible in time to receive our next anticipated cargo of goods." The report was signed by G. Hines, Jno. P. Richmond, Jason Lee, and David Leslie. Minutes of the next Yearly Meeting of the Oregon Mission show that it was, on motion, resolved on May 23, 1842, "expedient that the mission store be located at, or in the vicinity of the Willamette Falls." See Ms. Collections of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

25 George Abernethy to Charles Pitman, dated at Willamette Falls, March 27, 1842. Oregon Mission Correspondence. Microfilm, Reel 1, Willamette University Library. In 1845 Abernethy solved the "want of circulating medium" for the purposes of making change at his store by devising a form of currency of pieces of flint rock "left in quantity by Indians after fashioning arrow points and spear heads from rock at Willamette Falls. On each chip issued by Abernethy was affixed his name and face value of 'change.'" For a discussion of "Abernethy Rock" see Howard McKinley Corning, Dictionary of Oregon History, loc. cit., 1.

26 Alvan F. Waller to Fuller Atchinson, Albion Michigan, letter dated at Clavewalla (Willamette Falls) August 19, 1842. Published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII (November 8, 1843), 50. Brosnan, Source material, loc. cit., 401.


28 Alvan F. Waller to Fuller Atchinson, letter dated at Willamette Falls May 23, 1843, published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII (July 3, 1844), 186. Brosnan, Source material 24. Decker cites a business letter among the Brewer correspondence which suggests that "only two of the missionaries were without personal servants." The Board of Managers of the Missionary Society allowed the amount of $50.00 per year to be deducted from missionary salaries in order that this service be provided. Abernethy explained to H. B. Brewer that he and Waller, apparently under the pressure of operating the mission store and sideline enterprises, would rather pay $120 a year and passage to and from the Islands than to "do our own work on missionary time." Generally, the servants were Hawaiians hired from Dr. McLoughlin, though Indians were employed in some cases, and Dr. White's servant, Anderson, was a mulatto. Decker, 134n. The author cites Abernethy to Brewer, letter dated February 25, 1843. Ms, Brewer Collection, Washington Historical Society, Tacoma, Washington.
H. K. W. Perkins of Wascopam reported: "...I have constantly with me an engaged assistant, a native, whose services I obtain for about three or four dollars per month. Sometimes I admit another, but generally he is the only inmate, besides myself, of my study. If I have calls from others of the natives, they remain in the sitting-room, to which they always have free access, until I can wait upon them. In addition, I have two native lads, who have been trained to do most of the kitchen work, such as cooking, washing, cutting the wood, and bringing the water. These, besides their board, which is considerable, cost me six or seven dollars per month. The natives are settled around us within short distances, so that we have no want of neighbours, such as they are." See H. K. W. Perkins, "Extracts from Journal written between December 4, 1843 and March 19, 1844," Monthly Missionary Notice, Vol. 34, No. 10 (October, 1844), 76.

29 George Abernethy to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, letter dated at Willamette, November 11, 1841. Oregon Mission Correspondence. Microfilm, Reel 1, Willamette University Library (See Appendix: XV).


32 Lewis H. Judson to the Rev. Nathan Bangs, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, letter dated at South New Berlin, May 5, 1839. It was "after much serious deliberation and prayer" that Judson "determined to apply for a sphere of labour in Oregon under superintendence of Brother J. Lee." Judson was thirty years old at the date of his application for the engagement of his family, including his wife and three small children.


34 George Abernethy to Nathan Bangs, letter dated at Willamette, March 11, 1842. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1 (See Appendix XVI).

35 Superintendent George Gary to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, Journal entry dated at Willamette Falls: "Tues. Aug. 19 [1845]. This day I am favored (if a favor it be)
with a bill of borrowed lumber from Hudson Bay Co. of more than 13,000 feet, borrowed by the Mission in 1841. I have some comfort when I receive those old unsettled bills; I think each as it comes in the last..." Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1. In a letter dated at Wascopam, October 13, 1843, Jason Lee explained that, in addition to a delay of two months in the running of the saw mill the previous winter, and the mill's getting out of repair, "the misfortune of four or five hundred dollars worth of lumber being consumed by fire." Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1. It is not clear by this statement whether the fire occurred before or after the major compensating order for lumber was drawn from the Company.

36 Manuscripts relating to building materials and furnishings selected from Fort Vancouver Sale Shop Inventory and Depot Inventory for 1840-1841. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Beaver House, Great Trinity Lane, London, England. Courtesy of the Governor and Committee (Appendix XIV-A). See especially Depot Inventory for Spring, 1841, pgs. 45 dorse, 47 dorse. Viz. 1 11/12 doz Grooving Plane Irons

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37 Ibid., Depot Inventory, p. 48. Viz. 13 Carpenters 4 fold foot Rule

5 Small Sash Saws 12 in
3 Pit 6 1/2 ft
2 Cross Cut 4"
4 " 5"
4 " 6"
19 Hand " 26 in
21 Mill 7 ft
5 Coopers Frame 26 in
8 Turning " 22"
2 Key hole " 16"
6 Tenon " 16"
Ibid., miscellaneous items. Depot Inventory, 39d., 34, 46d.

Ibid., for glass and paint, 43 dorse, 47, 48. It is Rev. William Roberts—-who became Superintendent of the Oregon Mission in 1847—who reveals the most about sources of glazing for mission buildings in his repeated requests to the Board for window glass (See Appendixes XXIV, XXV). Writing Corresponding Secretary, Charles Pitman, from Oregon City on April 24, 1848, Roberts requested "some boxes of glass 8 by 10" and "let there be one of 7 x 9, for all our lights at present are of those dimensions." On December 20, 1847, Roberts had explained the expediency of sending the 8 x 10 size, viz. "not because it is the best size, but in any contingency it is sometimes possible to get is in this country."

Lee to Bangs, letter dated at Clatsop, Mouth of the Columbia River, June 18, 1841. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Roll 1. In enumerating recent drafts on the Missionary Society, Lee specified that there was in addition to a bill in excess of $23,000 due at Fort Vancouver, "a balance due at the sandwich Islands for goods ordered by myself before I left the Islands in 1840, which my draft drawn at the time did not cover. The amount we judged it best to expend at the Islands for sugar, molasses, Coral for Lime & c., their freight..."


Alvan F. Waller to the Rev. Fuller Atchinson, dated at "Clewewalla" (Willamette Falls), August 19, 1842. Sent from Albion, Michigan, September 30, 1843, to be published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII (November 8, 1843), 50. Brosnan, Source material, 405.

Ibid., Brosnan, Source material, 400. By dint of its stable Indian population—which swelled during fishing season—Willamette Falls was the site of a Hudson’s Bay Company trading post. In 1840 Waller was appointed to the mission station there. During the first summer he built a log house divided into two apartments, one of which served as a mission depot. When George Abernethy was placed in charge of the store, merchandise was sold to settlers as well as members of the mission. In 1841 the Island Milling Company was formed by members of the mission and other shareholders. The company built a grist mill and saw mill—activity which contested Dr. McLoughlin’s claim to the water power of the falls. Compounding the conflict, Waller set up a private claim to a tract, part of which had been preempted by the Chief Factor as early as 1829. Barclay, Vol. II, To Reform the Nation, loc. cit., 243-244. For detailed discussion of the Falls claim dispute, see also Deckr, 200-215; Frederick V. Holman, Dr. John McLoughlin, The Father of Oregon (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark


45 W. W. Raymond to H. B. Brewer, Wascopam, letter dated at Clatsop Station, January 9, 1843. Ms., Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library. Following an exploratory tour of the Clatsop area by the Superintendent and J. H. Frost, Frost was left at Clatsop Plain August 6, 1840. He boarded, temporarily, with Hudson's Bay Company agent James Birnie at Fort George. In Barclay's words, Frost had "little ingenuity in where and how to construct." It was with the aid of two neighbors who had emigrated from the Willamette Valley at this time—Solomon H. Smith and Calvin Tibbets—that Frost managed to erect a shelter by the first of December. In response to an appeal made during the rainy season, Lee dispatched W. W. Kone to aid Frost at the inaptly located log cabin and Indian lodge some fourteen miles south of the fort and distant from the supply route. Frost, Kone, Smith, Tibbets, and Indian neighbors proceeded to build a one-story, shingleroofed, three-room log house near the river. It measured 20 by 30 feet and was floored and ceiled with fir board "obtained from Vancouver." Kone departed in February, 1841; and J. H. Frost was ailing. In July, 1842, W. W. Raymond arrived to take charge of the farming. The mission house was relocated a second time—back to the plain, where a new house for two families was put under way. The fact that parts of the house—most likely siding, shingles, etc.—were "moved 8 or 10 miles on horse carts and canoes" suggests that the missionaries disassembled the second structure on the river in order to re-use materials. Lee and Frost, loc. cit., 234, 259, 273ff, 294, 322ff, 329f, as quoted by Barclay, 246-247, 249.


7 Ibid., 364-365.

Perkins noted in this account the visit of Lieutenant John Charles Fremont, who was leading a government topographical survey party of "twenty-five or thirty men" down the Columbia in fall of 1843. See H. K. W. Perkins, "Extracts from Journal written between December 4, 1843, and March 19, 1844. . . ." Monthly Missionary Notice, Vol. 34, No. 10 (October, 1844), 75. Credit with supplying thirteen lithographed illustrations to accompany the official report of the Corps of Topographical Engineers-sponsored expedition from Chouteau's Landing to Fort Vancouver 1843-1844 is Charles Preuss, topographer and artist who travelled with Fremont on the "second expedition." The object was to run a survey as far West as that area covered in the Wilkes report--this with a view to a wagon road for immigration to Oregon. Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-44 (28 Cong., 2 sess., House Ex. Doc. [1845]) was of acknowledged assistance to immigrants. No view of the mission by Preuss is known. The last leg of the trek down the Columbia--from the Dalles to Fort Vancouver--and the return trip to the Dalles were accomplished by boat. On November 21, 1843, Preuss entered in his diary: "Here we are again in sunny country, at the mission by The Dalles." Erwin G. Gudde and Elisabeth K. Gudde, ed. and trans., Exploring with Fremont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss... (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), xx, xxiv, 98-99.

In September, 1849, the station was passed by the Mounted Rifle Regiment Expedition from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon City led by Major Osborne Cross. A plate showing the mission buildings was lithographed by E. Weber and Co. of Baltimore and published with Major Cross's report to Congress. His "Report of the Quartermaster General for 1850" was included as a part of the report of the Secretary of War. Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1 (December 2, 1850), 126-244. "The Old Mission has gone greatly to ruin," he remarked. "It is composed of a dwelling-house, which we now occupied; also three more buildings, one of which had been used as a school-house... The buildings rest on the side of the picket-work, which is made of heavy pine logs... the whole has been going to decay since the war with the Cayuse nation, at which time it was abandoned." See page 217.

Artists accompanying the Mounted Rifle Expedition were George Gibbs, who kept a journal; Andrew Jackson Lindsay, and William H. Tappan. What appears to have been a studio version of the Methodist Mission buildings at the
Dalles, which was painted in oil and assigned the date 1849 by William H. Tappan, is among the collections of the Oregon Historical Society. See also: vignette captioned "Methodist Mission Near Dalles, Back of Astoria" in Reynell Coates' "The Golden Future, or our Empire of the West," Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art, VII (July-December, 1850), 132. The source of this cut is unknown as yet. Like Tappan's oil painting, it shows the "house of worship" as a sort of half-timbered construction. As described by T. J. Farnham in 1839, its frame was filled with "mortar made of clay, sand and straw." T. J. Farnham, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies," in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, 1904-1907), Vol. 28, pp. 357-8, as quoted by Thomas R. Garth, Jr., "Early Architecture in the Northwest," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 3 (July, 1947), 228-229.

49 Decker, 141.

50 Minutes of the Committee on the Oregon Mission, Wednesday, April 10, 1839, p. 5. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.


52 Ibid., May 8, pp. 11-12.


54 Ibid., May 12, pp. 19-20. Robert Shortes arrives in the Willamette Valley in 1839 with the Peoria party led by Thomas Jefferson Farnham. Shortes wrote an account of the journey which, according to Decker, while published in 1836, was probably written before 1870. Decker, 179.

55 Ibid., May 14, p. 21.


57 Ibid., p. 24.

58 Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of the Oregon Mission for the Year 1842. Ms. Collections of the Oregon Historical Society. Minutes for May 18, p. 27.

59 Ibid., Minutes for May 20, 1842, p. 29.

60 Ibid., Minutes for May 21, 1842, p. 32. This statement, being another of the early dated references to stoves, suggests that
warming stoves were readily available by 1840—probably as a result of
the great reinforcement. P. E. Littlejohn was among the fourth group
of missionaries to arrive in Oregon. The Congregational Association
missionaries—independent of any mission society in the East—were
represented in Oregon by the families of the Rev. Harvey Clark, A. T.
Smith, and P. B. Littlejohn by 1839-1840. These were later joined
by the Rev. and Mrs. J. S. Griffin and Mr. and Mrs. Asahel Munger.
See Decker, 174n. He cites the comment of Deputy Factor James
Douglas of October, 1839. "A new order of Missionaries styled 'Self
Supporters,' have also arrived, to bewilder our poor Indians, already
perplexed beyond measure, by the number and variety of their instruc-
Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, Second Series, VI, 227.

61 Ibid., Minutes for May 24, 1842, p. 35.

62 Barday, 236. Decker, 192. Decker cites as the only known
original source for this earliest phase of Oregon's educational history:
Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions... (New York: Carlton and
Porter, 1868), 139-141. The founding of the Oregon Institute is given
in Chapter VI.

63 Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions, 141-142, as cited
by Decker, 193. Barclay, 236.

64 Barday, 236. Decker, 193. Decker cites Hines, ibid., 153;
Copy of the Constitution of the Oregon Institute, Oregon Mission
Correspondence, file 6; and W. P. Strickland, History of the Missions
of the Methodist Episcopal Church, From the Organization of the
Missionary Society to the Present Time (Cincinnati, 1850), 157.

65 Barday, 236. On September 28, 1842, and with unanimous
consent, the Oregon Mission and the American Board Mission adopted the
resolution approving Gray's withdrawal "in order to become Secular
Agent of and General Superintendent of the Oregon Institute..." Barclay
cites Clifford M. Drury, Pioneer of Old Oregon: Henry Harman Spaulding
(Caldwell Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1936), 282. William H.
Gray (1810-1889), a physician and native of New York, arrived in the
Oregon country in 1836 as a lay missionary worker with Presbyterian
Marcus Whitman and Henry H. Spalding. Proprietary of the school
in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church was assumed by the local
Methodist Society October 26, 1842.

66 David Leslie, letter dated at Honolulu, S. I., March 1, 1843,
and published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII, No. 1
(August 16, 1843), 1, under subtitle "Men of Israel, help!" Brosnan, Source material, 347. See also: Leslie letters, microfilm, Oregon State Archives. David Leslie (1797-1869), a native of New Hampshire, was received on trial in the New England Conference in 1822. He was appointed to the Barre Circuit. See General Minutes, 1, 375, 391.

On his appointment to missionary duty with the Oregon Mission, he was to serve fourteen years and never returned to the East. He was consistently the acting superintendent during Jason Lee's absences. He served as President of the board of Trustees of Willamette University for twenty-five years, and was President of the Oregon Bible Society and the Missionary Society of the Oregon Conference. M. Simpson, ed., Cyclopedia of Methodism, 533, as quoted by Barclay, 231.

67 Ibid., Brosnan, Source material, 352.


69 "Men of Israel, help!" Brosnan, Source material, 350.

70 Lee reached the Shawnee Mission near Council Bluffs September 5, 1838. Lee to Bangs, Niagara Falls, October 24, 1838, Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 16, as quoted by Decker, 87. The Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School was one of the earliest Indian missions in pre-territorial Kansas. It was a way-point on the Santa Fe Trail. The Mission was established in Wyandotte county in 1830 by the Rev. Thomas Johnson. "In 1838, by agreement between the Methodist church and the federal government, a central manual labor school was organized, and in 1839 building was begun on the present site, a part of the Shawnee lands in what is now Johnson county. To this school Indian children of many tribes were sent to learn English, manual arts, and agriculture. At the height of its activity the mission and school was an establishment of 2,000 acres with 16 buildings, including the three large brick structures which still stand, and an enrollment of nearly 200 Indian boys and girls." Per: brochure of the Historic Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School, Fifty-Third Street and Mission Road, Fairway, Kansas City, Kansas.

71 Barclay, 235-236. Author cites: Gustaws Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions, 159ff; Bancroft, I, 201. See also Decker, 147.


Hamilton Campbell to Henry Bridgman Brewer, Wascopam. Letter dated at Fort Vancouver October 24, 1842. Ms, Northwest History Collection, Wallowa University Library.


Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, Vol. IV (Philadelphia, 1849), 351-353. It was in the published version that the term "double piazza" was first used in connection with the mission hospital. No mention of a double porch is made by Wilkes in his original journal. The Narrative was embellished and more discreet. See: Charles Wilkes, United States Navy, Journal, Book 3 (1841), entry for June 7, 1841, p. 89a. Ms, Hydrographic Office, Division of Sailing Directions, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Also note 3, Supra. The hospital is now destroyed.

Owing to its accommodation and situation, the hospital began a career as reception center early in the tenancy of its builder, Dr. Elijah White. According to Dr. White's account, as retold by Miss A. J. Allen, the Whites received Fort Vancouver chaplain, the Rev. Herbert Beaver and Mrs. Beaver, who was considerably impressed by the arrangement of "the first white woman's house" she had been in since her arrival in the Oregon country. The author mentions among other visitors the Superintendent of the American Board's interior mission at Wailatpu, Marcus Whitman; Mr. E. C. Hall, a visiting missionary from the Sandwich Islands; and the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. John McLoughlin, his wife, and entourage. "The style in which they travelled was rather novel, bringing with them beds, bedding, tea, coffee, sugar, bread, cakes, cheese; and not even wine was left behind. They were attended by a numerous suite, never forgetting the
cook..." Miss A. J. Allen, Ten Years in Oregon: Travels and Adventures of Doctor E. White and Lady West of the Rocky Mountains (Ithaca, 1848), 117-118.


79 Ibid., 90a-91. Lee was not in residence at this time—June 8—as he seems to have been making excursions to the Dalle and Clatsop. He added in a letter addressed to Nathan Bangs from Fort Vancouver on September 23, 1841: "I have seen very little of the Gentleman of the Ex. Squadron, but they have left a very favourable impression here at Vancouver." Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1. See also: Edmond S. Meany, ed. Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest, Reprinted from The Washington Historical Quarterly, 1925-1926, (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1926). For publication, Wilkes' view was expanded to include an explanation of the mills: both were under the same roof, and "worked by a horizontal wheel." He also added dimension to the new site, explaining that there were some temporary structures nearby. "We found here two good log houses, and about twenty lay members, mechanics, of the mission under Mr. Raymond, who is the principal at the mills." Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, IV (Philadelphia, 1849), 363.

The Rev. Joseph Williams, who published a Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-1842, referred not to oak, but to fir groves. "The new Station [is] at the mill, nine miles above the old station, on the Willamette River... on a delightful plain, beautifully studded with green groves of fir trees, and having a creek running through it with a grist-mill and a saw-mill, which supplies the country all around with grinding and lumber... herds of cattle grazing on the plains." Williams, p. 64, as quoted by Barclay, 234.

80 Ibid., 91a.

81 Barclay, 235.


Hines, Wild Life in Oregon..., 419.

Charles Wilkes, Journal, op. cit., entry for June 7, 1841, Ms, p. 89.

Ibid., pp. 89a-90. Hines' chronicles cast Wilkes and Elijah White as two who did most to retard the movement for government. See Wild Life in Oregon..., 420-421. "What contributed more, however, to defeat this first effort to establish a regular government in Oregon than any thing else, was the arrival, during the summer in which the organization was pending, of the United States Exploring Squadron, under the command of Captain Wilkes... The arrival on the coast of Oregon of so extensive an armament, consisting of four or five vessels of war, for the express purpose of exploring, not only the coast and rivers, but also the country itself, produced a very great excitement in the community, and but little was heard of but the Exploring squadron during its somewhat protracted stay in the Columbia river. In addition to this, the officers of the squadron were consulted on the subject of organizing the country into a civil compact, and were found to be decidedly opposed to the scheme, and recommended that the subject be allowed to rest. They encouraged the people in the belief that the United States Government would probably soon extend jurisdiction over the country. This put a quietus on the subject for the time being, and, as the number of settlers in the country was yet small, and the difficulties to be settled of such a nature as easily to be adjusted by arbitration, nothing took place to call up the subject of organizing until several months after the departure of the squadron from the Columbia river." Dr. Elijah White had returned in the capacity of sub agent of Indian Affairs in October, 1842. His interests had run counter to those of the Oregon Mission since his defection in 1840. Hines continued: "The subject of organizing a government was again revived in September, 1842; but Dr. White, who was now in the country as Sub-agent of Indian Affairs, contended that his office was equivalent to that of Governor of the Colony. Some of the citizens contended that the Doctor's business was to regulate the intercourse between the Indians and the whites, and not to control the whites in their intercourse among themselves. Without arriving at any thing definite on this point,
after hearing the documents brought to the country from Washington by Dr. White, the people scattered away to their homes upon the plains, pleased with what they considered to be a preliminary step of the United States towards extending jurisdiction over the Territory of Oregon."

88 Ibid., entry for June 8, 1841, Ms pp. 91, 92. Supra.

89 Decker, 225-226. Author contrasts views of H. H. Bancroft, I, 313, and Albert Atwood, The Conquerors... (1907), 147.


91 Ibid., Gray, p. 263. The first "Wolf Meeting" convened at the home of Joseph Gervais in March, 1843, apparently was not attended by any members of the mission.

92 Alvan Waller to Fuller Atchinson, letter dated at Willamette Falls, May 23, 1843, and published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII (July 3, 1844), 186. Brosnan, Source material, 428. Of particular iconographic interest is the first meeting at Champéog of May 2, 1843. According to Editor Howard McKinley Comings, it was Lewis H. Judson who "almost broke up the Champéog meeting of 1843 by insisting that settlers from the United States control it. Joe Mæk, with other trappers, pacified the excited French settlers." See: Dictionary of Oregon History, loc. cit., 130. This was the inspiration of the legendary dividing line which determined pro and con for government organization. The closely contested (52 to 50) situation was described by Hines: "The committee appointed for the purpose of bringing forward the business of the meeting, presented their report, and a motion was made to accept it, which was lost. Considerable confusion existed in consequence; but it was moved by G. W. LeBreton, and seconded by W. H. Gray, that the meeting divide themselves preparatory to being counted; those in favor of the objects of the meeting taking the right, and those of the contrary mind, the left. The motion prevailed, and a large majority being found in favor of organizing, the greater part of the dissenting withdrew." Hines, Wild Life in Oregon..., 423. For pictorial representations of the event, see the apocryphal "Jason Lee and Oregon


94 Hussey, *The History of Fort Vancouver...* 81

95 Deck, 233-234.

96 Lee to Nathan Bangs, via "Exploring Squadron," dated at Fort Vancouver September 23, 1841. *Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.*

98 Ibid.

99 Barclay, 252.

100 See Deck, p. 292, for discussion of a "lack of realism on the part of the Board." He cites among *Oregon Mission Correspondence* Bishop Evelyn Waugh's "scathing denunciation of equally faulty procedures in accounting for conference mission funds," a letter addressed to Nathan Bangs on January 17, 1840. "I am not prepared to judge how far our pecuniary supplies will allow us to go in filling the vacancies of this young republic. I know not the amount appropriated for Missions by the several Mission Committees and Superintendents, & drawn for by the latter. Whether there has been omission to notify the Treasurer of the several amounts drawn for, I am not able to determine, but I am in ignorance of the amount."

101 Barclay, 252. Author cites that fact that when the Board's borrowing limit had been reached in 1841-1842, "drastic retrenchment" had already been enforced in the South American fields. See also p. 262. Between August, 1819 (when the Ohio Conference sent a missionary to the Wyandot tribe), and the division of the Church, North and South, in 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church established missions among some thirty-five Indian tribes in sixteen states and territories excluding Upper Canada, but including Oregon—a foreign field. Missionary work was sponsored by fifteen annual conferences; and no less than 214 preachers served Indian mission appointments.

Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 58, as quoted in Barclay, 240.

Copy of a letter sent by Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, to Jason Lee, dated at New York February 28, 1842. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.


Barclay, 240. Author cites Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon..., 182ff; Perkins' "Journal," Christian Advocate and Journal, XV, No. 9 (October 14, 1840), 33. See also Decker, 162. H. K. W. Perkins (1812-1884) spent his entire term of seven years at the Dalles mission site. A native of Maine, he had been admitted on trial to the Maine Conference in 1836, and he began his service in the Vienna Circuit. Barclay, 218, cites General Minutes, II, 386, 388. He had studied at Kent's Hill Seminary, where he apparently developed his literary style. He returned to the Maine Conference in 1842. One historian considered Perkins' work among the Indians "probably more successful than that of any other man connected with the Methodist Mission." H. K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest... (Portland, H. K. Hines, 1899).

During the Yearly Meeting of 1842 official approval was given of "Br Perkin's sic devoting himself to the study of the Wascoam or Chinook language." Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission for the Year 1842. Ms, Collections of the Oregon Historical Society. Minutes for May 24, p. 35. See also Minutes for 1844.

Decker, 158-159, presents some interesting views on the Indians' acceptance of Christianity. He posits: "The Indians found it easy to accept the basic concepts of Christianity since many of them were in keeping with their old beliefs." But the efficacy of prayer appealed as a means of meeting specific problems and desires—an effect wholly at variance with the protestant Christian ethic. He cites Bancroft, I, 179-180; Charles H. Carey, History of Oregon (Chicago, 1922), I, 291. The Indian concept of giving and the customs of begging and avenging were irreconcilable. Decker cites the example given by Perkins, who once thought an Indian with whom he was working had been converted
until he was told by the Indian that the Indian would pray a whole year if he got a shirt and capote. Lee and Frost, 241-242. The capote, or long cape with hood, recurs in Oregon Mission Correspondence, and seems to have been a standard article of clothing among missionaries. Its use in this context suggests that it was sometimes a trade item (see Appendices XVIII and XIX).


110 Barclay, 240. Author cites Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, 190ff. See also Decker, 162, regarding the meeting of April, 1840. He cites letter of H. B. Brewer and Laura Brewer to William E. Brewer, dated at Wascopam, August 22, 1840, and which reported between 1,000 and 2,000 Indians camped at "Cowalaps." Brewer Collection, Washington Historical Society.


113 Decker, 186-187. Author cites Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions, 36; Lee and Frost, 166-169; Leslie to Eangs, letter dated March 5, 1839, Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 19.

114 Decker, 187-188. Author cites Reed Bain, "Educational Plans and Efforts by Methodists in Oregon to 1860," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXI (1920), 71. Recognition of the responsibility of missions in facilitating the transition to civilization was made at the official level by the time of the General Conference of 1840. Bishop Soule looked forward to the time when interests of the Church in Oregon "will call for the organization of an annual conference in that vast territory." Decker cites: John M. Canse, "Jason Lee: New Evidence on the Missionary Colonizer," Washington Historical Quarterly, VI (1915), 262-263.

115 Decker, 189.
Barclay, 238. Author cites: W. H. Gray, _A History of Oregon, 1782-1849..._ (Portland and New York, 1870), 361. "Our population, all told now amounting to not far from twelve hundred."

Henry Brewer to Walter Giddings, November 7, 1843, with note to her father added by Laura Brewer. _Misc. Brewer Collection, Washington Historical Society, as quoted by Decker_, 180.

Barclay, 237. Decker, 189. The White-Hastings Party of 1842 brought 112 persons to Oregon, of whom fifty-two were adult males. Decker cites Miss A. J. Allen, _Ten Years in Oregon: The Travels and Adventures of Dr. E. White and Lady West of the Rocky Mountains_ (Ithaca, 1848), 145-146, 170.


Waller to Fuller Atchinson, letter dated at Willamette Falls, August 19, 1842, and sent from Albion, Michigan, to be published in the _Christian Advocate and Journal, XVIII_ (November 8, 1843), 40. Brosnan, _Source Material_, 406.

Decker, 235-236, 239-242. In the correspondence of the missionaries the undermining psychological forces are apparent. Decker speaks of loneliness and isolation "resulting from the aura of finality that existed in breaks with home ties;" physical debilitation, plagues and death; and the agony which all but prevented work in the first year. He cites the "corrosive effect" of the demoralizing misfits; the "spiritual depression" owing to concentration on secular affairs in order to remain operative; and--not least--the Superintendent's "failure to instill a dynamic concept of calling" once recruits were in the field.

Decker, 234, 237. White took passage on the _Lausanne_ for New York, arriving in the East April, 1841. _Minutes of the Board of Managers III_, 288 ff, 280. For White's predilection for spending, see account books (Appendices VIII and X-E). White's was the first of the mission structures, apparently, to have been entirely fabricated of milled lumber, some of which is known to have been obtained from Ewing Young's mill. Alanson Beers and David Leslie appear to have availed of Young's mill for improvements to their rougher quarters. _Note 3, supra._ During Lee's absence in 1838-1840, missionaries were permitted to draw on Fort Vancouver for salaries. David Leslie had the sole responsibility
for bills. White, counter to the arrangement, drew a total of $1,600 on 
Vancouver for what he claimed were "mission expenses." For the con-
sequences of the altercation, see Decker, 246-250. Decker cites 
letters, among Oregon Mission Correspondence, from creditors of 
White received by the Board on the eve of his departure from New York 
with the reinforcement. White's questionable financial status was known 
to the Board by his application which requested a loan to cover unsettled 
accounts in his estate. White to Eangs, July 2, 1836, Oregon Mission 
Correspondence, file 10, as quoted by Decker, 244. In January, 1842, 
White called on Fry and Farnham of New York, owners of the Lausanne. 
From them he obtained letters to President Tyler and Secretary of War, 
J. C. Spencer, in an attempt to gain their support for a proposition that 
he be appointed Indian agent and governor of the Oregon territory. The 
ploy resulted in his appointment as sub agent of Indian Affairs. Barclay, 
237, cites Miss A. J. Allen, Ten Years in Oregon... (Ithaca, 1849), 
138, 144. See also: Lee's statement before the Board, July, 1844, 
Ms, Collections of the Oregon Historical Society, p. 21-22.

124 Barclay, 239. The consequences of the Babcocks' hurried re-
moval from Wascopam to a log house near the hospital building at 
Willamette Station are revealed by instructions to the Brewers. The 
packing and porting of household goods was performed after their depar-
ture, with the result that the Babcocks' stoves were mistakenly sent 
down, thus displacing other goods from the canoes. The concern which 
Mrs. Babcock shows for her chairs and dishes suggests the importation 
of some personal household furnishings of quality. Hers are among the 
earliest dated references to stoves and carpeting. See: Mss, Northwest 
History Collection, Willamette University Library (Appendixes XI, XII).

125 Adelia Judson Tarkington Olley to Laura Brewer at "Wascopam 
Mission Station," dated at Willamette Station November 18, 1840. Ms, 
Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.

126 Elmira Raymond to Sister H. Simmons, Catskill, New York, 
dated at Willamette Mission, Oregon Territory [sic], February 7, 1842. 
Ms, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library. Missionary 
families seem to have been regarded as the number of persons to be 
provided in a single dwelling. See Decker, 111. A missionary "unit" was 
either a married couple or a single man or woman. See: "Transcript 
of the Plan for an Enlarged Program of Nine Mission Stations, sketched 
by Jason Lee and Dr. Fisk at Middletown on the afternoon of January 
16, 1839," Lee-Fisk Correspondence, Wesleyan University, Middletown, 
Connecticut, as quoted by Brosnan, Jason Lee, Prophet of the New 
Oregon..., 115-116.
127 J. L. Parrish to H. B. Brewer at Wascoara. Letter dated at Wallamette, April 21, 1842. Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.

128 Elmira Raymond to her parents, Amsterdam, Montgomery County, New York, letter dated at Wallamette, Oregon, March 7, 1842. Ms, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.

129 Barclay, 236. Mrs. Jason Lee to Osmon C. Baker, Letter dated March 11, 1841, and published in Zion's Herald, XIII (September 14, 1842), 146. Also Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of the Oregon Mission for the Year 1842. Ms, Oregon Historical Society, p. 32. "A communication was presented by D. Leslie setting forth the peculiarly embarrassing circumstances of his case arising [sic] from the situation of his Family, he being left with five motherless daughters on his hands, and being unable to provide for their care and instruction in this country, and stating that he was unable to perform the work of a missionary, and also requesting that he be left without an appointment at his own request."

130 Barclay, 236. J. L. Whittcomb and Susan Downing Shepard were married March, 1841. In September, 1842, the Whitcombs embarked for the United States aboard the Chenamus. Lee and Frost, 256; Bancroft I, 190.

Jason Lee to Joseph L. Whittcomb, letter dated at "Walamette, Mill Place," January 27, 1842. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3. The Whittcomb release is significant as evidence from the Superintendent's own hand of his term for the house which he occupied at Chemeketa for a short time. Another dated reference to the Superintendent's situation at Chemeketa is physician Ira L. Babcock's letter to H. B. Brewer, La Dalls, dated at Willamette March 9, 1842. "Mrs. Lee was confined about a week ago... with a fine daughter. Her health not such that she can sit up yet. They Board with Br Olley at the mill..." Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.


Kone seems to have been ill chosen for his role. At the time the reinforcement was being assembled, Bishop Waugh visited the parents of Mrs. Kone and found them greatly disturbed about their daughter's going to Oregon. They requested her husband's release from the obligation. This was denied on the grounds that they had gone too far and were "considerably indebted" for their missionary outfit. Bishop Beverly Waugh to Nathan Bangs, September 2, 1839, Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 25, as quoted by Decker, 253. This reluctance on the part of Mrs. Kone contributed to the problem the Kones had in adjusting to conditions in the field and strengthened Lee's long-held conviction that the wives of missionaries must be willing to withstand the wrench from home. See also: Jason Lee's Statement before the Board, July, 1844, ms, Collection of the Oregon Historical Society, pp. 3, 4, 18.

William W. Kone, a native of North Carolina, was admitted on trial to the Virginia Conference in 1835. In 1837 the North Carolina Conference was set off from the Virginia body, and Kone became one of the charter members. He was pastor of Warren Circuit in 1839, when he answered the call for engagement to the mission. Barclay, 246-7. General Minutes, III, 310, 444, 614. Lee and Frost, 310.

J. H. Frost to Charles Pitman, February 26, 1843, Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 40, as quoted by Decker, 252. Barclay, 246, 249. Cited: Lee and Frost, 322ff, 329f. Joseph H. Frost, a native of New York State, was admitted on trial to the New York Conference in 1835 and was ordained an elder and appointed to the Oregon Mission during a session of 1839. Frost distinguished his tour in Oregon by exploring a new route from Clatsop to the Willamette. Determined to bring cattle from the Willamette to the starving operations on the mouth of the Columbia, he and Solomon Smith started South from Clatsop to Tillamook Bay, and continued Southeast across the Coast Range via the Grande Ronde Pass. The round trip was accomplished in thirty-six days. Barclay, 245n, 248. He cites Lee and Frost, 309.

John P. Richmond was admitted on trial to the Illinois Conference in 1836 and was appointed to the Pulaski Circuit. He was pastor at Jacksonville, one of the few stations in Illinois at the time he was persuaded to join the enterprise. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and had completed a medical course in Philadelphia, according to Bashford (The Oregon Missions, 1918). After his return to Illinois in 1843, Richmond became a member of two State Constitutional Conventions; was Superintendent of Schools for
Illinois for eight years; speaker of the Illinois Assembly; and member of the Illinois State Senate. Bashford (p. 165f) assigns to Richmond's sermons and speeches prior to his leaving for the Oregon country a major part in stimulating local emigration. Barclay also cites: General Minutes, II, 425, 427, 590.

137 Jason Lee to Nathan Bangs, Corresponding Secretary, letter dated at Clatsop, Mouth of the Columbia, January 18, 1841. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

138 Lee to Pitman, November 20, 1842. Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 37, as quoted by Decker, 169n.


143 Chloe A. Willson to (Mrs.) H. E. Brewer, Wascopam. Letter begun at Wallamette Falls, May 26, 1844, mislaid, and completed at the Oregon Institute, October 29, 1844. Ms., Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.


145 Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 212f, as quoted by Barclay, 252.


Hines' objective view was preceded as early as June, 1841, when Lt. Charles Wilkes stated in his diary: "As the holder of a charge in which their particular denomination of Christians at home are greatly interested, I view it as a great neglect on the part of this mission if they have not made true representations at home respecting their prospects & it seems to me unaccountable how they can have received so large an amount of funds without having done more than is apparent or acknowledged by themselves,...at the Dalles I believe is the only place where divine worship is attempted. Something may be said that these Missionaries came out under the idea that they are to settle and afford the necessary instruction if possible, but they are to colonize under the Christian religion as their law and guide & give the necessary instruction to the tribes they settle among to train them up in good habits, &c. &c. how this is to be done without exertion and strenuous efforts I am at a loss to conceive and it strikes me as obligatory on these Missionaries to state the facts they one and all admit." It would seem that Hines fulfilled the charge. See: Charles Wilkes, Journal, loc. cit., entry for June 8, 1841, Ms pp. 91a-92.

In defense of the administration, Barclay, 253, cites: an undated letter presumed written ca. spring, 1843, around the time of Hines' report, from David Leslie to the Board. Ms, possession of Lewis Judson, Salem, Oregon, as quoted by Gatke, Chronicles of Willamette, 61f. "I suppose an ordinary mind would feel somewhat perplexed at the discrepancy of opinion entertained & expressed relating to your missionaries & their work in Oregon... I do most deeply regret the course taken by some who have been appointed to this mission, --And I will venture here to opine, that the ready cooperation & prompt exertion of all the missionaries to sustain the mission & carry into effect the plans of the Superintendent each labouring diligently in his respective place may secure as happy results, as change in the Superintendancy."

Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, to Jason Lee. Copies of letters dated March 18, 1843, and sent to Oregon via Fort Independence and Huson's Bay Company Express. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3. Decker, 265-266.


Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, op. cit. 27.

_hid.,_ 28-29.

Lee to Pitman, letter begun at Wascopam, October 13, 1843, and continued aboard the Brig Pallas, Mouth of the Willamette, October 27, 1843. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

Lee to Pitman, letter dated at Willamette Falls, February 11, 1843. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3. Journal entry for January 23, 1843. Narcissa Whitman to her father, letter dated April 12, 1844. Transactions of the Oregon Pioneers Association, XXI (1893), 59-60, as quoted by Decker, 264n. The migrating party included John B. McClane, the future business partner and son-in-law of Lewis Judson, and, as such, a later resident of "Mill Place."


Barclay, 254-255. The news of his supersession was confirmed by the official letter from the Board dated January 3, 1843. G. Hines, _A Voyage Round the World..._, 201-202f.; C. J. Brosnan, Jason Lee Prophet of the New Oregon, 230f. Decker, 267. Lee was superseded by action of the Board on March 10, 1843 and by Bishop Hedding's announcement of his appointment of Gary September 20, 1843. Edward R. Ames had declined the appointment as special agent, then Gary was selected in his place. Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 282, 286, as quoted in Baray. Cited for details of the journey across Mexico is C. J. Brosnan, 238ff. Also present in Hawaii, temporarily, was Gustavus Hines. On consulting Hines and Babcock, Lee determined to continue the trip in all possible speed. He left his daughter in the Hines' care; went by schooner to Mexico; crossed Mexico by stagecoach; took passage from Vera Cruz on a mail packet to New Orleans. He traveled by Mississippi steamer to Pittsburgh and by stage to New York City, where he arrived May 27, 1844.

Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 292f., as quoted by Barclay, 254.

Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, to George Gary. Copy of a letter dated at New York January 6, 1845. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.
A note among Oregon Mission Correspondence, dated at Walamette, November 27, 1843, certified that Lewis H. Judson "entered into an agreement with Jason Lee Superintendent of the Oregon Mission" to go into "business for myself and not to receive any support from the Oregon Mission for the ensuing three years." Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.


Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 369-371, 373, as quoted in Barclay, 257; Brosnan, 268.

Barclay, 257. Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 372f.; Zion's Herald, XV (July 17, 1844), 114; General Minutes, III, 494.

Lee's duties as Agent to the Institute were to include fund raising. Writing to Henry Bridgman and Laura Brewer from Wilbraham, Massachusetts, November 18, 1844, Lydia S. Virgin, a friend of the senior Brewers, reported: "We had a pleasant visit from Br Jason Lee when he lectured here, to take subscriptions for the Oregon Institute. We were much pleased to think you were going to establish such a seminary, think it will be of incalculable benefit." She had also: "read with much attention & delight Dr. Parker's travels in Oregon [sic], which makes me quite familiar about Oregon -- Daniel Lee, I hear has also published a work about Oregon which I have not seen but want to," Ms, Northwest History Collection, Willamette University Library.

At his death, Lee's meager estate included no land in Oregon; but a few cows; trunks of worn clothing; an assortment of books, and $500 in a New York Bank. Decker, 303. See: Jason Lee's wills, Ms, Collection of the Oregon Historical Society. First Will and Codicil, Port of Honolulu, February 28, 1844; Second Will, Stanstead, Lower Canada, February 20, 1845. Also cited: Letter from Victor A. Larsner, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Bowery Savings Bank, written in
1931, as quoted in Brosnan, 270. Lee's First Will and Codicil named Gustavus Hines and George Abernethy guardians of his daughter Lucy. Hines and Alvan F. Waller were executors. His property was to accrue to Lucy's "support and education." He was, as of February 28, 1844, possessed in absolute property, and in his own right... "a band of tame cattle consisting of twenty in number, which... will be found running at large at or near the Wallamette Settlement, and some of which are branded with the letters 'J L' [underline]borne with the letter 'N' and some entirely unbranded, but all of which are well known and easily identified. Also that I am in like manner further possessed of Household Furniture, Promisory Notes and other chattels, Amounting in value to about the sum of Two Thousand, five hundred dollars, all of which will be found on the premises and in the buildings appropriated to the use of the Methodist Mission were I now reside." This document was witnessed by Ira L. Babcock and W. J. Bailey; and filed March 24, 1846—at which time William H. Willson was Judge of Probate. The Second Will, executed in Stanstead, Lower Canada, District of St. Francis, Province of Canada, February 26, 1845, was signed by Alanson Beers and the Rev. George Lane, of New York, Treasurer of the Missionary Society. The only piece of furniture owned by Lee known to have survived is a portable writing desk—with brass or silver mountings and inscribed with Lee's monogram. It was given to Alanson Beers, and is now in the possession of one of Beers' descendents—a great grandson—living in California. In a letter containing instructions for the welfare of his daughter, which Lee addressed from Mexico April 7, 1844, Hines was advised to "call on Bro. Beers, or for any other funds you may want for her." "I do not wish her to be removed from Oregon before it is known whether I return or not. Sister Campbell has the keys to my chests, and Sister Hines can look at the few things I left and if she finds any thing she wants for herself or Lucy Anna she can take them, leaving a list of what she takes." Ms 936, Collections of the Oregon Historical Society.

Jason Lee House (Jno. B. McClane), Methodist Institute, and Parsonage. Map of the survey of claims in Township 7 South Range 3 West of the Willamette Meridian, Oregon Territory, conformable to field notes filed with the Surveyor General's Office February 5, 1852. Courtesy of the Survey Records Office, Bureau of Land Management.
CHAPTER V

THE MOMENTUM OF MISSIONARY INFLUENCE

Retrenchment and Reorganization

In 1844 the era of anticipation came to an end. Within four years of the debarkation of the Great Reinforcement, the Reverend George Gary had arrived "to ascertain the true state of the mission, both in its financial and its spiritual aspects." Gary reached Chemeketa on June 6; he lost no time in implementing his regime. The same day he called together members of both ministerial and secular branches and outlined his course of action. ¹

On the basis of Gary's investigation, it was found expedient to dispose of all lands except the central station and the Dalles station, both of which were considered essential to carrying out the purposes of the mission. Further, all laymen, with the exception of H. B. Brewer of Wasco, were dismissed. Missionaries choosing to remain in the country were entitled to mission property in amount equivalent to passage to the United States. ² In lieu of passage and six months due salary, J. L. Parrish bought the farm at Clatsop—including tools—for $6,000. Hamilton Campbell acquired grain from the Indian School fields and purchased the mission's livestock—including cattle and horses—for a total of $4,610.25. The mills at Chemeketa—with equipment and two
parcels of surrounding land and improvements—went to an outsider, John Force, for $6,000, with six per cent yearly interest. The farm at the Old Mission site was sold to Alanson Beards for $5,000. A major sacrifice was in the selling of the Oregon Mission Manual Labor Training School to the trustees of the Oregon Institute—a move later regretted by the Board. It was a proposal which met opposition from Hines, Waller, and W. H. Willson. It was counter to Jason Lee's intentions "to continue the Mission Manual Labor School, gathering in all the Indian children possible from near and far, and, while the Manual Labor training system was having a more thorough test, await the action of the government in the passage of a land bill for Oregon." With a government endowment, the Indian School, it was hoped, would make it possible to provide education on a broad scale. By sale of the property on Wallace Prairie for $3,000, the trustees of the Oregon Institute purchased the School building and land for $4,000—a sum which was scarcely half the cost of construction. Thus, the Manual Labor Training School became the Oregon Institute and was perpetuated by a private organization. The total receipts amounted to $25,610.25, nearly $5,000 less than the estimated value of mission property given by Lee during his hearing before the Board of Managers.

Through the mission store a means was devised of settling the numerous debts due the mission from other departments and from the
settlers. In partnership with Alanson Bœrs and John Force, George Abernethy bought the stock of the store and assured payment of the outstanding bills. Agreement was finally reached with Dr. McLoughlin as to settlement of the mission's indebtedness to the Hudson's Bay Company. In a move calculated to free the mission from litigation of the land dispute at the Falls of the Willamette, lots and blocks within McLoughlin's claim at the Falls, which had been assumed by the mission, were offered back to the Chief Factor for $6,000. McLoughlin acquiesced to this bit of "extortion" in order to keep his claim intact. Between December, 1844, and mid February, 1845, Gary received a spate of bills from McLoughlin which included bills for services of Hawaiian laborers and incidental charges on letters and books. The total amount, in excess of $4,000, prompted Gary to comment on the mission's "most impolitic employment of laborers."

Effects of the cut-back of personnel found Alvan Waller replacing Perkins at the Dalles; David Leslie was in charge of the central station; and, until September 1845, Gustavus Hines was in charge at the Falls of the Willamette. H. E. Brewer, as sole layman in the mission's employ, continued at the Dalles until the station's sale to Marcus Whitman, through transfer of title to the American Board, in September, 1847. Thus, the last vestige of operations for the Indians was dispersed. Gary, who had requested his release from Superintendency of the Oregon Mission, sailed for the United States in July, 1847.
Results of retrenchment in Oregon were announced to the Church at large by the Christian Advocate and Journal for October 22, 1845.

Embarrassed by the focus on secular affairs brought in this correctional phase, the editors referred disparagingly to the "injurious imputations of avarice and ambition."

We are glad to announce to the friends who have so liberally contributed to our missionary treasury, and sustained the Board in the midst of the great pecuniary embarrassments of 1842 and 1843, that brother Gary has fully justified the high expectations entertained by the appointing Bishop, and the Missionary Board, of his ability, firmness, and zeal, as fitting him for the work committed to him...

The mills, farms, manual labor school house, and the personal property attached to them, have been sold... The debts due to the mission, chiefly for goods purchased of the steward, have also been sold; and although a heavy discount has been allowed, it is probable that the purchasers have given as much as they are worth, and the mission will escape the odium of litigation concerning temporal matters, with the people to whom they are sent to minister in 'spiritual things,' ...

For the future, then, we shall confine ourselves in Oregon to our proper calling, disencumbered of worldly concerns, and free from the injurious imputations of avarice and ambition, which must necessarily present a great barrier to ministerial influence and success.

By 1846, enough perspective had been gained by the Missionary Society for the confession that in the Board's dealings a "sober and enlightened view" of the "Oregon enterprise" had not prevailed.

There is, perhaps, no one of the missionary fields under the supervision of this Society respecting which public opinion has been so fluctuating. At one time, it has been the most popular of all our missions; at another, it has been set down as a perfect failure. In some instances, the Church's expeditions concerning it have
been entirely too sanguine; and, in others, she has shown herself but too ready to yield to despondency. Had it been practicable for her to have taken a sober and enlightened view of this Oregon enterprise, in all its various circumstances and aspects, she could not have been so easily elevated or depressed by counter representations from that country. But the extreme distance of the mission from the seat of the Society's operations, the long intervals between our dispatches, and sometimes the conflicting statements of the missionaries, rendered it next to impossible, even for the Board, to judge correctly of the facts in the case. . .

At the height of Congressional concern over the Oregon Question—to determine the extent of United States possessions in the far Northwest, the Missionary Society took due credit.

But it should be kept in mind that, however burdened and clogged in its operations the mission may have been, on account of its connection with worldly concerns, and however injurious this state of things may have been to its spiritual advancement, it has, on account of this very connection, conferred great temporal benefits on the territory. Indeed it is not too much to say, that the importance this territory has assumed in the estimation of the American Republic is attributable more to the influence exerted by our mission than to any other cause. Whether we regard its colonization, civilization, or evangelization, the Methodist Missionaries have been its most influential and successful pioneers. 12

Gustavus Hines was host to the new Superintendent at Willamette Falls during most of Gary's first year in Oregon. Writing to "Sister Lane," Corresponding Secretary of the Female Missionary Society of New-York, Mrs. Gary disclosed:

I am very thankful you urged me to take a bed and bedding. I need them very much, and am comfortably situated at present. We board with brother Hines...
...The missionaries at present live comfortably, have
good houses, and I think I may say, live better than
some of our circuit preachers at home.\textsuperscript{13}

The official residence of the Superintendent during visits to Chemeketa was
within the parsonage reserve. Gary recorded in his diary, on Tuesday,
March 25, 1845, that he had returned to "the parsonage, a pleasant
place," which was situated about forty rods from the Indian Manual
Labor School.\textsuperscript{14}

"Mill Place" had since been acquired with the nearly immediate
transfer of mills and accompanying property from Force to the partnership
of William H. Willson and Lewis Judson. It henceforth served an entirely
secular function. Its current occupant was mission cabinet maker, Lewis
Judson. Judson's service to the mission, however, was not ended.

Gary reported to Pitman:

[Quote from Gary]

Gary was acute to the fact that the missionary period among the
Indians was moribund. The coastal tribes were dying at such a rate he
was obliged to report on May 17, 1845:

[Quote from Gary]

Hence, with his appreciation of the character of his constituency, Gary
implemented the transition from Indian mission to "holding adition"
for Conference organization; he laid groundwork for the conventional
circuits. He wrote to Charles Pitman July 2, 1845—toward the end of
his first stay at the parsonage at Chemeketa.

...Three preachers are wanted in the white settlements
of this region: One, say the Superintendent, at Willamette
Falls; this is a place of business and resort and is the
city of this Territory. One on the East side of the
Willamette River above the Falls; in this charge are four
or five promising appointments from six to twelve miles
from the centre; an important portion of the country and
its settlements. The Oregon Institute is in about the centre
of this charge. And there is needed [one] on the west side
of the Willamette, embracing quite a number of settle-
ments which are rapidly increasing. There are but few
ferries across this river, and for a considerable part
of the year it is so high and rapid as to be impassable. 17

Gary told Pitman on March 2, 1846, that J. L. Parrish, formerly local
preacher at Clatsop, was to be re-employed "in the ministry for
one year" beginning February. He was "to be associated with Brother
Leslie in settlements both sides of the Willamette River."

Bro. P is a local preacher of long standing & I think
will be the most acceptable and useful of any we have
as a traveling preacher. 18

It was Gary's consistent hope to train the people to support the services
of the mission in this transition period.

With regard to the influence of the mission among the
whites in this country, though it is small, yet I believe
it is of great use. There never was a people who needed
the influence of the gospel more than this people.

Emigration, to his mind, brought an "admixture of confusion and chaos."

The tide of Emigration is so strong, they have the con-
trolling influence in their hands, and I think there is some
reason to fear the result.
As to the lost cause among the Indians, he stated:

I am sorry that the hopes concerning this land have been so extravagant, and that the failure of them produce such a reaction: Yet the church at home in my opinion, should keep her eye toward Oregon, and her hand stretched out to give this people the gospel, with all its elevating and redeeming advantages. 19

In June, 1847, the Reverend William Roberts, the third--and last--Superintendent of the Oregon Mission, arrived to replace George Cary. His assistant was the Reverend James H. Wilbur. By October of this year, Roberts reported to Pitman his organization of the circuits to serve both sides of the Willamette. David Leslie--approaching the point of superannuation--was located in Oregon City, the former Willamette Falls. Roberts and his family boarded with Leslie James H. Wilbur and Alvan Waller had charge of the Oregon Institute circuit, which included the "country East of the Walamet and South of the Molally." William Helm and J. L. Parrish traveled in the "country West of the Walamet." Thus, Roberts confirmed that the "field of labour" was among the whites and in the Willamette Valley. The Oregon Institute--reopened and under the "care of Bro. Joseph Smith"--had every prospect of success, and, as an essentially Methodist institution, it was "indispensable" to the aims of the Church. 20

The Missionary Society felt the severity of retrenchment--not only in regard to the Indian Manual Labor Training School--but to the
once-promising interior station near the Dalles, Pitman advised the new Superintendent to take nothing for granted and to make his own assessment.

To me, it seems passing strange, if our effort among the Dalls, Indians, must, after all, be set down as an utter failure. ... satisfy yourself fully, that the salvation of those poor Indians, or any portion of them, is utterly hopeless, before you consent to their final abandonment.21

In December, 1847, Roberts returned a report from Oregon City, stating the different task he would take as an administrator of a mission serving primarily a white population. He wanted to gear for mobility; he needed more housing for the preachers so that they might live within their appointed circuits--not obliged to remain where the existing "preachers' houses" were.

... I will say that my action in this case will be decidedly different from that of Bro. Gary. He did not travel about except as he was taken. I travel incessantly when angry swollen rivers will permit. Hence, not only are my personal expenses greatly increased but I must have a Barn and fodder and a man or Boy to work for me and travel with me when on long and perilous journeys. There is no Barn at the Institute and the Brethren spend nearly one third of their working hours in hunting and catching their horses and sometimes fail to get to their work because no horse can be found. This must not be and I have no alternative but to build. I have already built one in this place.22
The Growing Community

Gary's presence of the promise among white settlements along the Willamette was included in the Annual Report of the Missionary Society for 1846.

The population is very rapidly increasing in this country, and our preaching places are multiplying. I hope you will have one or two preachers on their way here before this letter reaches you. A few days ago I received a letter from brother Leslie, who held a camp meeting about a month since. He writes that fourteen found pardon, six of whom were heads of families. The largest attendance during the meeting was about one hundred and fifty. I am satisfied that Christianity is exerting an increasing influence in the settlements. This place (Willamette Falls) is the hardest place, I think, in the territory; yet for this I have some hope.

The field among the white settlements, along the Willamette, is enlarging, and I really think whitening. This is an inviting portion of our globe; enterprise, wealth, and multitudes of people will soon be here. The Gospel must mold this mass of mind, or ruin in its wildest forms will here reign. A few preachers of the right character circulating in these new settlements will do an amount of good that time can never fully disclose.

Gary surmised that the Willamette Station "must have been designed for the support of the other stations," as he could discover "very few Indians near it," whereas the settlers "were very considerable in number."

...the Valley of the Willamette is the Genesee [sic] of Oregon, and its fertility has induced a large number of our western citizens to emigrate and colonize themselves there. These, of course, take with them artisans as well as agriculturists, and the extra's [sic] of our mission will very soon become unnecessary appendages. ...

The rich Valley of the Willamette is destined to sustain a dense population, and it is moreover the only part of
the territory which offers any very great inducement to emigrants. We must not lose our foothold in this rapidly growing settlement. 24

The most vivid impression of the cavalcade of immigration was given by H. K. W. Perkins from his vantage point at Wascopam. Perkins was acknowledged for his extraordinary literary bent by the eager featuring of his letters and journal in Church publications. Through his often brilliant style, it is clear that he was impressed by the "perseverance" of "these poor people" who had endured immense hardship "to obtain the paltry advantages which a settlement in this country offers."
The few "members of the M. E. Church" from the "far west" of America were a welcome link to the remote Columbia.

I informed you that we were thronged with emigrants, who were passing us by hundreds, and that in the consequent disarrangement of our regular missionary business, I should be under the necessity of laying aside my pen for a time. I would now inform you that the noise, bustle, and hurry of emigrating companies have quietly subsided, and I am once more the retired occupant of a study, and have resumed my business of translating. The two months which we have given up principally to attentions to our countrymen, we trust have not been lost to the cause of Christ, or altogether unappreciated by them even. Perhaps a few words concerning these emigrating companies may not be wholly uninteresting to you. Their perseverance and successful struggles, amid so many difficulties as their journey to this country presented to them, certainly deserve special notice by their countrymen, and cannot be a bad example to hold up before those who are hesitating, on account of hardships and trials, about engaging in the missionary work. After knowing what some of these poor people have passed through to obtain the paltry advantages which a settlement in this country offers, we may for ever be ashamed of our little sacrifices and sufferings. Quite a number have passed us of
the old substantial farmers of Missouri—men of property and influence—some few of them members of the M. E. Church, and for years the friends and supporters of Methodism in their respective neighborhoods. From some of these we were happy in gaining a more particular acquaintance with some of our itinerant brethren in the 'far west,' of whom we had only heard from time to time the names.

Mission operations at the Dalles all but stopped during the peak of immigration in the late fall of 1843. However, even at the time, the goods and services devoted to support of this onrush were regarded as an investment in the future of Methodism in Oregon. From this Perkins developed a promotion for engagement which did not go amiss with Methodist editors. Referring to a party of that year, Perkins related that

...by the time they reached us, and before, even, came very much short in provisions, and, as far as we were able, we were under the necessity of furnishing them. Most of our wheat, potatoes, and fat cattle, we have therefore parted with. These last, however, we gave principally in exchange for poor ones, which had been driven all the way from Missouri; so that our stock is still considerable, (about forty head, I believe.) The most heavy draft made on us was for our services in making contracts with the natives for their services, as guides, canoe-men, &c., as well as for their canoes and horses. Almost every one, moreover, wanted some advice or information with regard to the routes, the best place for settlement, the nature of the country, climate, soil, productions, and a thousand other subjects; so that, with our other usual engagements, we have found but little rest. Many of the wagons, with considerable baggage, are still with us, to be sent for in the spring by boats; and the prospect is, that this station will, in years to come, be at the head of boat-navigation, and the general
depot for goods for the interior, as well as for emigrants. As yet, we are the only settlers, and much business necessarily falls to our lot, and will fall, till there are other white settlers here.

Thus, the missionaries at Wascopam, serving somewhat in the capacity of an immigration agency, imparted their particular knowledge of the Willamette Valley, and hundreds of incoming families were directed there.

The means of conveyance which many of them were obliged to adopt, at this point in their journey, called for considerable exertion, and caused them some delay. Our station is located just on the line which marks the two sections of Middle and Upper country... At this point, therefore, all the wagons were obliged to stop, and proceed by water-conveyance. To obtain canoes was impossible, for the transportation of all the families, even, and no other alternative remained but to build rafts. Selecting the dry trees, scattered here and there through the neighboring forests, they attached their teams to them, and conveying them to the nearest points of the river, fastened them firmly together by wooden binders, and placing their wagons upon them, in this manner floated down some fifty miles to the Cascades. At this point they were met with boats and provisions from Willamette, and in this way arrived at the termination of their journey. The young men generally preferred the mountain passages, and being already mounted, made the distance to the valley of the Willamette in a much shorter time—generally in six or eight days from here.

He provided this eloquent charge to the forces of Methodism:

It is surprising to see with what patient energy men pursue an object which promises pecuniary advantage. What labours are endured! How much less active is the Christian world!²⁵

It was the heavy demand made upon the mission at the Dalles which contributed to the ultimate sale of interior holdings. Alvan Waller pressed
the Superintendent to authorize mills and a tenant to take care of the immigrants. Reluctant to encourage either, Gary wrote to Pitman in November, 1844, explaining the advice he had given Perkins' substitute. If the obligation of service to emigration companies continued at the present rate the mission would have to abandon that part of the field. 26

By the end of the first year of Superintendent Roberts' term, the discovery of gold in California had a near deleterious effect upon the Methodist constituency. Writing from Fort Vancouver on October 9, 1848, Roberts disclosed to the Board:

Before you receive this you will learn from other sources, that an event has happened which very materially effects our work in the country at present, and will perhaps for years to come. It is the discovery of a remarkably rich gold mine on the American fork of the Sacramento river in Upper California. News was brought here by the Captain of the Honolulu, nearly three months since, and, at this time, our country is almost depopulated. I mean to say that nearly every man who could leave and many who could not do so, consistently, have gone in search of gold: perhaps from one to two thousand, in all have left, and are now at or near this El Dorado where the precious treasure is to be had in ... plenteous [sic] abundance...

***

Many men who could by no means think of leaving their families nine months since to fight the Indians have found it quite convenient to leave them now, and a few women and children have been seen on the road.

The direct bearing this development had upon the work in Oregon could be easily seen, Roberts said.
...societies are broken up. Some four circuits are almost deserted. Just at the moment when our plans (somewhat matured) were giving promise of rich success in the salvation of souls a 'haste to be rich' comes sweeping over all our prospects....

By February, 1849, the Gold Rush had accomplished its impact. Some were reported returning from the mines. Roberts, reporting from Salem, saw some possibilities of advantage for the Church. Perhaps the people of Oregon would now "be better able to pay something towards support of the gospel than they have been heretofore." Roberts explained the inconvenience of the preachers living away from circuits. There were "but two parsonages" in Oregon—one at Oregon City, the other at Salem.

My idea is; on every circuit let the preacher go and live, if no house can be had otherwise let him build one with such help as the people can be induced to give, and the mission funds do the rest.

Gold was having an effect upon the availability of goods.

Not a blanket, or kettle, or tin pan, or pair of boots, or strong coat, or pants, or hat fit to wear, or pound of saleratus, or tea, can be bought anywhere in the territory that I know of at any price.

Roberts asked to be notified of the precise value of gold sent to the United States for evaluation, for, he said, "I shall be likely to take some on account of various liabilities."
Toward Territorial Status

Oregon had gained attention for its "commercial capabilities" long before the Gold Rush. Henry Sherman's sketch of the Oregon territory appearing in 1842 in the New York Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review reflected the long-standing interest in the area.

The general characteristic features of the country are well understood. Its territory has been traversed, its rivers have been explored, and its mountains have been scaled by the chemist, the botanist, the geologist, the hunter, and the trapper; and the lover of romance and adventure has delineated the variegated attractions of its natural scenery. We must now regard it as presenting no other allurements to the adventurer than such as may be found in a rich and luxuriant soil, a temperate and salubrious climate, and vast commercial capabilities.

Sherman advocated the possession of Oregon as a means of accelerating settlement and realizing the potential.

What more was it that has covered the banks of the Ohio with opulent cities, and made the valley of the Mississippi to teem with a flourishing and happy population? What more was it that has made our whole country the abode of prosperity, civilization, and refinement? They who are accustomed to estimate the progress of mankind by the slow and languid growth of ancient nations, may smile at the prediction; but let the existing difficulties be removed; let the interposition of the general government settle the claims of the United States to this territory; let it render the way thither easy and accessible, by establishing permanent posts at convenient distances on the route; let it establish a military post at the mouth of the Columbia to protect the lives, the property, and the interests of its citizens, and Oregon will soon be covered with permanent settlements, the history of whose growth and prosperity shall at length equal that of any of the states now composing our republic.
When the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 resolved the Maine boundary, but neglected jurisdiction in Oregon, the area began to draw much greater interest; and the status of Oregon came to be seen as a major obstacle to Anglo-American amity. By 1843, feeling in at least some sections of the nation ran high on the Oregon Question. A convention of citizens of the Mississippi Valley assembled in Cincinnati to urge the occupation of the area. The convention resolved that Britain "should be checked in her career of aggression with impunity, and dominion without right..." The resolution was reported to have concluded: "had not the Monroe Doctrine definitely stated 'That the American Continents were not thenceforth to be considered subjects for future colonization by any foreign power'?" With Thomas Hart Benton a major champion, the Oregon Question was debated before the 29th Congress in 1846. By this time popular sentiment was such that a boundary drawn at the 41st parallel, as recommended by Benton, seemed too compromisory. Nonetheless, the boundary was adopted and the treaty with Great Britain negotiated June 14, 1846. Oregon became territory of the United States August 14, 1848, by an act of the 31st Congress presided over by James K. Polk.

Still sensitive over the separation of the Methodist Church South which had been accomplished by the Louisville Convention of 1845, Pitman notified William Roberts of the development August 15, 1848.
The news of the passage of the bill for organizing the Oregon Territory reached us this morning. It is hailed here as a great triumph over the minions of the Slave power!!!

In Oregon, the people waited a year for the arrival of federal representatives who would assimilate the Provisional Government still headed by former mission steward, George Abernethy. From the seat of Oregon's original authority, Willamette Falls, Roberts observed:

Great and important changes are expected to take place on the arrival of the Government which is daily expected...

The fact that Britain had been strengthening a claim to the Oregon country and monopolizing a lucrative trade had not been, in itself, an inducement to prospective emigrants. No one undertook the arduous transcontinental trip in the national interest. The Missouri emigres petitioned for land.

...Without the encouragement of considerable grants of land, we believe the country will not settle, at least to any available extent, for a long time to come. It will at once be obvious that the extent of the grant ought to be proportionate to the great difficulties of moving and the dangers to which settlers will be exposed; the expenses attending a removal would necessarily be great, and it would take a considerable quantity of land even to reimburse them.

With the depression of 1839, market prices for agricultural produce in the Mississippi Valley had dropped; severe flooding destroyed settlements on the lower river plains and fouled farming operations; rampant malaria discouraged newer settlers. Although land was abundant in
areas just being opened for settlers--districts such as Iowa and Wisconsin--the search was for new markets.

As a means of circumventing speculation, petitioners increasingly asked Congress to make land grants to actual settlers. Senators and congressmen reacted by introducing a number of bills to donate land on a square mile basis to every bona fide settler in Oregon. Though the bills failed to pass, they were, in Bell's words, "accepted at their face value by the emigrants, who later modeled their own land law on these liberal principles." The Donation Land Law was finally passed by an act of September 27, 1850. It allowed, to persons actually settled prior to December 1, 1850, a donation of land--320 acres to each single man, 640 acres to each married man. Requisite for securing a patent was residence on and cultivation of the land for four consecutive years. It was argued that the requirement of four years continued residence was too great a hardship, and in February, 1853, the Act of 1850 was amended to provide that title could be proven after two years of residence--a provision which was extended to December, 1855.

As early as 1839, the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society had been authorized by the Board to obtain legal counsel "with the view of securing preemption rights of the lands and improvements occupied as mission stations in the Oregon territory." It was
decided to execute and file a declaration of possession, which was prepared by Jason Lee. The instrument declared that as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission, Lee had taken possession of certain lands in the Oregon territory in the name of the Missionary Society. The combined effect of the bill making Oregon a Territory of the United States and the Land Law of 1850 was to confirm the mission in the possession of six hundred and forty acres—a square mile—at each of the stations previously claimed by "priority of occupation." 

The part played by Methodist missionaries in bringing Oregon to Territorial status was acknowledged by secular observers—including physician Reynell Coates. In his "The Golden Future, or our Empire of the West," published in Sartain's Union Magazine in 1850, Coates celebrated the early involvement of the Methodists in Oregon. Americans of inquiring mind had been made aware—"thanks to the self-devotion of a few Methodist, and other missionaries—that large tracts of arable land" were to be found between the Rocky Mountains and the Coast Range. From his mid-century viewpoint, Oregon was "in reality the site of a budding empire, toward which the migratory swarms of agriculturists—everywhere the pioneers of American civilization—were already tending." For many like Reynell Coates the Methodist Mission in Oregon symbolized the American foothold in the promising land of the West.
The Oregon Institute

On the brink of Oregon's designation as a Territory, Roberts reported the "arrangement" of the work of the Oregon Mission for the ensuing months. The Salem Circuit, Roberts described as "including all our work east of the Walamet except Oregon City." Yamhill Circuit embraced all West of the river except Clatsop. David Leslie was stationed at Oregon City; William Helm and J. L. Parrish at Salem; and J. H. Wilbur was "Principal of the Oregon Institute." In the Yamhill district A. F. Waller and John McKinney were assisted by lay associates James O. Raynor and Joseph S. Smith. Astoria and Clatsop were to be supplied. Roberts had found it necessary to move with his family "up to the Institute" because two families had outgrown the house in Oregon City.

And it is by no means certain but that the Institute is the better place for a headquarters. It certainly is much more central and such is the difficulty of keeping horses at the city that no alternative was left but to go where feed is more abundant.

It is clear that Roberts regarded the Oregon Institute "a bright spot in the Oregon Territory." Regarding his new situation in Salem, Roberts remarked:

We occupy part of the parsonage in which Bro. Wilbur lives, to which I was compelled to build a small addition for the accommodation of my family.

In Roberts' view, his labor on the parsonage at Salem was justified, but he went to some lengths to distinguish his motives from those of improving
personal property at the mission's expense.

This cost several weeks of personal labor, when at home, and it was not entirely finished before the winter rain commenced. It would hardly be proper to allude to such business in this report but for the fact: In a country so new as this, where labourers are scarce, it is sometimes indispensable for the minister himself to use the axe and saw and Jack plane, if he has the ability. This occupies time, and time too which belongs to the Church. Now when such exigencies occur, such labour may be performed, if it be for church property whether churches or parsonages but no man has a right who "lives of the gospel" to spend his time in improving his own property. Such are my convictions, and such I doubt not will be the general action in the Oregon Mission.

By the end of 1849, he could report:

At Salem there is the parsonage with barn. The house is so constructed, by an addition that I have built that two families can reside in it entirely distinct. There is attached to it 100 acres of land. I called it 200 in my report of 1848 that was a mistake. This property is worth $6000, in my opinion. Its location is desirable on the East line of the Institute Claim, one mile from the river, and the improvements could not now be made for $3000.

From the time of the dissolution of the mission in 1844, the Oregon Institute had been the rallying point of the Methodists. For the ministers it was an island of hope; for laymen, an opportunity for employment. In a report to the Board in 1846, Gustavus Hines presented his solid concept of the role of the institution. He predicted, as well, his preparation of the school's basic history.

...the premises formerly occupied by the Mission School were sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute. At some future time I may give you a history of the institute;
but at the closing of this long letter I can only say a few words. I regard the Oregon Institute, in reference to science, as the morning star of this country. It has been struggling for an existence for the last five years, but if nothing serious befalls it, it is destined probably to be the leading institution of Oregon, at least for the present generation, if not for the present century, and perhaps to the end of time. For the promotion of the cause of God, for the interests of our Church, and for the welfare of the rising country, a more judicious appropriation of the property of the Mission School could not have been made. 42

Elmira Raymond expressed the prevalent feeling in a note to her father dated December 16, 1845.

...as the mission has been mostly broken up we among the other lay members are discharged from it and since we left the mission we have been engaged in the Oregon Institute. Mr. Raymond has had charge of the boarding [sic] department and at present our family counts 43 members including students hired men and servants.

...but it was not for ease or comfort that we have tried to fill this difficult and responsible place but to endeavour [sic] to build up the cause of God in the country which doubtless much depends [upon] the prosperity of this Institute. 43

Reporting the latest determinations of the Oregon Committee in New York September 30, 1848, Corresponding Secretary Charles Pitman disclosed to Roberts that if the Oregon Institute could be "repurchased at a reasonable price, and a good title obtained," the repurchase of the school would have "sanction with the Board." 44 Roberts broached the subject to the trustees of the Institute by a letter dated at Salem, April 12, 1848. 45 The following day, a reply denying the consideration—since the Missionary Society had relinquished all claims to the school during the time of retrenchment—was returned from a meeting at the parsonage.
The paper was signed by Secretary Lewis H. Judson, W. H. Willson, David Leslie, Alanson Biers, J. L. Parrish, and George Abernethy. By fall of the same year, Roberts learned from Pitman that, after all, the Missionary Society had deliberated a second time on the matter and had "deemed it inexpedient" to repurchase the school on the basis of a judgement from Captain Gelston of the Ship Whiton. During a recent visit to the site, Gelston had given the Institute less than a cursory view, and the Board relied on his word that the structure was unfinished, dilapidated, and valueless. Of this notice, Principal J. H. Wilbur protested. He stated that Captain Gelston visited his house, the parsonage, and had ridden off to Oregon City without inspecting the Institute as had been requested.

This Institute building would swarm with the youths of Oregon could the school assume a permanent character...

The Trustees of the Oregon Institute—a confederation of Methodist missionaries and citizens of the county—had developed a resourceful method for the support of their educational enterprise. Through the sale of lots platted from land held in common bond, the trustees hoped to centralize settlement. The scheme was temporarily foiled by competition from the Land Law, and ultimately undermined by the vested claimant's wife who, unaccountably, refused to yield her legal right to the property held in trust. In fact, lots had been surveyed about the original Wallace Prairie site as late as May, 1844. With the retrenchment
at Willamette station in the following month, the Oregon Institute was transferred to the substantial building formerly occupied by the Indian Manual Labor Training School. The land parcel technique was carried along in the new location, and, thus, an essentially New England grid pattern with provision for public squares was laid out around the re-located Institute to become the townsit of Salem. 49

By platting lots around the Institute, the Board of Trustees hoped to attract immigrants "to settle and improve within the city limits." The trustees appointed an agent to donate and sell lots. In March, 1846, William H. Willson was named to this post; was instructed to sell lots, receive payment, and, as compensation, he was entitled to receive seven per cent of all the sales. To provide an added incentive, worthy individuals were donated one lot each, at the discretion of the agent, to the number of twenty lots. 50 The first volume of The Oregon Spectator, published in Oregon City--the Valley's metropolis, carried Willson's boxed announcement.

Notice. The subscriber will sell lots in the town of Salem, at public auction, on Thursday, the 10th of Sept. next. Terms-- One third in thirty days-- the balance, on six and twelve months. The sale will open at 12 o'clock. N.

W. H. Wilson, agent.

Salem, August 14, 1846. 51
In April, 1848, William Roberts, reported to the Missionary Society that the town of Salem, the seat of the Oregon Institute, was "just rising into notice." He described the difficulties in administering to a population, no matter how steadily it increased, which dispersed to take up donation lands.

...What I refer to chiefly, is peculiar to newly settled countries, such as the scattered state of the population. It was estimated that there was a population of eight thousand in the country previous to the arrival of the last emigration, which itself amounted to from three to five thousand. But the difficulty is to find them. The arrangement of our provisional government, by which a person, under certain conditions, can secure a mile square of land, tends directly to distribute the people all over the country, and operates most prejudicially against gathering of any considerable congregation in any one place. Our only recourse is to go from one cabin to another, through prairie and forest, which is a slow process, requiring more time and men, and I may add, grace than we have at present... 52

Methodist aims to urbanize the vicinity of the Institute and to endow the school with the proceeds of land sales were further undercut by the Donation Land Law of 1850. By 1852 the Institute's superintendent, Francis S. Hoyt, complained to the Missionary Society of a need for more teachers, apparatus, and students.

Our land is not now in demand! The Land Bill sends men to look for 'claims' rather than town lots, and to force sales under such circumstances is to give property away. This evil, however, will much abate in a year or two. The money acquired by past sales is all expended toward completing the edifice... 53
Until it was granted a charter by the federal government, the Institute lacked the power to acquire and hold lands. The onrush of immigration posed a threat of encroachment. It was feared that the lands held in reserve by the Institute would be regarded a church monopoly. Since the law did, however, provide for simple partnerships of two or more persons who were entitled to hold property, four Methodist leaders whose land surrounded the Institute reserve formed a partnership and resurveyed their lands so as to include the school property. Thus, William H. Willson, Henry B. Brewer, David Leslie, and Lewis H. Judson "entered into heavy bonds with the Board of Trustees," according to Gustavus Hines, "to hold the premises as a partnership claim, until such times as the Board should become an incorporate body, and be competent to receive back and hold the property according to law."

In July, 1847, the partnership engineered another holding arrangement which was evidently considered more secure. An agreement drafted by J. Quinn Thornton and dated July 11 declared that: "William H. Wilson, Henry B. Brewer, Lewis H. Judson and David Leslie have this day each thrown off from their respective tracts of land a number of acres amounting in the whole to six hundred and forty acres...for the purpose of having the said William H. Wilson reclaim and hold the same under the Organic Law of Oregon Territory with a view to endowing and sustaining a literary and religious institution of learning in the said
Oregon Territory, now known as the Oregon Institute the same being situated upon the tract of land upon which the town of Salem in the county of Champoog in Oregon Territory is situated."

In this way, title to the Institute reserve was given solely to William H. Willson, who gave up his former claim and remained under contract to the Board of Trustees. Willson was also under obligation to the Missionary Society to cover the original purchase price of the Institute and the interest which accrued to it. In addition, he assumed a debt of $1,562.77. Willson was to "use all due and proper diligence to perfect a title to the said claim." Thus control and possession of the claim would be maintained by Henry B. Brewer, Lewis H. Judson, David Leslie, Josiah L. Parish, Alanson Beers, George Abernethy, William Roberts, James H. Wilbur, and J. Quin Thornton and their successors until such time as the legal title could be given. In September, 1849, a newly-organized Oregon and California Conference of the Methodist Church met in the chapel of the Institute and resolved to apply to the Territorial Legislature for a charter for the Institute. The charter was granted in 1853.

Once the debts assumed by Willson had been covered by proceeds of the sale of lots and land, one thousand dollars was to be paid toward the finishing of the Institute building. When these obligations had been met, the proceeds from sales on land were to be divided "two-thirds
of the amount for which they are so sold (taking no account of such lots
as the said Wm. H. Willson may deem necessary to give away with
a view to the advancement of the said town of Salem) for the use of the
said institution of learning..." When he had perfected title to the lands,
paid the specified sums, submitted the due amounts to the Institute, and
conveyed to the school "by such title as he may obtain two-thirds in value
of the said lands and lots remaining unsold," Willson could be released
from the terms of the bond. 58

Willson ordered a survey of his claim November 22, 1851. He
presented his notification of settlement on public land in township 7
South, Range 3 West of the Willamette Meridian February 26, 1852. 60
Willson claimed to have resided on his land from September, 1844, to
February 26, 1852; and that he had been married to Chloe Aurelia
Willson August 16, 1840, at Nisqually. In the matter of the term of
residence, Willson was supported by affidavits of John B. McClane and
John McHaley dated February 26, 1852. McClane, however, stated
October, 1844, as the beginning of Willson's term of residence; McHaley
judged November, 1844. 61 By July 28, 1853, Willson and his wife had
filed donation right to 615.00 acres sections 22, 23, 26 and 27. The date
designated as the beginning of the Willsons' term of residence was
adjusted to November, 1844, presumably to accommodate McHaley's testi-
mony. The claim was approved by Surveyor General, John B. Preston,
subject to certification by the Commissioner of the General Land Office.
The Trustees were disappointed in their objective to endow the school from the sale of lots from the east half of the reserve, for Wilson's widow, maintaining her right to half the claim under the Land Law of 1850, refused to yield her legal title. In an attempt to secure title to the property withheld from them, four of the Trustees petitioned the Surveyor General to notify "the proper department at Washington." Thornton explained in a letter accompanying the petition that "we could not at the time believe that Wilson and his wife could 'seek' to hold back either the whole or a part of the property so solemnly devoted to so noble a cause as that of education..." A note, which appears to have been entered after final registration of the claim in 1853, suggests the reason for a patent on the claim being delayed.

Special plat and original proof required appears to embrace part of the town of Salem and if so, the claim invalid, as no claim can obtain town property.

A notation appearing on the Map of the survey of Claims in Township No. 7 South Range No. 3, West of Willamette Meridian certified by the office of the Surveyor General in Eugene February 11, 1861, indicates that claim 83, the "Methodist Mission" claim of 97.39 acres, was the only claim shown which had not been approved. A patent from the United States government was finally secured to Willamette University February 4, 1862.
The Continuing Church

Throughout the Territorial period during which the Methodist Church was transformed to conference status, the Oregon Institute continued to be a focal point. In his detailed annual report to the Board in March, 1848, Superintendent Roberts described the bounds of the Salem circuit as extending "from about 25 miles below to some 40 miles above the Institute;" and he allowed that the town which was growing up around it had a good situation and that "many suppose it will become quite a city in a very few years."

From the time of his stop-over in California en route to Oregon in 1847, William Roberts had been struck by the need and potentialities of establishing the Methodist Church in the region south of Oregon. He was a constant champion of the formation of a California mission, and the formation of an Oregon-California Conference. His appeals to the Board were realized when Bishop Beverly Waugh wrote to Roberts from Baltimore in September, 1848, to announce that during a session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held the preceding May, it was decreed that "there shall be an Annual Conference of the Pacific Coast to embrace Oregon, California, and New Mexico, to be called the Oregon and California Mission Conference. Roberts was to begin his organization as soon as practicable—sometime during autumn of 1849—and was to preside "until such time as a Bishop of the Church shall be
present, or until another Superintendent appointed." The Conference would possess all rights and privileges except those of sending delegates to the General Conference and drawing annual dividend from the "avails" of the Book Concern and the chartered fund. Roberts had authority to arrange appointments, station the preachers, take charge of elders, deacons, traveling and local preachers, exhorters; and to administer the Discipline. Bishop Waugh concluded with his confidence in Roberts' ability to carry out the trust.

We have evidence of care and attention,—of zeal and diligence, on the part of the superintendent which confirms us in the wisdom of his appointment, and which induces us to look, with strong hope, for the successful development of Methodism, in connection with the organization and growth of the civil community, until its sanctifying leaven shall have permeated the whole mass of our citizens in the far, far-off west. 68

As the long-hoped-for Conference in the far west formed, the supporting institutions and mechanisms proliferated. The editors of the Christian Advocate and Journal picked up and reported in 1849 a notice from the Territory's newspaper which announced the formation of the Oregon Bible Society.

The Oregon Spectator of May 4 contains a call, signed by Rev. William Roberts, for a public meeting to be held in the M. E. Church, Oregon City, for the purpose of forming an Oregon Bible Society, auxiliary to the American Bible Society. We understand that an Oregon Tract Society had already been organized. 69
In 1854 the preachers and laymen determined to form a joint stock company and issue a weekly newspaper—a "union" paper devoted to the stability of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oregon and Washington. Among the supporters were Alanson Beers, Alvan F. Waller, J. H. Wilbur, J. L. Parrish, George Abernethy, Thomas Hall Pearne, and Gustavus Hines. Pearne was elected editor, and the first issue of the Pacific Christian Advocate was produced at Salem September 5, 1855.  

Alvan F. Waller, one of the charter members of the Oregon and California Mission Conference and founders of the local organ, wrote to H. B. Brewer in Massachusetts in 1857. He reported the "great changes" which had taken place since Brewer left the Willamette, Salem, capital of the Territory, Portland, by then the seat of the Conference, Albany, and Corvallis were "considerable towns"—several had incorporated to elect city officers. The Dalles station, where Brewer had been mainstay of the secular operations from 1840 to its sale in 1847, was now a military post. "Our School," Waller continued, "is in a flourishing state." He concluded with the assurance that Brewer could be expecting copies of the Pacific Christian Advocate which were being forwarded to him.

On his arrival in Oregon in 1851 to serve as presiding elder, Thomas Hall Pearne was assigned to the Mary's River District, which included Lebanon, Calapooya, Albany, Marysville, Belknap's Settlement, Eugene City, Roseburg, Jacksonville, and Phoenix. Pearne
became well known in the waypoints of his circuit for his "faithful mule" "Cynthian" purchased from Hamilton Campbell for $160. Indispensable to his travels was an assortment of "rainproof" equipment including a "broad-brimmed hat, covered with oiled silk," a poncho and portmanteau; completed by saddlebags, saddle and lariat for staking. According to the arrangement made during the Oregon Mission Conference held in Portland in November, 1851, the second district--the Oregon District--was Roberts' own province, and included Salem and "all below it to the sea;" as well as Olympia, Steilacoom, Seattle, Mound Prairie, and Cowlitz. 72

In March, 1853, the year in which Washington became a Territory, Bishop Edward R. Ames--the first member of the Methodist Episcopal to come to Oregon--made three districts and arranged the work accordingly. Thomas H. Pearne became presiding elder of the Willamette River District and resided in Salem. Pearne was also appointed a special agent of the Missionary Society to settle the accounts of the late Superintendent, William Roberts. J. H. Wilbur was stationed in the Umpqua District; and John F. Devore was appointed to that of Puget Sound. At this point Pearne recalled, "we thus ceased to be a mission."

We became an integral part of the system and connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church. After fourteen years of tutelage, we were graduated to a full-fledged and fully-equipped synod of Methodism. 73
Pearne reflected on his involvement in the enterprise. His transfer to Oregon was "peculiar and providential," he stated. But for a twist of fate, he might have received the appointment as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission in 1846 instead of William Roberts. When the "call" for two men to take charge in Oregon was given through the Christian Advocate and Journal, he and his brother-in-law answered, and were too late. By 1851 he was glad to find himself en route by steamer to the Columbia.

My heart had always been drawn towards Oregon as a mission field. Jason Lee and his two Flathead Indian boys, in 1839, had been guests at my father's for a week, and I talked much with him and with the Indians, and had had my sympathies strongly enlisted for Oregon. 74

Thus, the romantic and compelling appeal of Jason Lee exerted influence beyond the first Superintendent's years of labor in Oregon and beyond his lifetime; and thus, it was a contribution to the evolution of a formal Methodist Church in Territorial Oregon.
CHAPTER V


2Decker, 269; Barclay, 258. "Diary of Rev. George Gary," op. cit., 79-82. Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 394, as quoted in Barclay, 258; Hines, ibid., 239.

3Decker, 268-270. Barclay, 258-259. Disposal of the farms was authorized by the Board December 17, 1844. Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 394. "Diary of Rev. George Gary," 85, 92-83, 96. Through November, 1844, Gary's diary was the means of accounting to the Board for all action taken in behalf of the Missionary Society. The account appears in the Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 404ff, as quoted by Barclay, 259. John Force and his brother arrived in Oregon on October, 1842, with the White-Hastings party. Regarding sale of mills, Decker cites also: Lewis Judson to H. E. Brewer, March 16, 1845. Brewer Collection, Washington Historical Society.

4H. K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest, loc. cit., 422f. Decker, 270. "Diary of Rev. George Gary," 89-90. Barclay, 259. The Board, impressed by Lee's argument presented during his hearing, later rescinded the order to jetison the School, but the reconsideration was too late. Mission title to the land was lost. At Lee's inspiration, Nathan Bangs--with approval of the Board--went to Washington to consult with the Secretary of State and others and to present a memorial from the Board of Managers. The petition requested of Congress a special annual appropriation from the federal government for the support of Indian schools under mission auspices. The proposal seems never to have received further action. Barclay, 230, cites Minutes of the Board of Managers, III, 206, 208.

5Decker, 290n.; Minutes of the Board of Managers, IV, 404ff., as quoted in Barclay, 259.
6Decker, 271; "Diary of Rev. George Gary," No. 2 (June, 1923), 181, 184.


9Decker, 274; Barclay, 260. Perkins withdrew as a matter of principle, apparently. He could not abide the seemingly senseless liquidation of the interior Indian station. Having in addition, to contend with sub Indian agent, Dr. Elijah White, Perkins wrote to Gary that he would quit the mission if it continued "to overwhelm itself at every step with disgrace." Perkins to Gary, July [n.d.], Oregon Mission Correspondence, file 2, as quoted by Decker, 272. Weller had been dismissed and had determined to return to the United States, but he was retained to fill Perkins' post. "Diary of Rev. George Gary," No. 2 (June, 1923), 157, 160. On liquidation of the Dalles Station in 1847, H. B. Brewer moved his family to the Willamette and subsequently returned to his native Massachusetts. Barclay, 239n.

10Barclay, 260.

11Christian Advocate and Journal, XX, No. 11 (October 22, 1845), 42, as quoted by Barclay, 261. An editorial comment appearing with extracts from Gary's report in this issue stated that "of the property of the mission at Willamette, Brother Gary has retained the meeting-houses, and the houses for the preachers—we will not say personages, least we offend Brother Gruber, who is tenacious of the old Methodist name, 'preacher's house.' Brosnan, Source material, 463. At Chemeketa, "Mill Place" was included in the sale to John Force, hence not retained.


13Susan Gary to Sister Lane, Corresponding Secretary of the Female Missionary Society of New-York. Letter dated at Willamette Falls, July 24, 1844. Published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, XIX (March 12, 1845), 123. Brosnan, Source material, 455.
14 "Diary of Rev. George Gary," Oregon Historical Quarterly XXIV, No. 3 (September, 1923), 277; No. 1 (March, 1923), 90. The Indian Manual Labor Training School had, according to Gary, been sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute on the condition that the mission "reserve the parsonage, which is perhaps forty rods from the school building, for a parsonage, and as much land with the parsonage as shall be judged proper... for four thousand dollars with annual interest at six per cent." Entry for June 28, 1844. Gary resided there from the time of his arrival on June 6, 1844 to the fourth of July, returning again March 25, 1845. His term here is the source of the title "Parsonage Reserve."

15 The mills, with liabilities went to the Chemeketa "Milling Company" by contract of December 21, 1844. Gary to Pitman, Willamette Falls, August 18, 1845. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.


17 Gary to Charles Pitman, letter dated at Willamette, July 2, 1845. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.


19 Gary to Pitman, April 23 and 27, 1846. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.

20 William Roberts to Charles Pitman, letter dated at Oregon City October 12, 1847. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3. William Roberts was engaged in the New Jersey Conference when he received his appointment from the Bishop in 1846. James H. Wilbur hailed from the Black River Conference.
21 Pitman to Roberts, letter dated at New York, October 14, 1847. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3. Pitman, incidentally, had the spirit of the collector-historian. He sought a box of artifacts from the African Mission, and requested some similar objects from a still exotic land. "Can you not send me a small box of curiosities, such as minerals, shells, specimens of Indian ingenuity. I expect to leave my present office in another year, and should be glad to receive something of the kind for preservation." Pitman to Roberts, New York, March 6, 1847. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.

22 William Roberts to Charles Pitman, Oregon City, December 20, 1847. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.


24 Extracts of letter from George Gary to the Board of Managers, Christian Advocate and Journal, XIX (February 12, 1845), 106. Brosman, Source material, 449.


26 Gary to Pitman, Willamette Falls, November 6, 1844. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1, Index 3.

27 William Roberts to Charles Pitman, Fort Vancouver, October 9, 1848. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1. A predictable reaction came from two of Roberts' preachers (not named) who were of the opinion that a minister should "go along to serve in the gold fields."

28 Roberts to Pitman, Salem, Oregon Territory, February 14, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.


Benton delivered his speech on the Oregon Question in the Senate May 22, 25, and 28, 1846. With rhetorical questions, antithesis, and brilliant figures of speech, Benton argued the value of the Columbia River "and its valley." He emphasized the factors of commercial benefit and protection in wartime. Not only was the area a setting for agriculture and commerce, an area offering potential flourishing trade with the Asiatics, it was in a position of command on the North Pacific. Excerpts: E. L. Magoon, Living Orators in America (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), 302–345.


William Roberts to Charles Pitman, Oregon City, August 7, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.


Roy Robbins, Our Landed Heritage, loc. cit., 154. Statutes at Large, Vol. IX, 497. In 1854 all provisions of the Oregon Act were extended to the Territory of Washington until December 1, 1855 (Statutes at Large, Vol. X, 172, July 17, 1854). Donation privileges were also extended to the Territory of New Mexico, but no expiration
date was stipulated. It was sustained until 1883 (Statutes at Large, Vol. X, 308, July 22, 1854).

Conover, ibid., 27. Author states that under the Oregon Donation Act of September 27, 1850, "there were conveyed in the Oregon Territory alone between two and three millions of acres."


It was in 1850 that Oregon first figured in a United States Census. The Territory's white population was counted at 11,330; free colored persons at 24; and slaves at 26. The aggregate was 11,380. Conflicting enumeration, however, is given in Table XII, which shows population density per square mile. This table showed a total of 13,294 (13,087 whites, 207 colored) in 341,463 square miles; or .04 inhabitants per square mile. The major urban population was centered in Clackamas County's Oregon City (697); Clatsop County's Astoria (252); and Washington County's Linn City (125), Milton City (692), and Portland (821)—all of them settlements oriented to the northwestern waterways of the Columbia and the Willamette. Table XV, showing nativities of the population, gives a total native born count for Oregon of 11,992. Immigrants came chiefly from Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, New York, New England, Virginia, Iowa, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas. Nine religious denominations represented in Oregon's ten counties in 1850, including Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian. With a property valuation of $22,000, the Methodist Church was second ranking in holdings. Oregon's professions were dominated by farmers and carpenters, with most other occupations related to building and service trades, engineering, and milling. The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Embracing a Statistical view of each of the States and Territories arranged by counties, towns, etc. (Washington: Robert Armstrong, public printer, 1855).

40 Roberts to Pitman, letter dated at Salem, Oregon Territory, April 24, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

41 Roberts to Charles Pitman, letter dated at Salem, Oregon Territory, November 6, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 2, file 6.
Gustavus Hines (1809-1873) had a long career in Oregon—one distinguished by support of the Oregon Institute and the Pacific Christian Advocate; as well as service as presiding elder in Salem, The Dalles, and Eugene before his superannuation and retirement in 1871 to Salem, where he died three years later. He and his brother, H. K. Hines of the East Oregon and Washington Conference, produced historical treatises on Methodism in the Northwest. Hines, a native of Herkimer County, New York, returned to the Genese Conference in 1845 and there he remained until 1853, at which time he was transferred to the Oregon Conference. General Minutes, II, 211-212; V, 264, as quoted by Barclay, 238n. Also: Obituary, Pacific Christian Advocate, XIX (December 11, 1873), 396. Brosnan, Source material, 489-491.

Elmira Raymond to her father, Mr. James David, Grosse Isle, Michigan, letter dated at Willamette, December 16, 1846. Ms, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.


Superintendent William Roberts to the Trustees of the Oregon Institute, Salem, April 12, 1848. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

Trustees of the Oregon Institute to Superintendent Roberts, letter dated at the Parsonage, Salem, April 13, 1848.

Pitman to Roberts, New York, November 16, 1848, Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1.

James H. Wilbur to Charles Pitman, Oregon Institute, June 2, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reel 1. Wilbur claimed he "could do considerable this Season towards finishing the Building could we obtain Lumber." He reported enough rooms "finished to accommodate the Principal and a family, for boarding students, and two school rooms."

Robert Moulton Gatke, Chronicles of Willamette: The Pioneer University of the West (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1943), 55. Author cites: Gustavus Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions; Comprising a Full History of Willamette University, the First Established on the Pacific Coast (New York: Carlton and Porter 1868), 157. Hines' account has become a chief source on early history of Willamette University as the official records before 1854 have been lost.
Gatke, op. cit., 89-90. Author cites: Gustavus Hines, op. cit., 166-167; Joel Palmer, Journal of Travels, Over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia, Made During the Years 1845 and 1846,...(original edition Cincinnati, 1847. Reprinted in Whittes, Early Western Travels, XXX), Whittes edition, 183. During his tour of the Oregon country Palmer noted as many as fifteen families gathered around the Institute.

The Oregon Spectator, I, no. 15 (August 20, 1846, as quoted by Gatke, 90.


Gatke, 105. Letter of Francis S. Hoyt to "Rev. Dr. Durbin, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Salem, January 26, 1852. Ms in archives of the Oregon Conference of the Methodist Church.

Ibid., 187-188. Author cites: Hines, Oregon and Its Institutions, 166.

Ibid., 190. Terms of agreement were worked out in consultation with attorney and Judge J. Quinn Thornton, who drafted the necessary papers July 11, 1847. A certified copy was submitted with a petition to the Surveyor General of Oregon July 5, 1853 (General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, documents relating to Donation Land Claim, Certificate No. 20, Notification No. 47). A copy of the agreement was reprinted: J. Quinn Thornton, "Salem Titles, History of the Title to Real Estate in Salem" Salem Directory 1874 (Salem: E. M. Waite and W. P. Keady, 1874), 4-6.

Copy of agreement, July 11, 1847. General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, documents relating to Donation Land Claim, Certificate No. 20, Notification No. 47.


Gatke, op. cit., 190-191.
GSA, National Archives and Records Service. Description of 640 acres claimed by William H. Willson, certified by D. C. Raymond, surveyor, and dated at Salem November 22, 1851.

GSA, National Archives and Records Service. Certificate No. 20, Notification No. 47, dated February 26, 1852.


Chloe Clarke Willson taught children of missionary families at the Institute until 1847. Cathe, op. cit., 96. W. H. Willson died in 1856. His widow served as unofficial preceptress of the University from ca. 1864 to 1871.

GSA, National Archives and Records Service. Letter from J. Quinn Thornton, dated at Fair (Mount?) Lake, Benton County, July 5, 1853, to Surveyor General of Oregon (Jno. B. Preston Esqr.) accompanying petition of Trustees. The petition explains the terms of agreement made between Willson and the Trustees in 1847. It is signed by Thornton, David Leslie, J. L. Parrish, and William Roberts. Thornton's covering letter explains that the other "obligees" were not available. James H. Wilbur was in the Umpqua valley. Lewis Judson was at the mouth of the Columbia, George Abernethy and Harry B. Braver were in the States, and Alanson Boers was deceased. Thornton's hope for the Institute was metaphorical:

"...that God would bless this small beginning and make it a fountain from which should go out a pure stream that should widen and deepen until it should water all the land and make glad future thousands thirsting for knowledge."

He pled:

"We are informed that under this law you have divided the said Institute or Salem Claim by a line running north and south and that you have designated the east half as (accruing?) to the wife. The undersigned would represent that the sixty acres mentioned in the third
condition of the said bond and the said building are situated in this east half, and that the wife of the said Wilson refuses to recognize in the said bond any thing which imposes upon her any obligation whatever in law, morality or religion to perform any of its stipulations either in whole or in part. If the wife should die without a will before patent issues, or should die with a will bequeathing it to other persons or objects than as mentioned in the said bond, or if any one of quite a number of other circumstances now but too painfully present to the minds of your petitioners should arise, a property most religiously and solely devoted to the cause of education, would be greatly jeopardized and its usefulness and value be at least very much impaired by becoming involved in tedious and expensive litigation."

Thornton argued for restoration of the north half of the claim to the trustees on the grounds that 1) the contract was made prior to any sales in the west half of the claim, 2) the land in question was placed in Willson's hands for educational purposes, 3) Willson's wife did not register any objections at the time of the execution of the bond, 4) the sixty acres of the east half together with other lots sold or donated in the east half, would probably exceed in quantity those disposed of in the west half; and 5) the proceeds of the sales of the ground disposed of by Willson have been appropriated and used by the Willsons and should be divided according to the terms of the agreement.

65 GSA, National Archives and Records Service, documents relating to Donation Land Claim, Certificate No. 20, Notification No. 47.


67 Roberts to Pitman, Oregon City, March 18, 1848. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Red 1. At this time J. H. Wilbur and Alvan F. Waller were jointly occupying the parsonage. Waller (1802-1872) was one of the agents in the founding of the Pacific Christian Advocate in 1853. He was once a delegate to the General Conference and served "gratuitously" for many years as chaplain for the State penitentiary. He was admitted on trial to the Genesee Conference in 1833 and had received training at Genesee Wesleyan Seminary between 1833 and 1839. Mathew Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism (Philadelphia, 1878), 86, as quoted by Brosnan, Source material, 512. Barclay, 243n. General Minutes, II, 211, 568.

"Oregon Bible Society," Christian Advocate and Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (January 25, 1849), as quoted by Brosnan, Source material, 471.


Pearne, op. cit., 121-122, 134-135.

Ibid., 150.

Ibid., 109-111. Thomas Hall Pearne (b. England 1820) served in Oregon from 1851 to 1865. He was a licensed local preacher in New York State at age fifteen. He attended Cazenovia Seminary, Madison County, New York, 1836-1837. He was traveling the Onondaga Circuit when his father's household was visited by Lee during the Upper New York State campaign of the fall of 1839. Ibid., 10, 21-31.
CHAPTER VI

THE JASON LEE HOUSE

Formal Analysis

As it now stands, the Jason Lee House, or "Mill Place," is an 18 by 50 foot two-story frame building, 20 feet in height, with lath and lime plaster walls. Its hand-planed lap siding shows 6 1/2 inches to the weather. Tongue-in-groove siding dates from a later alteration. Double-hung sash windows are of irregular size and placement. The earliest sashes consist of nine lights over six. The panes measure 7 by 9 inches. The house lost its 8 foot loft when the roof—with a one to one pitch—was removed to expedite moving. Two brick chimney stacks with molded caps were also removed. Bisecting the house is a stair hall with two flights of stairs, open at the string, supporting turned balusters and a shaped handrail. The earliest existing interior trim consists of plain baseboard, wainscot and strip molding, and a chair rail at a height of 29 1/2 inches. In the central stair hall the wainscot strip molding is applied vertically. Panels appear without molding on either side of stile and rail doors.

Now, with its rafters and studs removed, the second story is
protected by plastic sheeting. Resting on blocks on private property, the house is accessible through a basement stairway opening and a first story doorway. Among the varying conditions of stress and decay is an advanced stage of dry rot in the foundation sill throughout the southeast corner joining.

The house was originally sited at 960 North Broadway on a two-thirds brick foundation of varying thicknesses (Plates 8-10). As completed in the spring of 1841, it was a multi-family dwelling; it appears to have been a quartered, rectangular box—possibly without stairhall or fireplaces to interrupt living space. Iron warming stoves may well have fed from each family's apartment into a central chimney. A stair scar on the East face suggests that the two families occupying upper apartments may have gained the second level by an outside stairway. It is more likely that the stair served the now discarded ell (Plates 10-11).

Iconographic and Documentary Sources

A double pizza is shown extended across what is presumed the front face of the house in both of the only known renderings of "Mill Place." A version of the home of Methodist, mill hand, and Territorial Treasurer, John D. Boon, appears in the margin of a panorama of Salem lithographed in 1858 by San Francisco artists Charles Conrad Kuchel and Emil Dresel.
(Plate 6). A pen and ink drawing labeled "First Dwelling House in Salem" appears in Volume I of Joseph Gaston's *Centennial History of Oregon* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Company, 1912) (Plate 7). Neither rendering shows an outside access to the second story, but both depictions give a one-story shed—possibly a stair or cellar shelter—attached to one corner. Both views show stile and rail doors and sash windows with nine lights hung over nine. The versions do not agree as to the number and placement of chimneys, the pitch of the roof, or the structural character of the veranda. The most that can be assumed from these iconographic sources is that "Mill Place" acquired a double porch sometime before 1858.

During the dismantling it was seen that the rafters continued without interruption from the ridge to a point slightly over-hanging the eaves level on the East facade, where each was notched to receive a horizontal plank (Plate 10). The roof of the veranda had a one to four pitch and sloped at an angle which obscured the view of the second story windows. The piazza has more the quality of attachment than intrinsic design implied by the Kuchel and Dresel lithographed version. Miscellaneous Deeds among the Records of the United States District Court of Marion County include a document of 1854 by which John B. McClane, manager of the mills and boarding house, conveyed as collateral security for the Willson and Judson debt of $6000 to the Missionary Society's legal agent, Thomas Hall Pearne,
"that certain messuage and lot of land... beginning at a point in the fence in front of my former dwelling fifty feet South westerly from the S. W. corner of the porch attached to said dwelling..."  

Post Mission Period Uses

In 1844, during the retrenchment at Chemeketa, the mills and surrounding property were sold to John Force, who, within a month, transferred title by quit claim deed to William H. Willson and Lewis Judson. Willson's interest was shortly acquired by J. L. Parrish, John B. McClane, a native of Philadelphia, crossed the plains from Independence with the great immigration of 1843. He married Lewis Julson's oldest daughter, Hellen, in April, 1849--in time to qualify under the Donation Land Law of 1850, as a married man entitled to his claim of 640 acres. McClane had returned to Mill Place from the Cayuse Wars and California around the summer of 1848 with a stock of goods from San Francisco with which he established the town's second store in the Northeast downstairs room. The next fall he made a foray into the California gold fields and returned to the claim in the spring of 1849. In 1850 he became Salem's Postmaster and also operated the Post Office from this room in the house. The following year, 1852, McClane left for the East, leaving mill hand John D. Boon in charge of the property. During his absence, Boon took
possession and moved into the house.

Within three months of the completion (November 1851) of the survey of public lands in Oregon, John B. McClane had given notice of his claim to a donation of 640 acres of land in sections 14, 15, 22 and 23 in Township 7 South Range 3 West of the Willamette Meridian. His notification was accompanied by a survey description and diagram. 6 In September, 1853, John D. Boon filed notice with the United States Land Office of his claim to "a donation of public land embracing and covering the same tract... previously resided upon, cultivated and claimed" by McClane.

On August 16, 1853, McClane's partner, Lewis Judson, had been given power of attorney. The act was attested by the President Judge of the First Judicial District of Pennsylvania September 26, 1853, and notarized by the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of Philadelphia. 7 By November Judson had notified the Surveyor General in Oregon of his appointment and called for an investigation. 8 J. L. Parrish, one-time resident of the house and holder of an adjacent claim, was chosen as one of the witnesses to the notification. His original testimony was altered to the effect that "through his own inadvertence" in not looking at the affidavit "with sufficient care" at the time of the oral examination in 1852, he had not set forth the facts as they were. Parrish modified his testimony to corroborate the assertion that McClane had, in fact, lived
on and cultivated the disputed claim for the required four years with temporary leaves. 9

On July 28, 1853, the McClanes' final proof was approved by the Surveyor General, subject to certification by the Commissioner of the General Land Office. For the time being, the claim was rejected by the Land Office on the grounds of McClane's absence from "September or October, 1848, to spring of 1849 in California gold diggings." 10 Patent was awarded December 18, 1860. 11 The controversy continued, however, and as a result of court proceedings which required a change of venue to Clackamas County—and which dragged on from 1861 to 1869—a compromise was finally reached.

The property was sold to Judge Reuben P. Boise by a transaction recorded October 13, 1877; and it was incorporated in the plat of "Boise’s Second Addition" in February, 1883, at which time the Judge moved into the house and "changed somewhat the porches on the west and north of the building." 12 The house remained in possession of the Boise heirs until 1924. It changed title a further time—in 1940—before its acquisition by a realty company in 1962. 13
Stylistic Tradition

In design, the stair seems advanced for the resources of the missionaries in 1840-1841 (Plate 12). Circular saw marks are apparent in the unfinished lumber of the under carriage and the salvaged porch members. Victorian adjustments, such as a parlor block with polygonal bay and additional verandas, made the old mission house a fashionable town house through the turn of the century. Doors with molded panels, trim, and a marble fireplace of this later period are still to be found in the south end of the house. In detail and formal lay out, Mill Place shares a common source with the Joseph Johnson House, near Port Republic, Atlantic County, New Jersey—a typical vernacular farmhouse of the Eastern seaboard dating from the early 1830’s (Plates 14-17). The tradition of the piazza, or two-story porch, in domestic architecture in America evolved in the late 13th century in Dutch-settled New York, in New England, and the South, and was transmitted throughout the West in the nineteenth century. The double porch form appears frequently in Oregon houses dating from the Donation Land Law period after 1850. Many of this type were built by emigrants from the South and from New York via the Mississippi Valley. Among examples surveyed in 1934 by the Historic American Buildings Survey are the John Dickey house, ca. 1850, near Molalla; the William Holmes house, Mt. Pleasant; the
Elisha Bedwell house near Yamhill. The type is represented in southern Oregon by the Rock Creek Tavern near Gold Hill; the Wolf Creek Tavern, the Charles Applegate house, 1856; and the Alfred Ambrose house of Yoncalla.

Whether graced by a porch in its historic period, or not, Mill Place was a landmark in the building program of the Oregon Mission. It was the first dwelling to be constructed entirely of lumber milled by the missionary operation. Its architectural qualities are fundamental. It has been shown that the house, or hospital, built by Dr. Elijah White at the old mission station was the first mission construction of which the major part was milled lumber. Dr. White, David Leslie, and Alanson Beers are known to have bought lumber from Ewing Young. The mission also purchased lumber from the Hudson's Bay Company. Presumably, the hospital was fronted with a double piazza. Mill Place marked the end of building under rudest frontier conditions for the stations of the Willamette.

The crudely-fashioned porch trim—a debasement of a classical arcade—is reminiscent of the trim used on open sides of one-story ells in New England (Plate 13). In the near neighborhood the usage has at least one known parallel. This is to be found on the porch—an intrinsic
porch--of the single story house built around 1851-1852 by Isaac Miller on his claim near Millersburg in Linn County (Plate 18). From early times the road passed the property on the West (Plate 4). Traditionally, the piazza, when extended the length of a face, is a feature of the front elevation. The porch of Mill Place was on the East, or rear, elevation. The "arcade" is a detail likely to have been affected by one of the subsequent owners. John D. Boon, for example, is known to have assumed occupancy of the house in 1854 and, to strengthen his claim, he set about improving it. According to testimony of Samuel Parker in the Court trial resolving the claim dispute, it was at this time that he "covered the house" and "painted it, made some fencing, planted out some fruit trees, built a wood house and stable."^16

Neither tradition nor documentary evidence has assigned an architect or building supervisor to Mill Place. William H. Willson, who had supervised for Dr. White, was a former ship's carpenter from New Hampshire. Lewis H. Judson had worked in his family's wheelwright and chair-making shop in Otsego, New York. Of the missionaries skilled in trades related to carpentry, Hamilton Campbell was the one most qualified in the realm of design.^17 His services seem to have been concentrated on the complex for the Indian Manual Labor Training School--the director's house and the boarding school house.
CHAPTER VI

1 Coral for lime was imported by the missionaries from the Sandwich Islands. See Chapter IV, Note 40. Lee to Bangs, Clatsop, Mouth of the Columbia, June 18, 1841. Oregon Mission Correspondence.

2 It is possible that the panes were brought to the Willamette with the Great Reinforcement. Henry Moore was ordered by the Board of Managers to supply seventy-two pairs of sashes for the Indian School and the boarding house in April, 1839. See Chapter IV, Note 50. Oregon Mission Correspondence. Panes for the sashes might have been purchased in Oregon from the Hudson's Bay Company Sale Shop. Panes measuring 7 by 9 inches were available, according to Fort Vancouver Sale Shop and Depot Inventories for 1840-1841. See Appendices XIV-A and XXV. In 1848, Superintendent William Roberts requested of the Board a box of lights 7 by 9 inches in addition to the 8 by 10 measurement he preferred because, he explained, "all our lights at present are of those dimensions."

3 Miscellaneous Deeds, Vol. II, Journal of the United States District Court of Oregon in and for the First Judicial District within Marion County, August, 1849, to January, 1858. Conditions by which "John B. McClane was bound to Thomas H. Pearne, agent of M S of M E C in sum of $6000 January 9, 1854" are as follows:

...I the said John B. McClain for collateral security for the payment of said note have sold and agreed to convey to Thomas H. Pearne Agent of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church aforesaid to be held for said Society all that certain messuage and lot of land situated between the recorded town plat of North Salem and the mill pond on Mill Creek and opposite the North Salem Mills in Oregon Territory bounded and described as follows to wit. Beginning at a point in the fence in front of my former dwelling fifty feet south westerly from the S. W. corner of the porch attached to said dwelling to said dwelling house in front thereof. Thence running Northerly along said fence in conformity with the east side of an extension of the street known as Broadway in said recorded town plat of North Salem 132 feet or 8 rods. Thence Easterly (at right angles to the said first line along said fence in front of my said former dwelling) 260 feet to point in line with a Southerly continuation of the west side of fifth street in
North Salem aforesaid. Thence Southerly parallel to the second line 260 feet to the places of beginning containing a piece of land equal to four lots or half a block in the said plat of North Salem, containing 7 chains and 92 hundredths of chains of land of 7.92/100 of an acre of land including my former dwelling aforesaid together with the appurtenances thereunto belonging...

The deed was signed, in McClane's absence, by L. H. Judson.

4 Testimony, John Force, February 18, 1862. John D. Boon versus John B. McClane. Dispute of Land Claim, Circuit Court, Clackamas County. Oregon State Archives, Supreme Court File 374. "I next claimed it myself by a purchase from the mission. I purchased what was called the Mill property--about two sections... I held possession about one month in the year 1844, I sold to Dr. W. H. Willson and L. H. Judson... Cultivation began in spring, 1848... McClane superintended. It was called Mill house."


6 General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, documents relating to Donation Land Claim, Certificate No. 19, Notification No. 45. Certification of survey of claim for John B. McClane by J. N. Gilbert, surveyor, dated November 19, 1851. Survey procedure was based on a township of 36 square-mile sections. Distances were measured by chains (66' to a chain) and links (10 links to .1 chain). McClane's notification, with its request for a survey and marking of his claim, indicated that McClane had been in residence on said claim for six consecutive years--from September 30, 1845, to February 26, 1852.

7 Ibid. Appointment of Lewis Judson as legal agent for John B. McClane was witnessed in Philadelphia, August 16, 1853, by Wm. S. Pierce and Wm Jno Armstrong. The document was authorized September
by Oswald Thompson, President Judge of the First Judicial District of Pennsylvania. It was attested by George Carpenter, Prothonotary, Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of Philadelphia. The document was examined and certified by E. J. Herring, Clerk of the U. S. District Court, Marion County, Oregon Territory, November 30, 1853.


Ibid. Testimony of Josiah L. Parrish, subscribed and sworn before John B. Preston, Surveyor General; filed September 22, 1853.

Ibid.


R. P. Boise, Copy of a sketch of the "History of the Jason Lee Dwelling," n. d. Historic Records Survey. Special Collections, University of Oregon Library. Reuben Patrick Boise (1819-1907) was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts in 1847. He arrived in Portland in 1850; moved to Salem in 1857, when he was appointed justice of the Territorial supreme court. He was elected Justice of the Supreme Court when Oregon reached statehood in 1859, and he served in this capacity until 1870. He periodically served the Court until 1880, when he became circuit judge of the Third Judicial District. He remained in this post to 1892. See Howard McKinley Corning, Dictionary of Oregon History (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1956), 31.

Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 494-495, 131, 171. See also: Harold Kirker, California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1960). Morrison shows that the use of the term piazza in a modern sense can be traced to an English corruption of the 17th century of an Italian term for plaza. In the 1630 commission for the design of the Covent Garden housing development, Inigo Jones used a row of dwellings fronted by lofty arched corridors either side of a rectangular plaza. The entire square was called by the Italian name "piazza," but, through use, the term came to imply the corridors, or covered places. Morrison traces the development of the Dutch stoop—a platform or balcony—to a porch under projecting roof. He cites examples of the covered porch adapted in New England for use on the ends of classical mansions; for shade and ventilation by the French Huguenot enclave in Charleston, South Carolina—possibly under West Indian influence. The type had variations in French Louisiana and Spanish California.

Chapter IV, Notes 3 and 77. Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition..., Vol IV (Philadelphia, 1849), 351. Wilkes did not further embellish his description of the will house in the published version, as he did in adding that the hospital had a double piazza. Mrs. J. Orlo Hayes, of Stockton, California, great granddaughter of Alanson Beers—who moved into the hospital on the dissolution of the mission—recalled, during a visit to the site in the summer of 1964, having heard her family explain that the hospital was destroyed and its lumber re-used in subsequent buildings on the site.


Per note jotted by member of the Oregon Committee on application of Hamilton Campbell addressed to Jason Lee, from Springfield, Illinois, November 4, 1838. Campbell was designated and "sworn" "Architect." See Chapter III, Notes 20-21.
Isaac Miller House, near Millersburg, Linn County, Oregon, ca. 1851.

Thomas Kay Woolen Mill Company, Salem, Oregon, 1896.
The Parsonage, ca. 1930, courtesy of Oregon State Archives.
CHAPTER VII

THE PARSONAGE

Formal Analysis

The parsonage has been temporarily located at the rear of the Kay Woolen Mill property. It is a 24 by 32 foot two-story frame structure, 24 feet in height, with walls of planks 13 to 21 inches wide laid horizontally. Lap siding has been covered by tongue-in-groove siding. Double-hung sash windows are mostly of regular size and spacing. A roof of sawn shingles, with a one-half to one pitch, molded cornice, and overhanging eaves, is still intact. The stacks of two brick chimneys which had molded caps are largely destroyed (Plate 20). Access to the upper story is given in the southwest corner by a dog-leg stair with winding quarter space. Interior trim includes five to seven-inch baseboard with molding coping; architraves and window frames both molded and elementary; and doors composed of horizontal and vertical sunk panels as well as sunk-and-raised panel schemes. There are two built-in cabinets with paneled doors to complete the woodwork. Two brick chimney stacks recede into the wall for the reception of stove pipes. Loss of a major part of the second story ceiling exposes the course of one of these chimneys through the attic. Because it jogs to avoid an obstruction, it has been
suggested that the chimney was added after the roof was laid. The building is accessible through an unblocked opening in the Northwest corner. Damage from fire can be seen at the second story level in the North end wall and partition. Pieces of the North foundation still have been deleted, while other portions of the span are partially decayed.

**Iconographic and Documentary Sources**

The parsonage was completed during the summer of 1841 as a dwelling for the Preacher in Charge of the central station and Director of the Indian Manual Labor School—Gustavus Hines—and its architect, Hamilton Campbell. Until the School Building, a distance of forty rods to the West, was at a stage to receive scholars, the house served for a time as classroom. It became the official boarding house of the Willamette Station throughout the Territorial period and the period of the mission's transformation to Conference status in 1853.

In 1844 the Indian School building was purchased by the trustees of the Oregon Institute, and the formal connection between the two buildings which had been designed as a unit came to an end. While the Missionary Society had relinquished title to the School building, the body held an interest in the "Parsonage Reserve." As the Oregon Institute became the focus of confidence in Methodist operations, the location gained importance
and the psychological connection remained.

There is no known contemporary rendering of the Methodist parsonage. Its basically classical proportions were apparently striking for its place, for Jason Lee remarked to the Board of Managers on the additional expense involved in enlarging the plan. He disclosed that Hines felt deserving of congratulations for having raised such a "noble looking house."\(^2\) Stove chimneys would appear to have been original with the parsonage, for it was stipulated during the Annual Meeting of 1842 that if Mr. Littlejohn were to be employed "in connexion with the O. M. M. L. School" he should be paid $500 with his "House-rent, use of a stove, and his firewood" in gratuity.\(^3\) In the year that Oregon became a Territory Superintendent Roberts looked to the Institute as the most suitable location for a headquarters, and he determined to move his operations from Oregon City to the parsonage. Here he was obliged to build an addition for his family as well as a barn. As completed, Roberts's alterations to the house were such that "two families can reside in it entirely distinct."\(^4\)

**Post Mission Period Uses**

The Reverend William Roberts purchased a parcel of the dwindling Parsonage Reserve from the Missionary Society--presumably to retain the house on which he had expended so much personal labor--and resided
there for a time. By the 1860's, the original property had become so assimilated, that in citing bearing points, surveyors referred to the boundaries of the "Parsonage Reserve, so called." The property was acquired by the Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company, and in 1867 it was leased for a ten year term to the Pioner Oil Company. It was in the 1890's that the old Methodist boarding house was first moved, when the Pioneer Oil Company sold the property. From the orientation given on survey maps, it is presumed that the building was originally located near the present water tower of the Thomas Kay Woolen Mill. The parsonage was resited at 125 Ferry Street in the immediate neighborhood. It changed ownership several times, subsequently becoming the property of William C. Barker. From this point the remodeling and the preservation of the historic building by the Barker family is measured.

William Barker is said to have replaced the original window sashes with larger ones; and to have replaced an original stair with the dog-leg stair. On the South face windows are indented slightly to blind the corner stair. It is believed that one of the original openings was cut down to make an entry to this corner stairway.
Stylistic Tradition

The style and proportion of the parsonage are more sophisticated, later, than the earliest details of the Lee House. Question has been raised as to the authenticity of the building. It can be argued that the parsonage was notable for being a larger structure than originally planned. At least the siding and fenestration were altered later in the century, and probably the porches, with chamfered posts and hipped roofs, were added at this later point. Perhaps the untapped argument involves the "architect," Hamilton Campbell. By the execution of his own homestead in upper Marion County between 1845 and 1849, as well as the imposing three-story School building, since destroyed, Campbell proved himself an able handler of pattern books dispensing the classical idiom. His house near Jefferson is a formal mansion type in the high Greek Revival style. Its interior is distinguished by tapered and pedimented architraves; sunk panel wainscoting; and built-in cabinet doors with a paneling scheme similar to that of the parsonage. In its vicinity a great flowering of classical building paralleled the influx of immigrants from New York and the Midwest immediately preceding the passing of the Donation Land Law of 1850; it also paralleled Campbell's settlement in the area. Some interaction between the immigrants building homes and the man who could help build is implied in the affidavits of claims. The signatures of Jabez Terhune,
Jacob Conser, John H. Bellinger, Jesse Looney, and Charles Miller—all of them signatures of men whose holdings neighbored Campbell's claim—recur in affidavits for claims to land in Jefferson Township.  

An unresolved question in regard to the parsonage is Roberts' statement that he built an addition in order that "two families could live entirely distinct." The interior partitioning has been adjusted sufficiently to make the point difficult to judge. Any addition which may have been attached to the present building was lost during the subsequent relocations.
CHAPTER VII

1"Diary of Rev. George Gary," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXIV, No. 3 (September 1923), 277. The Indian Manual Labor Training School was sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute for $4000 on the condition that the mission "reserve the parsonage, which is perhaps forty rods from the school building, for a parsonage..." Chapter V, Note 14. The Institute building was a part of the Willamette University campus until 1872, when it was destroyed by fire.


3Chapter IV, Note 60. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission, for the Year 1842, Minutes for May 21, p. 32.

4Chapter V, Notes 40-41. Roberts to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, letters dated at Salem, Oregon Territory, April 24, 1849; November, 1849. Oregon Mission Correspondence, Reels 1 and 2. Volume 7 of the Field Notes of the survey of claims in Township 7 S R 3 W of the Willamette Meridian, Oregon Territory, November - December, 1851, show bearings taken from the "belfry of the Methodist Institute" as well as the Parsonage House and the Parsonage Barn.

5Marion County Deeds, Vol. 9, p. 24. Quit claim of $5,000 by which the Missionary Society ceded part of the reserve to Willamette University, dated October 16, 1866. One of the bearing points was the "Southwest corner of land sold by said Missionary Society to Rev. William Roberts." The parcel in question contained "Eighty six and 515/1000 acres of land the hlf block upon which Parsonage stands which contains inside the street [12th] and Alley lines One and 125/1000 acres of land." William Roberts (1812-1888), a native of Burlington, New Jersey, entered the ministry in Philadelphia Conference in the year the Methodist Mission was established in Oregon by Jason Lee--1834. As has been seen, Roberts was a trustee of the Oregon Institute and Willamette University and fulfilled his career in the circuits of the Northwest. He is buried in the Lee Mission Cemetery, Salem, Oregon. Corning, Dictionary of Oregon History, 211.
Terms of Lease, Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company to Pioneer Oil Company, August 12, 1867. Miscellaneous Records, Journal of the United States District Court of Oregon, First Judicial District, Marion County, Vol. II. Demarkation began at "the west line of the 'Parsonage Reserve, so called' and contained "Two (2) acres and 35/100 of an acre of land, embracing what is known as the Old Parsonage House."

Burt Brown Barker, "The Parsonage: A Heritage," Marion County History, Vol. I (June 1955), 3-5. The building was transmitted, on sale by the Pioneer Oil Company, to Perry Wright, to William C. Cooper and to William C. Barker, from whom it was inherited by the author.

See Chapter III. As has been seen, Campbell purchased the horses and cattle formerly owned by the mission on his release in 1844. He settled Donation Land Claim Notif. No. 622, Cert. 3226, Marion County, by December 1, 1845. He was temporarily absent from the claim from April to September in 1849. The patent to the claim was granted in May, 1873. Campbell moved to Corvallis in 1854 to engage in the photographic business. In 1858, through a sheriff's sale, at least half of the claim was sold to settle his debts. The buyer was William Cosper. The following year Campbell moved to San Francisco to pursue photography. He returned his family to Oregon in 1862 to take up residence in Portland. He was murdered by bandits in Guaymes, Mexico, where he was acting as superintendent of mines in 1863, Fred H. Saylor, ed., "Mr and Mrs. Hamilton Campbell," Oregon Native Son and Historical Magazine, I (January 1900), 458-459. Genealogical Material in Oregon Donation Land Claims Abstracted from Applications by the Genealogical Forum of Portland, Oregon, Vol. II, 1959, p. 38. Marion County Deed Records, Vol. 47, p. 370; Vol. 40, p. 173-174; Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 10, p. 181.
Site of projected Thomas Kay Historical Park (W.W.M.F. Co. below Willamette University campus); Jason Lee House (with orchard below block labeled J. P. McClane, end of County Road). Map of the City of Salem, Oregon, 1878, from Historical Atlas Map of Marion and Linn Counties (San Francisco: Edgar Williams & Co., 1878). Courtesy of the Oregon State Library.
CHAPTER VIII

SITE LOCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

History of the Project

The Jason Lee House was acquired by the Marion County Historical Society in February, 1963, from a private corporation which had purchased the property for development the preceding year. After an opportunity was given for analysis, recording, and public inspection of the historic structure, the later additions were removed, and, by March 8, 1963, the building was deposited on its temporary site. When the Ferry Street lot on which the parsonage had been re-sited was accessioned by School District 24CJ, the parsonage was temporarily stored at the back of the nearby Thomas Kay Woolen Mill property; was subsequently acquired by the County Historical Society, and has remained in its present location since 1953.

The disposition of the buildings became the responsibility of the Joint Committee for the Siting of the Jason Lee House and the Methodist Parsonage, a body appointed by the Mayor of Salem and composed of representatives of the Salem Planning Commission and the Salem Parks Advisory Board. The body commissioned the relocation study on which to base its recommendation to the Salem City Council. The report was
executed in the summer of 1963 through the offices of the Mid-Willamette Valley Planning Council and was adopted by the City Council in January, 1964. The Mission - Mill Museum Corporation was formed in April, 1964, to receive funds and carry out the project.

Survey Procedure

It was proposed that a site could be acquired only after a controlling board representing interests appropriate to the objectives of the restoration project was established. Until such a board assumed the responsibility of acquiring the property, collecting funds, and maintaining the operation, definite commitments of monetary support, services in kind, and loans or donations of museum objects would not be forthcoming. Financial success necessarily depended upon the composition of the board and upon public acceptance. The selection of a site could, however, test local interest and conditions.

Each of thirteen potential sitting areas was weighed according to its availability, accessibility, historical and visual suitability; its projected contribution to the locale, its development potential, and the conditions of its expense. With the exception of the Fairground's Park, which is State owned and temporarily maintained by the city, the following are properties of the City of Salem.
1) Bush Pasture Park
2) Cascades Gateway Park
3) Fairgrounds Park
4) Marion Square Park
5) Pringle Park
6) Wallace Marine Park
7) Willson Park

The remaining are privately owned properties or public properties with future sale qualifications.

8) Broadway and Liberty intersection properties
9) Kay Woolen Mill property
10) Lee Mission Cemetery
11) River Road processing plant property
12) South urban renewal area
13) Water Department property

It became apparent that there were essentially two solutions to relocation: 1) siting the houses as ward of a government agency or a combination of government agencies, or 2) siting the houses with support of public and private funds on independent property where complementary structures could be maintained for the purposes of increasing interest and revenue. It did not appear that the restored houses by themselves could
be a self-supporting historical operation.

The Recommended Site

The Thomas Kay Woolen Mill Company property on 12th Street, East of Willamette University, comprises about four and one half acres. It offers 1) a location convenient to community activity, 2) developed land within the old Oregon Mission claim, and 3) a mill structure of historical and architectural distinction. The mill building, which began operation as a three-set mill in 1896, is a unique example surviving in Oregon of a type based on English and Eastern United States tradition (Plate 18). From the mid-nineteenth century the textile industry played a major role in the economic development of the Pacific Northwest. The mill might effectively interpret the story of industrial development on the Willamette. The Old Slater Mill Museum of Pawtucket, Rhode Island— a noted cotton textile mill dating from 1792—was cited as an example of this kind of restoration.

The Kay mill has been recorded in short form through the Historic American Buildings Inventory. Plans for its measurement and permanent recording are underway. The historic three-story brick and timber-framed construction has a ground course of rubble masonry and sixteen ten-foot bays in which elliptic arched windows are revealed between brick pilasters.
The mill is still administered by the family of pioneer industrialist, Thomas Kay. Its operations have been limited to wool finishing and dyeing in recent years, and its availability made the site attractive. If the mill were to be operated as an historical and industrial museum, it would complement the two historic buildings which could be sited nearby. Distinguished for its soundness and its accommodating and well-lighted floor space, the mill building covers an area of 58 to 60 by 185 feet; and it has been judged sufficiently fireproof and structurally adaptable for use as a museum.

Utilities, including a parking lot to the South, are well provided by the site. Space could be increased by the removal of most of the frame back buildings. The topography includes a variety of elevations, a mill race, planted banks to the Southwest, and a number of oak trees. The site could be landscaped to screen unwanted views. The surrounding land use is diverse, including State and School District property on the North, residential areas to the East, a packing plant across Mill Street to the South, and Willamette University campus to the West. The proximity of railroad tracks which run the length of the West boundary would require the arrangement of access and exit points for maximum safety. As an additional safety measure, a visually unobstructive fence might be used around the water course.
A complement of exhibits near the State Capitol would be limited in its drawing power only by the extent of its promotion. The site is further qualified by including the original site of the Methodist parsonage and by its adjacency to the site of the old Oregon Institute which became Willamette University. If the property could be acquired, the buildings sited, restored, and opened for exhibition, implementation of the museum plan and acquisition of properties for expansion to the East could be pursued as funds were available. The development of this site would call for the greatest capital outlay; but its location, potential, and combined services suggest the greatest possibilities for attracting revenues.

It was proposed that, in addition to public subscription, application could be made to local charitable trusts, local museum funds, and federal programs. Contingent factors were the inclination of the owners to the property to sell at the present time and the pre-eminent interest in the property which could be registered by government agencies wishing to acquire area for expansion.

An effective organization for the project might be established through the State historical society. If this agency were to create a wholly-owned subsidiary corporation qualifying for the tax privileges and exemptions of a private non-profit educational organization, and if the subsidiary were
to hold title to and administer the project, a professional staff might be 
trained and salaried, in part, through the agency’s State appropriations. 
Thus, State funds could be made available for services to a state-wide pop-
ulation without having to depend upon a separate requisition. A ten-member 
board might adequately represent the appropriate State, County, and City 
agencies as well as private organizations.

The office building and retail shop in the Northwest corner of the 
property could be used as a traffic control or orientation point. Mechan-
ized exhibits illustrating wool processing might be maintained in the base-
ment. The frame warehouse and baling building with lofts is suitable for 
the display of vehicles, heavier farming equipment, and for craft demonstra-
tions. The first floor of the mill building could be given to permanent 
exhibits pertaining to the cultural history and technology of the Willamette 
Valley; the second to topical, rotating, exhibits, lecture and assembly area, 
and exhibit preparation. The third story offers additional space for store-
age and maintenance.
CHAPTER VIII

1 Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington, D. C., 1962), 36-37. Here the Mid-Willamette Valley Planning Council is cited as a pioneering agency of the voluntary metropolitan council type. It is a voluntary association of public officials from the State, City, and two County governments. Intergovernmental cooperation allows joint conduct of research, planning activities, and "deliberations on issues of area-wide concern." The representative agency was formed in 1959.

Also: Report to the Mayor and City Council, Salem, Oregon, from the Office of the City Manager, January 10, 1964. See section on "Historical Heritage," pp. 17-18.

Articles of Incorporation of "Misson Mill Museum," notarized, Marion County, Oregon, April 28, 1964.

2 In Oregon the woolen industry dates from 1857, when the first textile plant was erected in Salem. Throughout the later half of the century the woolen industry figured prominently in Pacific Northwest economy. Thomas Kay, an English emigre, acquainted himself with the mills of the Middle Atlantic before coming to Brownsville in 1863, where he managed a mill from 1872 to 1888. Kay moved to Salem and formed a partnership with C. P. Bishop in 1889. The newly incorporated company operated a mill on the present site until November, 1895, when the structure was destroyed by fire. The replacement, a three story brick mill with timber trusses and masonry foundation, has known continuous operation by descendants of the company founders since its completion in 1896 at a cost of $80,000. The mill's architect, Walter D. Pugh (1863-1946), was a prominent Salem architect of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; receiver of many State commissions. Progress of the re-building of the mill was well chronicled in the local paper, The Oregon Statesman, Notes on Pugh's career courtesy of Mrs. Margaret Keillor, Oregon State Archives, Cited: Marion County Register of Electors, 1900, p. 212; Salem City and Marion County Directories 1891-1902; Board of Health Death Indexes 1903-1960. See also: Alfred L. Lomax, "Thomas Kay Woolen Mill Co.: A Family Enterprise," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIV, No. 2 (June 1953), 102-139. Marion D. Ross, A Century of Architecture in Oregon (1959), 9, 12.

A scaled plot plan, available from the Oregon Insurance Rating Bureau, Portland, Oregon, shows the relation and use of the structures, as well as certain constructional features.
CHAPTER IX

POTENTIAL FOR HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Oregon's Historical Operations

Salem offers no comprehensive historical center. The Willamette Valley's "mission period" which was of such far-reaching importance to the state and the nation, is yet to be interpreted by a permanent exhibit. Hundreds of the valley's historical relics are unseen and improperly stored for lack of a museum building. Each year more potential museum objects are dispersed or destroyed (Plates 21-24). An historical museum of this scope is an appropriate facility for the State Capital to offer. A State Museum is included in plans for the Capitol mall projected by the Capitol Planning Commission, but completion of such a museum is contingent upon many factors and does not seem to be expected in the near future.

Some of the important and influential historical agencies, museums, and restorations throughout the state are supported by governmental agencies or combinations of governmental agencies. The Oregon Historical Society depends upon State appropriations for half of its operating budget. Its services as a collection and interpretation agency for historical materials are widely distributed.

The Oregon State Highway Commission, authorized by official
legislation (House Bill 1667), administers the extra-urban sites of historic Fort Stevens, which is thirteen miles west of Astoria; Collier State Park, with its logging museum thirty miles north of Klamath Falls; and Champoeg State Park, the site where, as early as 1843, Willamette Valley settlers framed a Provisional Government—the first formal government of United States citizens on the Pacific Coast. Champoeg, with its historical museum and the Robert Newell House, home of the founder of the townsite—a restoration operated by the Daughters of the American Revolution, is near Newberg and about twenty-eight miles south of Portland. Its historical and geographical relation to Salem and its accessibility from the Freeway are features complementary to the project under consideration. At Champoeg Park the average yearly attendance, an estimate based on traffic count kept by the Traffic Division of the State Highway Department from 1959 to 1962, has been 97,000 day visitors and 5,000 over-night campers. Plans for developing the park as a National Historic Site are being considered.

Fort Clatsop, the site of the 1805-1806 headquarters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, is located about four and one half miles southwest of Astoria. It was originally preserved by the Oregon Historical Society and has recently been established—complete with a fort reconstruction and interpretive museum—through the National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, a National Historic Landmark.
Since 1941, the historic home of Dr. McLoughlin in Oregon City has been maintained as a National Historic Site by the National Park Service in cooperation with the McLoughlin Memorial Association and the Municipality of Oregon City. Under the sanction of Chapter 359 of Oregon Revised Statutes, communities throughout the State maintain historic operations for public benefit with support of county funds. Examples of this arrangement are the Jacksonville and Tillamook museums. Others, such as the Linn County Museum in Brownsville, are partly subsidized by county funds. Historic Fort Dalles and the Seufert Cannery Museum in The Dalles are examples of operations based on funds appropriated jointly by county and city governments.

Among historical operations in Oregon supported by admissions, private and/or corporate funds are Minthorne House, the childhood home of Herbert Hoover; the recently-restored Moyer House in Brownsville; and the Elias Keil House, principal assembly place of the Old Aurora Colony.

Salem's single historic house museum, the Asahel Bush House, is maintained by a combination of city appropriations and services and private funds, as well as paid admissions. During 1962—a year in which the State Capitol registered 67,000 visitors—an estimated 12,000 Bush House visitors provided proceeds of more than $1,800.
According to a schedule of municipal historic districts legislation as of January, 1962, which was prepared by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Portland is Oregon's only major city which provides for the preservation of character-giving and historic urban areas through zoning.

The Historic American Buildings Inventory for Oregon rated the Jason Lee House and the Methodist Parsonage (along with Willamette Post of Champoeg, the Cartwright House near Eugene, Portland's New Market Theatre, and Wolf Creek Tavern) in a class of structures of secondary importance to national history. Based on the findings of the Historic American Buildings Survey conducted in Oregon in 1934, the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings noted the original site of the Methodist Mission; the Lee House, and the parsonage. The buildings and sites were rated for their importance to national history after an exhaustive analysis according to historical theme and subtheme. With the publication of Soldier and Brave, Indian and Military Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West--Including a Guide to Historic Sites and Buildings, the National Park Service acknowledged to the public at large the role played by the evangelizing Methodists in the extension of the National boundaries to the Pacific between 1838 and 1898.
The Historical Park

The present condition of the Jason Lee House and the Methodist Parsonage would seem to justify restoration of the buildings as nearly and as consistently as possible to their common historic period—1841 to 1853. Because most of the additions of later nineteenth-century eras has already been pared away, the houses will not be expected to reflect Salem's later cultural development.

In the interest of keeping intact the desired details, assembling them in the proper order, and checking deterioration of the structural members, it was proposed that the project be given considered, but immediate attention.

The permanent siting of the buildings and the securing of protective zoning were suggested as the essential first steps. The orientation and relative placement of the houses would doubtless be determined by the physical and scenic conditions of the chosen site. While the placement could simulate the original orientations, the juxtaposition of two houses which were many city blocks apart originally would be historically inconsistent. For this reason, it was suggested that the houses be sited in such a way that they could not be misinterpreted as a unit. Of value to subsequent structural rehabilitation and restoration will be sets of plans
for the Lee House and the Parsonage restorations provided by Portland and Salem architectural firms. The estimated costs for the projects were: $30,000 for the Lee House; $25,000 for the Parsonage.

Information regarding the appearance and furnishing of the buildings is provided by mission correspondence—both official and personal—diaries, and journal accounts of visitors to the mission stations; retrospective accounts, and legal records. The final phases of restoring trim and furnishings could be taken as funds became available.

The keynote of furnishing plans will be improvisation. It is clear that the missionaries were limited in their use of furniture and decorative objects by what could be conveniently transported, the cost and availability of materials, and precious little space. Mention of wall coverings, for example, has yet to be discovered. Case pieces were basic and included bedsteads, tables, cabinets, chairs and stools. Throughout the valley, many of these forms survive the period before 1853; and many more less applicable pieces survive the period 1853-1859. Some of these were transported by, or made for, families associated with the mission. At least one known piece owned by the mission's first superintendent, Jason Lee, exists in the form of a portable walnut writing desk with brass mounts and initial plate. Examples of the work of mission cabinet maker, Lewis
Judson, are in the possession of the missionary's grandson (Plates 21-24). A maple cabinet and stand for a melodeon, made by Alvan F. Waller in Oregon City ca. 1854 for the Reverend Nehemiah Doane, is a part of the permanent collections of the Oregon Historical Society. Other period pieces—to be used as loan objects or for the purposes of documentation—are expected to come to light as the project is launched. Probate records including inventories of estate are not of as much specific help in preparing a furnishing guide as might be expected. Before the missionaries' inventories were filed, toward the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the possessions pertaining to the historic period had been lost to fire, dispersed, or taken to new homes and indistinguishably entered with later acquisitions. However, through the Sale Shop and Depot inventories of Fort Vancouver, the mission account book, bills of lading, and the mission's requisitions, it has been possible to determine which forms and materials were usual. Stoves were regular equipment, as were bedsteads, bolsters, quilts, linen, oil lamps, candlesticks, basins; tin, copper, and wooden ware; and Britannia—or modified pewter—items. Also documented are occasional pieces of crockery, a spinning wheel, loom, wood working tools, cabinet-making tools, medical instruments, and practical books relating to medicine, horticulture, and Methodism. Color and animation can be given to the exhibits by emphasis on the "making" side of life at the
mission. Gained from the documentary evidence, a concept of diet, kitchen
garden items, fabrics, and costume for missionaries and Indian children
will help to enliven the displays.
CHAPTER IX


SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is an incontrovertible irony that "Mill Place," the inspiration of an era of promise, was built and occupied briefly by the first superintendent, Jason Lee, at the very nadir of Oregon Mission fortune. The Missionary Society, while faced with mounting debt, spared little to outfit the unprecedented force which combined to make the Methodist Mission in Oregon the largest single foreign missionary enterprise in operation anywhere in the world in its day. The massive reinforcement of the mission in 1839 and 1840 was expected to galvanize the Church at large to the cause of evangelization in foreign outposts.

The period of expansion was attended by insurmountable problems. The plan for extending outreach called for additional stations to be established throughout the Columbia River basin. Of the six established, the sites of Chemeketa, Clewewalla, and Wascopam became the later settlements of Salem, Oregon City, and The Dalles. The dwindling Indian population had been inundated by immigrants attracted to the Willamette Valley for the purpose of taking up land. The missionaries were beset by illness, and had to contend, besides, with misfits in both secular and ministerial branches. To supply the widely scattered personnel and to sustain the absorbing secular activities—the farms, the mills, the store—
proved costly and caused the mission to draw on the Hudson's Bay Company and upon the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society far in excess of the estimated need. The enthusiasm which the enterprise had inspired within the Church turned to disapproval in the years of financial crisis in 1842 and 1843. Even as momentary successes in the form of spiritual revival among the Indians of the Interior and the establishment of an Indian Manual Labor Training School at Chemeketa were being realized, the Board determined to investigate the true state of the mission; Lee was re-recalled, and replaced. It fell to his successors to carry the Oregon Mission through the period of transition to Conference status, which was reached in 1853.

The liquidation of the Willamette mission station in 1844 marked the end of a missionary career for "Mill Place" and the rise of the parsonage as the premier boarding house. Many of the mission family stayed on in the Valley. They remained in the service of the Oregon Institute or the newly-organized Oregon Conference; or pursued one or another of the burgeoning economic enterprises or political opportunities. Thus, the Lee House and the parsonage evoke commitment to causes both romantic and practical which had a major part in the shaping of a new State.
On the Willamette the function of the mission changed with the ineluctable growth of the settler community. The missionaries acted on the one hand for the benefit of the Church, on the other as members of the community. Among the American element, they were the established order, and they were indispensable in the organization of the country's basic institutions. They were active in the organization of the provisional government which regulated affairs to the time when Oregon became a possession of the United States. They had founded the first literary educational institution in the region. Their various operations were sources of employment and supply to the neighboring French Canadians and other emigres as well as to the independent missionaries who instructed at the Oregon Institute.

The mission's goods and furnishings, construction materials and equipment, were acquired through the New York market, through importation of family possessions, donations, on-the-spot production, barter, and the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver. However reluctant the administration was to have the mission dependent upon the Company, the fact remained that Vancouver was the ready source on which the mission could rely in the intervals between irregularly received shipments from the East. Regular channels of supply and communication were the Hudson's Bay Company overland express and the shipping between Vancouver and the Sandwich Islands. The documented objects include tools and equipment
for farming, stock raising, milling, carpentry, cabinet-making, medical service, and domestic arts. Above all, the missionaries were induced to be resourceful. The missionary wives improvised household articles which were otherwise inaccessible. Their skill as carpenter-mechanics notwithstanding, most of the missionaries were obliged to turn a hand in construction. Their dwellings of milled lumber were essential constructions—small, two-story houses in the vernacular tradition.

The progress of the Oregon Mission was eagerly followed by the Church at large. Its activities were known by reports from the ministerial branch to the Board—reports which were published in the Notices of the Missionary Society. The letters of the secular members were forwarded by friends and families to New York to be published in the Christian Advocate and Journal. The early foothold the Methodists gained for American claims to the area was appreciated by secular observers, for the activities of the mission reached a wide audience through the published reports and journals of missionary and government explorers. In this prolific literature—both published and unpublished—is contained a vast record of cultural history and technology from the time the region was a foreign missionary field to the time of its acquisition as a territory of the United States.

"Mill Place" is undergoing development in the projected Thomas
Kay Historical Park at the date of this writing. This utilization of the Jason Lee House is appropriate and timely, for, with the complementary Parsonage, it is a last vestige of the missionary enterprise which proved so important to the orderly settlement of the old Oregon Country by United States citizens. The missionary period is yet to be interpreted through permanent exhibits in the State Capital. It is a needed part of the public view of continuing development in the Willamette Valley.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The career of Jason Lee as administrator of the Oregon Mission has been thoroughly discussed by church and secular historians. Of the several major studies, Cornelius J. Brosnan's biography of Lee and Wade Crawford Barclay's history of early American Methodism are basic. A later, official, three-volume history of The Methodist Church in America, compiled under the general editorship of Emory Stevens Bucke, is useful for an integrated view of mission activity and other formal developments. A recent, and most applicable, re-evaluation is provided by Robert James Decker's Doctoral dissertation, "Jason Lee, Missionary to Oregon". The significance of the Indiana University thesis completed by Mr. Decker in 1961 is its presentation of evidence culled from Oregon Mission correspondence.

The Oregon Mission period is rich in first hand accounts—letters, diaries, and reminiscences of the missionaries. Most of these manuscripts are to be found in collections of the Washington Historical Society and the University of Puget Sound, both located in Tacoma, Washington. Other major repositories are the Willamette University Library and the Oregon State Archives, Salem, Oregon; The University of Oregon Library, Eugene; the Oregon Historical Society, Portland; and the Bancroft Memorial Library of the University of California, Berkeley, California. The official records surviving the Mission period
are found at the Library of the Board of Foreign Missions of The Methodist Church, New York City. Among the Library's holdings are the Minutes of the Oregon Committee of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society; the Annual Reports of the Missionary Society; and a complete run of the influential Church organ—The Christian Advocate and Journal. It was between 1833 and 1866 that the paper published in New York by T. Mason and G. Lane for The Methodist Church was titled: Christian Advocate and Journal. Its editors were S. Luckey and G. Coles.
MISSION HISTORY

A. PRIMARY RECORDS AND MANUSCRIPTS


Brewer, Henry Bridgman, and Brewer, Laura L., correspondence in the Oregon country from 1840. Ms, Northwest History Collection Willamette University Library, Salem Oregon. Includes many useful intramission communications.

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Lee, Jason, Copy of Statement made before the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in defense of his administration of the Oregon Mission. July 1 to July 14, 1844. Ms, Collections of the Oregon Historical Society. Photocopy, Willamette University Library.


Mission Account Book, 1838-1840. Ms, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon. This 8 x 11 inch leather-bound day book was started by Alanson Beers in April, 1838. On his arrival in June, 1840, Mission steward, George Abernathy, assumed charge of the book.


Oregon Mission Correspondence, Mss, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. Available on microfilm. 2 Rolls, Willamette University Library, Salem, Oregon. In 1912, records and correspondence of the Oregon Mission were transferred from the archives of the New York Board of Foreign Missions of The Methodist Church to the Board of Home Missions in Philadelphia. In 1956, this most comprehensive collection of letters, reports, and journals was microfilmed. The original manuscripts were salvaged and presented to the University of Puget Sound in 1959 (then College of Puget Sound).

Raymond, Elmira David, letters 1840-1845. Mss, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon.


B. PRIMARY PUBLISHED WORKS


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Hines, Gustavus, Wild Life in Oregon, being a stirring recital of actual scenes of daring and peril among the gigantic forests and terrific rapids of the Columbia River (the Mississippi of the Pacific Slope), and giving live-like pictures of terrific encounters with savages as fierce and relentless as its mighty tides, including a full, fair and reliable history of the State of Oregon, its crops, minerals, timber lands, soil, fisheries, its present greatness and future vast capabilities, and paramount position by Gustavus Hines, the fearless explorer of the Northern Pacific Coast (New York: Worthington Company, 1887), "Franklin Edition." First edition (New York: Hurst and Son, 1881). This is a later version of A Voyage Around the World... (Buffalo: George H. Derby and Company, 1850).


C. SECONDARY SOURCES - BOOKS


Gatke, Robert Moulton, Chronicles of Willamette: The Pioneer University of the West (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1943).


D. SECONDARY SOURCES - ARTICLES

Carey, Charles H., ed., "Diary of Rev. George Gary," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXIV, No. 1 (March, 1923), 68-105; No. 2 (June 1923), 152-185; No. 3 (September 1923), 269-333, 386-433.


Carey, Charles H., "The Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, North America, Commenced 1834," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXIII (1922), 230-266.

The document is "A Statement of Facts. In Relation to the Oregon Mission as extracted from the Journal of the Board for the use of the Agent of the Board to the Mission, 1839 - 1843."


RESTORATION AND SITE DEVELOPMENT

A. BOOKS


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B. ARTICLES


Jason Lee to Rev. N. Bangs, D.D.
October 6, 1835
Oregon Mission Correspondence,
University of Puget Sound

APPENDIX I

I here submit to the judgment of the Board a list of articles
which we think will be subservient to the Mission. A loom with all the
accompanying apparatus for making cloth, such as, Harness, Sleys,
shuttles, a foot Wheel, a large spinning wheel, a supply of Patent wheel
Heads, and Cards &c.
Some s/ff/rong stuff for Bags
Some checked and printed cotton
2 Doz Pocket Knives one large blade
1 Do " two large blades
1 Doz. or more good wire sieves
10 lbs. Best Linen Sewing Thread half flax color
1 Large Box bar soap
1 Ream cartridge Paper
1 Large bake Kettle
1 Pice of good Flag Silk Handkerchiefs
Gingham for "-Do
Good s/ff/rong cheap wearing Apparel all sorts and sizes
and as much as you please

J Lee

[cover page]

J. Lee
Oct 6, 1835
June 12 1836
To be read in part

Rev.
N. Bangs D.D.
New York City
200 Mulberry St.
Politeness
Capt Lambert
Brig May Dacre
S. G. White, Corresponding Secretary
for the Female Union Missionary Society,
to Rev. N. Bangs, Philadelphia, June 13,
1836. Oregon Mission Correspondence,
University of Puget Sound

APPENDIX II

Phila. June 13th, 1836

Revd N. Bangs,

The Managers of the Female Union Missionary Society &c. have transmitted per the brig Sylph (to Boston) two boxes of clothing to be sent to the Flat Head Miss by the ship Hamilton. The boxes contain the following items Viz. 205 garments made up 12 cotton hds. 3 pair blankets 3 do sheets 3 do pillow ticks - books and needless value 150 dollars. - Wishing you Revd sir great success in the Miss cause we remain

Respectfully-
S. G. White Cor Sec.
for the
F U. Miss. Soc. &c
APPENDIX III

Inventory of articles purchased for the Oregon Mission July-1836.

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in & with Er Spaulding 
To goods purchased by & drafts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Paid July 1836</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crockery as per bill No. 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>I Mill</td>
<td>$54.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Hollow Ware</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>D. Bates</td>
<td>22.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Soap</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>E. As W Winchester</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tin &amp; Copper Ware</td>
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<td>J. Martin</td>
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$1,284.80 carried over

$1,284.80
APPENDIX III - CON'T

Waggon or Truck Harness 31. Kelley & Clark " 41.62
Ploughs &c " " " " 32. J. R. Newell " 31.83
Waggon Ro " " " " 33. D. Emerson " 7.00
Surgical Instruments " 34. Sam'l N Brewer & Brothers 8.73
Britania Tea Pots " " " 35. Thos. A. Davis " 2.50
Repacking goods &c " " " 36. W. H. Willson " 3.19
Writing Quills " " " 37. F. W. Baker " 1.38
Fixtures for grindstones " " " 38. A Beers " 2.20
Books for Mission " " " 39. D K. Eld " 204.39
Board of Missionaries " " " 40. M. Daggett " 202.00
Premium on Insurance " " " 41. In Policy " 64.00
Premium on Draft $2000 1/4 pc " 42. E. P. Dana " 5.00
Boots " " " " 43. W. K. Boardman " 11.00
Freight & Passage of
Missionaries 43. W. K. Boardman " $2,603.28
Missionary " " " Mission 44. E. Hedding " 62.50
Bill of Postage & Sundries 45. R Spaulding " 27.32
Freight & Cartage of Books 46. D. K. Eld " 28.50
Premium on Draft 2, 500$ 47.85

$4,786.48

The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in
account with
R. Spaulding
Cr
By money received of Wm. C. Brown - being the amount collected
at at my request a missionary meeting in Bromfield St Church
July 10/36 $ 107.00
By Draft on Treasurer of Miss. Society M.E. C. 7/17/uly "2,000.00
By Do " " " Aug 10 "2,600.00
$4,707.00

By Money collected in Centre Mass. for the Book
concern " 47.85
A donation from myself for same purpose " 25.00
$4,779.85

$4,786.48
4 $80 85
6.83 Remaining in my hands subject to your order
25
Due 6.88

Boston Aug 11/36

R. Spaulding /
APPENDIX IV

Articles of Clothing &c sent to the Oregon Mission July 1/3 6-

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<td>22 Dresses</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 Dresses</td>
<td>3 Dresses</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 Pair Pillow Cases</td>
<td>6 Jackets</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 Jackets</td>
<td>1 Table cloth</td>
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<td>8 Pants</td>
<td>3 pair pants</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Men Caps</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 pieces cotton cloth</td>
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<td>1 Apron</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Doz Suspenders</td>
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<td>1 pair Hose</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Pieces cotton Hh. kfs</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair Shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Hkf</td>
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<td>1 Inkstand</td>
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<td>23 Shirts</td>
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<td>1 Cape</td>
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<tr>
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<td>20 Pairs</td>
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<td>10 Pants</td>
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<td>4 Vests</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Jackets</td>
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<td>23 Pants</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>3 Shirts</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Aprons</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Capes</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Remnants Cotton Cloth</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Pairs of Pillow Cases</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Remnants Cotton Cloth</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Pairs Pillow Cases</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jacket</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Skirt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box No 20</td>
<td>Box No 23 from Baltimore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pairs Hose</td>
<td>2 Do Calico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pants</td>
<td>1 / / linen Thread</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Blankets</td>
<td>1 Doz N. Websters Spelling Book</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dresses</td>
<td>10 Testaments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Vest</td>
<td>14 Old school Books</td>
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<td>3 Cloaks</td>
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<td>4 Slates</td>
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<td>1 pair Shoes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 C / / Hkfs</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1 Jacket</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Paper of pins</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sheets</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Remnant Calico</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Do cotton cloth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Apron</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Lot of Yarn</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box no 21</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>17 Dresses</td>
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<td>4 Pants</td>
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<td>5 Jakets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 21 continued</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Cloaks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Skirts</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Towels</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pairs of Hose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pairs mittens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aprons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Hkfs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pairs pillow cases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bedspreads</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Box no 22 from Clyde N. Y.
9 Shirts
1 pr Hose
4 Rem'ts cotton cloth
Bill of Lading for goods shipped at Sandwich Islands for Missionaries from Oregon

Shipped in good order and condition, by Elijah White on board the good Brig called the Diana whereof is Master, for this present voyage, Wm. S. Hinckley now lying in the Port of Honolulu and bound for Columbia River To say:

being marked and number as in the margin, and are to be delivered in like good order, and condition, at the aforesaid Port at Fort Vancouver or at suitable landing on Willamette (the danger of the Seas only excepted;) unto Dr. Elijah White or to his Assigns, he or they paying Freight for the said Goods Nothing. freight having been paid in full at Honolulu Sandwich Islands with out Primage and Average accustomed... IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Master of the said vessel hath affirmed to Three Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and date; one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void,

Dated at Honolulu Ap. 7th, 1837

William S. Hinckley

Fifty nine Boxes, Eighteen Casks, and bundles including seven Cot Bedsteads at one bundle, Five Barrels three Casks, two hlf Barrels, Fifteen Kegs, twelve of which are nails, two anvils, two chains, one crowbar, seventy two bars of Iron, twenty two bundles of Iron one bundle of blistered steel, one case cast steel one smiths bellows, two ploughs with extra points one set of four waggon wheels with two adetrees and mk / salt smiths vice, one spinning wheel, two rims Two /tuns/ coals, one ask & /family/ salt, One oil cask, sixty sacks salt. one Saw Mill Crank, one anchor shank one Box Tin one /bb/ Rosin one /l/ oil one Keg Vinegar one Half Ed Pork

Seven Boxes, two Cases and one Keg Four Boxes, One Box, One Box, One Box, and als. all other things which may be found on board belonging unto the said Mission.
APPENDIX VI

Bill of articles for Alanson Beers

Dr. To 1 box goods Kissam & Co $59.42
    " Loom O. Beers 15.50
    " Wheels & reel A. Beers 10.75
    " Axes G. W. Bradley 108.00
    " Blacksmith tools 14.00
    " Furkin flaxseed L. Johnson 1.25
    " Boxes J. Johnson 4.50
    " Cartage J. Whitehead 2.70
    " Freight 3.00 Dollars & Cartage 1.87 4.87
    " passage self and family 4.00
    " paid B. Beers Carting Loom 1.00

Cr 250.00

Bill of articles for Alanson Beers.

Bill of Cloathing $-----
Cloths P. Adams 76.79
Tailor H. Hubbell 53.06
Cloths for wife and children 17.87
To making 2.25
1 Doz suspenders and 1 shirt $209.66
pair boots pair pumps 6.75 6.75

$216.41
Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX VII

Oregon

Walamet March 4th 1838

Rev and Dear Sir

I take this opportunity to trouble you with a few lines. Enclosed I send you a draft on our Missionary Board for two hundred dollars which you will please to apply as directed below and confer a great favour on your unworthy brother in the Oregon [country].

****

...purchase and send by my the first opportunity Benson's Commentary. The Encyclopedia of religious Knowledge. Mosheim's Encl. history. Noah Webster's large Dictionary, Encyclopedia Americana latest edition. And a select Sunday School library [sic] for my Children. And the balance [sic] appropriate to the Book Concern after paying every expense and oblige yours Respectfully -

Alanson Beers

Re. Doc. N. Bangs
New York
$200 dft of Jason Lee 14 March 1838

[cover page]
This has been attended to--
Books purchased & sent
Entries from Ewing Young's Day Book,
From December 1, 1838, to January, 1841.
Provisional Government Documents,

APPENDIX VIII

Feb. 25 1839
To paid Doctor White 50.00
To Order to Fort Vancouver 24.50
April 4 Alanson Beers Dr.
To 1000 feet of Inch Boards 12.50
To Walling
June 20th
Alanson Beers Cr.
By amount of his account paid by Mission $12.50
April 4th 1839 Doctor White Dr.
To 277 feet of Weather Boards
To 1020 do do 40 boards
To 234 feet 2 Inch Plank at $2 per Hundred 4.68
" 320 feet of weather Boards
Weather Boards Total 1617 17.78
450 of inch do 1/4 at 13.50 pr Thousand 6.07
225 of Inch do at 16 Dollars thousand 3.50
175 of Inch Boards 13 thous 2.27
To 475 feet of Inch Boards at 12 1/2 5.94
paid by Mission

August 1839

June 1840/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Dr.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Leslie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inch plank &amp; scantling</td>
<td>22.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settled by credit on Mission book</td>
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August 12 /1840/

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Dr.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inch brd., walling etc.</td>
<td>13.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settled by credit on mission book</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 16, 1840</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>September 1840</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX IX

1 cloth brush shoe brushes
1/2 Dozen Mill saw files
200 ¼ Inch Nails
10 pound 3 do
5 Two Inch do
1 pound pepper
1 skin
10 yards Bed Ticking & Duck
3 3 point Blankets
16 yards of cotton shirting
1 Brass Handle Knife
3 pair of coarse shoes
2 pair stockings
2 cotton shawls 1 Hair comb
4 Yds [sail] cloth
12 yards Calico
2 flannel shirts Fine
4 door locks
12 lights of window glass
1/2 Dozen glass Tumblers
10 pounds Tobacco
1 Loaf Sugar 1 pound Tea
1 tooth brush
1/2 Dozen pipes
2 gallons Lamp oil
APPENDIX X-A

A Beers
32 Yds Cotton 6.40
19 3/4 Yds gingham 4.94
4 pairs of shoes 8.00
6 large Tumblers 1.00
11 cups & saucers 1.83
1 Bear skin 1.00
\[\frac{23}{1/2}\] 23 1/2
\[\frac{23}{1/2}\] 23.17

Robert Newel
50 lbs sugar 5.50

T. J. Hubbard
51 1/2 lbs sugar

L. H. Judson
1 shoes 2.00
\[\frac{}{23}\] 23 1/4 Yd cotton

Wm H Willson
32 Yds cotton

Charles Roe
31 1/2 yd. cotton
1 pr Boots
3 yds calico
1 pocket knife

James Baker
3 cups & saucers
1 Bottle [pickle?] 1
sauce pan

J Meek  Cr  3.00
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Alanson Beers</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20</td>
<td>To an order on the H.H.B. Co</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7</td>
<td>To 7 Yds calico -30</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Yd do -25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 HdKerchief</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Dress</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair shoes</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 21</td>
<td>Transfer from W. Hawkshurst</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 13, 1839</td>
<td>To articles from mission store</td>
<td>29.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer to Wm Johnson</td>
<td>10.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair Boots</td>
<td>3.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan 13, 1840</td>
<td>To articles</td>
<td>7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 25</td>
<td>To an order in $7 of Hubbard</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Charles Roe</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 10</td>
<td>T 4 lbs wrought nails</td>
<td>Cr 2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By 1 large beaver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 20, 1839</td>
<td>To 1 pair Boots</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pair socks</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Bed Quilt</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer to G Gay</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To Orders in favor of Mr. Bailey</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 17, 1840</td>
<td>To article deliver to G. Gay</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 10</td>
<td>Articles from mission store</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Eken Lucea [Etienne Lucie]</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2</td>
<td>To Blacksmith work</td>
<td>$6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do an ord. on H H B Co</td>
<td>23.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 11</td>
<td>Trans Blacksmith</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>36.00</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec 1, 1839</td>
<td>To an order from F Hathaway</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do on</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>July 2</td>
<td>per fifty bushels of wheat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb 11</td>
<td>By D Leslie</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bringing goods from the falls</td>
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### APPENDIX X-C

<table>
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<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>W. H. Willson</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15</td>
<td>To 1 pair shoes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 13</td>
<td>To an order in favor of Capt Sutter</td>
<td>40.00</td>
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<td>To an order in favor of Capt Sutter</td>
<td>34.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec 5</td>
<td>To 12 yards cotton</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 5, 1839</td>
<td>7 1/2 yards fustian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair boots</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26, 1840</td>
<td>To sundries from store</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Danid Lee</td>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 21</td>
<td>B[_]/W. Hawkshurst</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Felix Hathway (\text{sic})</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer from Mr. Lee's book</td>
<td>3.60</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Blacksmith's Book</td>
<td>64.79</td>
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<td></td>
<td>from mission store</td>
<td>3.05</td>
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<td></td>
<td>from D Leslie's Book</td>
<td>6.10</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>77.54</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Felix Hathway</td>
<td>Cr</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To account against the mission &amp;</td>
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<td>transfer by in (\text{individ}u)(\text{al})</td>
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<td>members of the mission</td>
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<td>120 lights cash</td>
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<td>Balance due</td>
<td>.96</td>
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<td>1838</td>
<td>Cyrus Shepard</td>
<td>Dr</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 10</td>
<td>To an order in favor of La</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 13, 1839</td>
<td>To sundry articles from mission</td>
<td>5.81</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>store</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To 1 pair blankets</td>
<td>3.75</td>
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### APPENDIX X-D Mission Account Book

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>W. J. Haughurst</td>
<td>Dr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 25</td>
<td>To an order in favor of H. Wood</td>
<td>$ 7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21</td>
<td>To an order on the H. H. E. Co for</td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>To an order on the H. H. E. Co in favor of John Howard</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1</td>
<td>To an order on the H. H. E. Co.</td>
<td>23.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 14</td>
<td>To an order in favor of G. Winslow</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 21</td>
<td>1 silk H. chief</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Bear skin</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Elk skin</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 oil stove</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Due</strong></td>
<td><strong>83.64</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>do Credit</strong></td>
<td><strong>43.00</strong></td>
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<td>Nov 8</td>
<td>Settled by transfer to Shepard &amp; Whitcomb</td>
<td>55.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 20, 1839</td>
<td>To Blacksmith work</td>
<td>15.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 10</td>
<td>To sundries from mission store</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 3rd 1840</td>
<td>To articles store</td>
<td>7.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 4</td>
<td>To Articles store</td>
<td>1.20</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer to Mr. Tuton</td>
<td>4.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>18.15</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

| 1838     | W. J. Haughurst                                                             | Cr      |
| Sept 21  | 1 saddle repaired for J Lee                                                 | 6.00    |
|          | 1 saddle for Wm E.                                                         | 4.00    |
|          | 1 saddle for D. Leslie                                                     | 10.00   |
|          | 1 chair per A Beers                                                        | 2.00    |
|          | 1 saddle pr D Lee                                                          | 8.00    |
|          | For the mission                                                            |         |
|          | 3 cradles                                                                 | 6.00    |
|          | 8 Rakes                                                                    | 4.00    |
|          | 1 Ox Yoke                                                                  | 1.00    |
|          | 2 fans (? fans?)                                                           | 2.00    |
|          | **43.00**                                                                  |         |
| Nov 8    | By Staple & Ring                                                            | 2.50    |
|          | By Transfer to Shepard & Whitcomb                                           | 12.55   |
|          | **15.05**                                                                  |         |

****
<table>
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<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Elijah White</td>
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</tr>
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<td>May 6th</td>
<td>To an order in favor of T. J Hubbard</td>
<td>$23.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7</td>
<td>To 4 yards calico</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Hckerchief</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 shirt</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<td>3 pair of socks</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Vest</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair stockings</td>
<td>.67</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4 yards of cotton</td>
<td>.72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 20</td>
<td>To 11 yards of yard wide cotton</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 6 yards of 3/4 cotton</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 13, 1839</td>
<td>Transfer C Rondeau</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To sundry articles from mission store</td>
<td>30.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>E. White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 15</td>
<td>By transfer from Capt Young</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To transfer by D Leslie</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Charles Rondeau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6th</td>
<td>To order on the H. H. B. Co</td>
<td>13.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6, 1840</td>
<td>Six Dollars pr Doc White</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Charles Rondeau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6</td>
<td>4 1/2 days labor</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Error in credit for potatoes</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Charles Plante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 13</td>
<td>To an ord. H B Co</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Charles Plante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 13</td>
<td>By 25 bushels oats</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By 3 days work last year on Dr. White's house</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 7th</td>
<td>To an order in favour of T. J. Hubbard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>To an order in favour of La Deroot [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th</td>
<td>To an order in favour of Mr Plant [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1</td>
<td>To 107 lbs sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 yards calico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pairs socks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Handkerchiefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Dress [sic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 pair childrens shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair suspenders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 13</td>
<td>Transfer from W Hawkshurst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To an order in favour of Capt Sutter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>one peck Salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 yards cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 1 pair boots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 23</td>
<td>1/2 bushel salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 10, 1839</td>
<td>2 pair mens hose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 do womans do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 do childrens do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 lbs Arrow Root</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 lbs tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 do Salaratus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 do black Tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/4 do cloves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 do Arrow Root</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Bed quilts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 sheets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 pair part worn pillow cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 part worn Towels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair woollen sheets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair velvet pants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 13</td>
<td>6 1/4 yards Red Flannel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 1/2 do Calico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/4 do velvet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair of leggings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 gall Lamp oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX X-F - CON'T

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb 8</td>
<td>To 7 yards calico</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 3/4 lbs ginger</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3/4 do pepper</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 do coffee</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Transfer to Lucia /Lucier/</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transfer La Desert</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2</td>
<td>Transfer per E White</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 13</td>
<td>Transfer to C Rondeau</td>
<td>1.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec 5</td>
<td>To articles from the mission store</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do do do</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 woolen shirt</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pair childrens shoes</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 13, 1840</td>
<td>2 gall Lamp oil</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 cakes soap</td>
<td>.37 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 knots of yarn</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Needles &amp; pins</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3rd</td>
<td>1 gall Lamp oil</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20</td>
<td>To order Wiggins</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1st</td>
<td>3 lbs ginger</td>
<td>.37 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2nd</td>
<td>Articles from store</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 pr shoes</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/2 gall lamp oil</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 24 lbs cut nails</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 4 do  do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 lb Black tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 do Yellow soap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Tin kettle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct 13</td>
<td>By transfer to J. L. Whitcomb</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By transfer from Calvin Tibbits</td>
<td>15.00</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec</td>
<td>To one small Bed quilt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 large  do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 2 pair of cotton sheets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 2 pair of cotton pillow cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 10 yards cotton</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 16</td>
<td>To 8 lbs sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To 1 &quot; black tea</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct 28</td>
<td>15 yrs cotton</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 10</td>
<td>T 1 pair shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 20</td>
<td>To 21 days work salting salmon</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 days to Vancouver</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 8, 1840</td>
<td>2 days himself &amp; horse</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Capt [Ellis]/Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 10</td>
<td>By transfer to E. White</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 21, 1839</td>
<td>Transfer from Blacksmith Book Ballance</td>
<td>46.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subscription for Kallapooah</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T more work form Blacksmith's shop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for Sawmill provisions to 2nd Sept 1833</td>
<td>50.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 20</td>
<td>To sundry articles</td>
<td>9.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2 Bus [Ellis]'</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 17, 1840</td>
<td>To an order on the H. H. B. Co</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>219.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>[Ellis]'/ Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 10</td>
<td>By one large kettle</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 21, 1839</td>
<td>By Mr. Lee's Book</td>
<td>41.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By Lumber delivered to E. White</td>
<td>40.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Mr. Billec [Billique']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2</td>
<td>bought sewing silk</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; subscription</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transferred [sic] from Book No. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w/ Cr. One large Beaver</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Wm Turner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 17</td>
<td>To arts. M. Str</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 10</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>T 1 coat</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15</td>
<td>1 vest</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Wm Turner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 10th</td>
<td>To 6 days work marking cattle</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX XI

****

...Will you & the Brethren pack my things in good Barrels so that the
écrokerý will not get broken as none of the kind can be purchased here.
By Boots & Bedcords are in a Box over our Room. I have some tool
leather over Br Lee's Room... my saw is behind the chimney stoves.
I will leave the extra tea-kettle... I shall use my influence for a
mechanick /to be sent you immediately. I think Br Carter will go
soon – all is hurry and trouble here.

****

Nancy Babcock (Mrs. Ira L. Babcock)
to Laura Lucretia Brewer (Mrs. Henry
B. Brewer), Wascopam. /early fall,
1840/ Northwest Collection, Willamette
University Library

****

P.S. ...I want you should empty those dishes that have lard in /them/. Salaratus give to Mrs. Lee. It is some that I took out to hers. Sugar
and flour keep that is in a sack and pan. The sack belongs to mission.
A tin pail in the cellar you may empty of soap grease /sic/. The creamer
and lampfiller you had better take as I have not paid you for them. The
keys of the trunks you will find in the trunk under the bed. You will fill
them full and tie them with cord. Those baskets belong to mission.
My carpet is rolled up in mats under the birth /sic/. I wish you would
have it put in some cask that it may not get wet. There is a number of
things left on the logs behind the mats; that corn you may keep...
Ira L. Babcock to H. B. Breuer,
Received at "La Dalls," October 12, 1840.
Dated at Willamette, October, 1840.
Northwest Collection, Willamette
University Library

APPENDIX XI

****

...Our things are much damaged by getting wet, but they were packed exceedingly well - much better than I should have done myself I think - for which I offer you all my sincere thanks. ...Br D Lee will be satisfied when he sees Br Perkins that I did not address him fully on the removal of my goods. Had the stoves been retained as I expected, the 2 canoes would have brought all the rest - but I blame no one.

****

My horses I need very much. I wish them sent immediately at my own expense. I had rather pay twenty dollars than that they should stay. The Am Horse is my only / for wood. Please send them without delay. The salts I will send by Br Lee. I find 2 shirt patterns & 2 ollars belong[ing] to your mission which I will send back.

****

Nancy Babcock to Mrs. H. B. Breuer,
Received at "La Dalls," October 12, 1840.
Dated at Willamette, September /, 1840.
Northwest Collection, Willamette
University Library

****

...disappointed that Bro. Perkins' illness prevented him from forwarding the letters - consequently we have not received all our things which we need very much as we can get nothing here without a great deal of trouble. We thought that if the stoves were left two canoes would bring the rest. My chairs and groceries I wish you to keep in your charge until we can send for them. ...take the chairs in your possession - I don't want them broken...

****
Maria T. Ware Lee (Mrs. Daniel Lee) to Laura Brewer at "Waskopam", Dated November 20, 1840. Northwest Collection, Willamette University Library, Salem, Oregon.

APPENDIX XIII

...By not being at Wasco this winter I shall deprive myself of preparing many things for my comfort another season, some of which if you will prepare for me you will do me a great favour. I want a few sausages dried in skins for spring & summer. By seasoning them well and letting them hang to dry until the weather becomes somewhat warm and put them in brine they may be reserved until the middle of summer. I hope also you will have an eye to my dried beef, the tongue of which I put in the barrell. If you would soak and dry I should be very glad.

I have tried to get some things for you out of the Mission, but can find no combs. Mortars somewhere but not here. I have spoken for one for you and myself. Nothing for strainers. I have some coarse thin cotton in a bag behind the door in my chamber which you can take one from if you please.

****

I send sister Perkins some ribbon enclosed in this.
grooving planes, varied sizes
grooving & hollowing plane irons
3/4 doz Bead Plane Irons
socket gouges
shell augers - screw augers
140 Sharp Nails
10d Clasp ”
6d Shingling ”
Carpenters Adzes 9
Indian Awls
Marking Brushes 1 1/12 doz.
Large paint Brushes 2 5/12 doz.
hand vices 8
Bench Vices 2 167 lbs
Brass weights
collar wire, snaring wire
ox chains, trace chains
Stove, Iron Wire - sev, weights
Sheets Flour machine wire
paring chisels, socket chisels
Files, Flat, half-round, rasps
saws - cross cut & pit, hand
cut chalk
Hinges, locks, scrap & hammered iron
7 prs Carpenters Pincers
carpenters Jointer
brass locks
screws, nails, rivets
small sash saws
carpenters fold foot rules
mill saws
key hole & tenon saws, turning saws
Window panes, 7 x 9, 1571
  7 1/2 x 3 1/2, 602
glaziers putty
soft lead
paint - Black, Blue, Green, White,
  Spanish Brown, & Yellow
Linseed oil
Glue 22 lbs
D S M. Liquid Blacking
  " Paste "
Timans Solder 18 1/2 lbs
Cut Crowley Steel
Looking glasses (P. C.) 80 Doz.
  "  " 109 Doz
  "  " metal frame 82 1/2 Do.
  "  " mahogany 12 x 9 5 Doz
  8 x 6 6 1/4
E’dware Wash hand Basins
  "  " deep Tin basins 46
metal & cast iron pots of varied kind
Brita Metal Table Spoons 1/4 doz.
  "  " Tea Spoons 1 7/12 "
Wax candles 13 lbs
Brass camp candlesticks 5 prs
Iron tinned Table Spoons 89 5/5 doz.
Plated Steel  "  " 5 doz
Britania Metal  "  " 17 3/4 doz.
  "  " Dessert 4 doz.
  "  " Tea 21 3/4 
Oval polished fire Steels 96 1/12 doz.
1 Single Canada Stove 30 in
  mould candles
E’dware cups & saucers, plates
40 cane bottom chairs
28 Tons Tanfield Moor Coals
7 1/2 Doz. Ware Dishes, ware jugs
Crucibles - varied sizes
Dutch camp ovens - varied sizes
kettles-wrought iron, tin, copper, b.
ivory handled table knives & forks
24 pewter candle moulds - 6 casts ea

APPENDIX XIV-A

Carpenters' tools, household equipment,
Furnishings, building materials, and
Machine parts selected and abstracted from
the Fort Vancouver Sale Shop Inventory
and Depot Inventory for 1840-1841.
Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, London,
England. Courtesy of the Governor and
Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.
APPENDIX XIV - A

continued

Turkey Oil Stoves 5 3/4 lbs
Grindstones 3 42"
  2 36"
  17 19"
  4 19" Smooth Grit
Hay Scythes 40" 2 11/12 doz.
Spades, shovels
Blacksmith Anvils 4
Spring Barrel Steelyards 28 lbs 4
Scythe stones, magstones
Reaping sickles
APPENDIX XV

To the Cor. Sec. of the Miss. Soc. of the M. E. C.
200 Mulberry St., New York

Willamette 11. Nov. 1841

Dear Sir,

By request of Br Jason Lee I write by the present opportunity, he wishes forwarded by the first conveyance the following articles for a shingle mill

Four circular Saws- 2 of them 28 Inches diameter
& 2 of them 30 " "

Two Axles for said Saws three feet in length made of 1 3/4 inch square bar, with collars to hold the saw, one firmly welded to the axle, the other attached to the axle by a screw all well turned and fitted - three bearings to each axle, one near to the collar just within it, another at the opposite end of the axle, the third at 12 inches from the last mentioned end.

****

Your obd servant
Geo. Abernethy
Miss. Steward
Oregon Mission Correspondence.
George Abernethy, Mission Steward,
To Nathan Bangs, D.D., Corresponding
Secretary of the Board of Managers of
The Missionary Society of the Methodist
Episcopal Church.

APPENDIX XVI
Willamette 11 March 1842

Dear Brother

By request of Brother Judson and sanction of the Superintendent, I write for the following articles - Two Brushes for oil Paint assorted from largest to smallest size - 6 turning saws assorted from 2 feet 6 inches long and 3/4 inch in width to 1 foot 6 inches long and 3/8 of an inch wide - Two marble tables for grinding oil paints and two millers to accompany them - 2 keyhole saws - 1 Piece Turkey Oil Stove - Pr 1/2 Inch match pans - 50 lbs Gum Shellack - 2 lbs Gum Benzoin - 2 Gallons Alcohol proof at least 90 - 20 lbs Red Lead - 10 lbs Brown Umber - 6 lbs litharge - 25 lbs white lead - 1/2 Ream of best ground glass sand paper coarse & fine - 1 malleable cast iron vice (patent) weight 20 lbs - 6 Camels Hair pencils for ornamenting cabinetware assorted sizes from 1 inch to 3 inches - please forward them to the Islands care of Messrs Ladd & Co Cahu - if there should be no opportunity to send them direct -

****

N. B. Br Judson desires 84 Gallons Linseed Oil sent -
Bill of Lading for medicines and supplies
for Hamilton Campbell, Dr. Ira L.
Babcock to George Abernethy, Mission
Steward, March 28, 1842.

Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XVII

Campbell - blk. cotton velvet
    ribbon & stout Blk cord, etc. for school needs
lining muslin (suitable for Book muslin, fine)
1 Gross Coffin Screws

Camphor
Calomel
4 Gallons Castor Oil
1 Gross of assorted beals
1 Gross Corks
1 doz Thumb Lancets
1 Set of 1 2/1
List of goods sent by
George Abernathy, Mission Steward,
to Henry Bridgman Brewer at The Dalles,
Dated at Fort Vancouver, March 15,
1843. Northwest Collection, Willamette
University Library.

APPENDIX XVIII

From the Fort Van.
Mar. 15, 1843
to Mr. Brewer Wascopam

2 com[mon] cloth Capot[s] or carpets 4 Ells
6 " cotton shirts
4 " cloth Vest
2 prs cord Trousers
2 plain Blankets 3 prBB
6 com cotton Hdkfs
6 large square hd Axe

a Bundle f Mr D Lee
a " f Mr Brewer
" f Mr Perkins
5 com cotton chirts
4 plain Blankets 3 f BB
1 loaf sugar f Mr Brewer
1 tin Kettle N4
Conty 10 lb Powder f Mr Brewer

APPENDIX XIX

****

I have written Dr McLoughlin to send you a Ca /\-\ pet /\-or capote/ and 8 yds Calico. Also 10 bushels seed wheat. I have wheat here which I have kept for you and which I will send to the Fort in place of it.

Mr. Waldo promises to take up your Molasses - Shovels I sent you before, all I had then. Will be some in soon. Mr Willson's vessel is expected next month.

I have Quilts &c. Mr. Perkins had better bring down a pretty good sized Canoe and I will send a lot of goods of different kinds - there is a pitt saw which a person wants to return. I will try to get it for you - I will send a 1/2 ream of letter paper and charge half to you and if I can get some quills I will send them - How much will you at the Dalls subscribe towards the Printing press /\-?\-?/. The shares are $10 each. Some take 1 and from that to 5 shares. Each share a vote. The carriers of this can give you all the news.
Alanson Beers to Henry B. Brewer,
Received at Wascopam, April 2, 1844.
Northwest Collection, Willamette
University Library

APPENDIX XX

Miss Farm March 16th 1844

Mr Brewer

Sir Please to deliver the Waggon Mr Cane left in your care to
Mr Walldo. He will give you Mr Cane's order for it. If Bro Abernethy
has not lost it. I sent it down to him by mistake; if it cannot be found
you will send it by him and I will be your security. Mr Cane says the
bed and Bolsters was put in the building you occupy [sic] for meeting
with the Indians.

Yours in hast [sic]

A. Beers
The Reverend George Gary, Superintendent, to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, dated at Willamette Falls, March 22, 1845.

Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXI

...if you can forward from donation goods, or even if you can purchase and forward to this mission for the benefit of the four families connected with the mission, any articles like the following, and charge the same to Oregon mission, it will be altogether better than money. 4 Pieces of shirting, cotton. 2 Pieces of sheeting. 4 Pieces of calico, 1 Piece of cotton Handkerchief, (this is wanted very much to pay Indians at portages) any number of men's and women's shirts will come well (they are good pay for the Indians). 40 yards of woolen cloth, say half of it kerseymere of firm sattinet. Socks or stockings are good. Some shoes and boots for these families. A little crockery, say plates, tea cups & saucers, and such dishes as may be needed for a family, all of a common kind; I believe one of our mission families has not a teacup, nor scarcely an article of crockery, and they are not to be had in this country at present. Say one hundred dollars worth of these things sent here would be of incautious advantage and comfort to us. Something like this bill should be sent every opportunity or annually.
The Reverend William Roberts, Superintendent, to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary. Dated at Oregon City, October 18, 1847.

Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXII

****

I am of opinion that if you can buy cheaply some Broadcloth, black, stout and strong, with trimings for 3 or four coats - ditto overcoats - ditto Pants - and then some woolen cheap goods for boys clothing, these things are constantly needed and can be no loss even should there be no such urgent necessity as there is at this moment. I repeat the request of my other letter for a lot of crockery; it is greatly wanted. In travelling I have occasionally to pay a blanket for Indian help. I can get them at Vancouver for $3.65 (three point). Now if you can understand this English mark and can buy some at a lower rate a 1/2 doz. of them would be an acquisition.

****

To, E. S. Johnston

Will you Dear Bro. please Add to my other list the following; if you have not funds enough let some of my friends trust me a little.

1/2 doz. Butcher knives - 6 or 10 yds. of linen or silk oiled cloth to cover hats &c. - 3 axes with helves - 1 bench hatchet - stuff for 3 Alpaca Dresses - 1/2 doz. dress patt of Gingham - 4 pieces of calico, some cheap some middling and 1 or 2 pieces of some woolen plaid cheap for girls or women's dresses. Bro. James Jackson of Paterson, an old friend will help you in regard to calico. He manufactures it.

****
The Reverend William Roberts, Superintendent, to Charles Fitman, Corresponding Secretary. Dated at Oregon City, November 9, 1847.

Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXIII

****

Send also, some woollens, or Allapacca goods, for women's winter wear, and some cotton wadding (there is none in the country). Flannels are in constant demand, and 1 doz. sheets of good sheet iron with a few iron rivets for stove pipe would be an admirable investment. If the amt. of middling sized nails from 6½ to 8½ which I mentioned in a former letter to Bro. Lane were doubled it would be better (such things don't come with the donated goods). You will find it strict economy to buy them and let us have them here.

There is one other thing which in this rainy land we ought to have. It is a lot of India rubber shoes, Old style, for men, and women.

****
The Reverend William Roberts,
Superintendent, to Charles Pitman,
Corresponding Secretary, Dated at
Oregon City, December 20, 1847.
Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXIV

****

The prices of a few articles in this country are as follows: Flour
$4. per ____ hundred. Beef $5, or 6. per hundred. Pork 8 or 10.
Oil from $1.25 to $3.50 per gallon. Sugar 12¢ per lb. Tea $1.50 per
lb. and poor at that. Coffee 35cts, but none to be had. Firwood $3.
per cord, oak and ash $4. Butter .25cts per lb. Wheat is very scarce
and worth $1. cash. Fodder impossible to get, except a few bundles of
oats in the sheaf at 75. cents per Dozen &c &c. I ought not to forget
Hardware glass and pains [sic] for the said house. Nails cost 20¢ per
lb. I think of building a house 32 by 24, Cottage form, one and a half
stories with kitchen 14 by 16. The ground plan would be somewhat of
this form... and I allude to it only to indicate to you the hardware &c.
necessary. There are 5 inside, and 2 outside doors on the lower floor;
any carpenter would give directions in a moment as to the kind and
No of locks & fastenings, hinges, screws, nails (4½ are used for
shingling here) glass (I want 8 by 10) paint and a keg of oil. If by any
means I can avoid building or have to do it before you can send these
items, or there should be a surplusage, they are worth here all they
cost and 100 per ct. more. I name the above sized glass not because
it is the best size but in any contingency it is sometimes possible to get
it in this country.

****
The Reverend William Roberts, Superintendent, to Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary, Dated at Oregon City, April 24, 1848.

Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXV

***

It is found necessary in some places to build log churches, and we are trying to encourage the people to build both churches and parsonages. But even when these things are undertaken, the people are too poor to buy the glass and sash and nails which are necessary. Nails are 20¢ per lb., glass 12 1/2 per light, and sash the same in cash. The church we are now building up country is 24 x 32' of hewn logs with 5 windows of 24 lights - a specimen of the kind of churches we need. Every nail we drive at 20¢ per lb is rather a costly affair. I asked in a former letter for materials with which to build a house in Oregon City, namely 6d 10d 5d & 4d nails and some boxes of glass 8 by 10 - let there be one of 7 x 9 for all our lights at present are of those dimensions. Some hinges and fastenings are also needed. I wish you would send me a sash plane.

****
Undated Notes
Oregon Mission Correspondence

APPENDIX XXVI

Ship in the Desdemona
May 11th 1850

1 Box Sash from Henry Moore valued at
1 Box Stoves from W. West valued at
1 Lot of Sheet Iron with Shears & Rivets valued at
    from (G. T. Cobb) D. M. Wilson &c.
To be ship'd in the Talbot May 17/50

3 good plain stoves for rooms 30 x 40, marked Rev'd William Roberts
    Salem City
    Oregon

7 windows 24 lights of glass 7 x 9
30 sheets of sheet Iron for pipe, 15 of Russia, the rest of common,
    with rivets and a smallish pair of shears to cut it
ERRATA SHEET


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Correction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Typographical error. Petition was presented to Congress by Senator Linn on January 28, 1839, NOT 1838.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>The statement should be qualified as follows: Jason Lee died March 13 [12], 1845, a few months after having reached the age of forty-two. [The date of death on Lee’s original tombstone in Stanstead, Lower Canada, was inscribed March 12th]. See footnote 162, Chapter IV regarding date of death having been written as March 13 in the original burial record of the Stanstead Circuit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fn. 162, Ch. IV</td>
<td>In the last paragraph of the first page of this extended footnote the date of Lee’s second will is mistakenly typed as Feb. 20, 1845 instead of Feb. 26, which is correct and so stated in text of this footnote on following page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Last line this page should read segmental-arched windows, NOT elliptic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elisabeth Walton Potter  
October 2009