[CHAPTER THIRTEEN]

A YEAR OF ADJUSTMENTS 1838–1839

The third year of the Oregon Mission of the American Board was filled with many trials and difficulties for the Whitmans. The experiences of that year ran the gamut of human emotions, from great joy to poignant sorrow. This was a year of painful but necessary adjustments to an ever changing scene.

The summer of 1838 passed swiftly for Marcus and Narcissa. A multitude of demands in the field, in the home, among the Indians, and even from distant neighbors called for their time and attention. Writing to her father on September 28, Narcissa said: "We have had our house full of company most all summer." The comment calls to mind the remark made by her mother when Narcissa was a young woman: "I wish Narcissa would not always have so much company." The time came during the fall of 1838 and the following winter when Narcissa harbored the same wish.

While Spalding was at Waiilatpu with Lee during the latter part of April, he implored Whitman to go to Lapwai to help build a log cabin on the bank of the Clearwater. Spalding's first cabin had been erected on Lapwai Creek about two miles from its mouth. For several reasons, this location had proved unsatisfactory. After listening to Spalding's pleas, Whitman consented to go. A new log cabin was erected at the mouth

of Lapwai Creek, and thereafter Spalding referred to the place in his correspondence with the American Board as "Clearwater Mission." Spalding's associates in the Oregon Mission, however, continued to refer to it as Lapwai.[1] To avoid confusion, the author will hereafter refer to Spalding's second location as Lapwai.

Narcissa was unhappy that her husband went to Lapwai to help Spalding erect his log cabin when they needed a new house so badly at Waiilatpu. Writing to her sister, Mary Ann, on September 25, 1838, Narcissa said: "Mr. Spalding persuaded my husband to believe that he needed a house more than we did... He left here the first of June and was gone two weeks." During this time Narcissa was alone at Waiilatpu with the Compo family, possibly one or two Hawaiian single men, and the several half-breed children whom they had received into their home. This was the first of many times that Marcus was called away from Waiilatpu, for business or professional reasons. Usually Narcissa had some reliable person or persons to stay with her, but there were times when she was left alone with no adults except, perhaps, one or two Hawaiians.

During the last week of June, after Whitman had returned from Lapwai, Mr. and Mrs. Archibald McDonald, with four children all under eight years of age, called and spent a week with the Whitmans. McDonald, a Presbyterian, was in charge of Fort Colville from 1836 to 1843, and was friendly with the American Board missionaries, especially those of the 1838 reenforcement who settled at Tshimakian about seventy miles south of Colville. Mrs. McDonald, a half-breed, had been a student in the Red River Mission school and had a good command of English.[2] She had sent a gift of twelve pickled buffalo tongues to Narcissa in January 1838; these were considered a rare delicacy.

Narcissa made two visits to Fort Walla Walla during the summer of 1838, being called there by the illness of Mrs. Pambrun. No doubt she felt a special obligation to go, as Mrs. Pambrun had come to Waiilatpu at the time Alice Clarissa was born. During the first part of August, Dr. Whitman was called to the Methodist Mission at The Dalles, 140 miles distant, to see Mrs. H. K. W. Perkins, who was critically ill. This marked the beginning of the friendship of the Perkins couple with the Whitmans. During Whitman's absence from Waiilatpu, Sarah Hull, the Indian girl who had lived with the Whitmans for more than a year, died

on August 11. "If ever I felt the presence of my husband necessary to sustain me," wrote Narcissa, "it was while passing through such a scene" [Letter 52]. During the latter part of August, the Rev. Daniel Lee, a nephew of Jason, called on the Whitmans.

First Mail from Home

On July 11, 1838, when Narcissa was with Mrs. Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla, the westward bound Hudson's Bay express arrived from Canada with letters for herself and her husband. For the first time since they had been married, twenty-seven months earlier, with the single exception of a letter received at Westport, Marcus and Narcissa got letters from home. "You know not with what feelings of inexpressible joy," wrote Narcissa to her sister Jane,"I received your letters dated January and August 1837." It is hard to understand why their loved ones did not write more often. Possibly, they were not sure as to how to address their letters and waited until they had first heard from Oregon. In a letter to her sister Mary Ann, dated September 25, 1838, Narcissa wrote: "You must recollect that three years must elapse from the time of your writing to receiving the answer, if sent by way of the Islands. You cannot be more anxious to hear from me than I am to hear from you." In this same letter, Narcissa expressed the hope that: "When the contemplated railroad over the Isthmus of Darien [i.e., Panama] shall be opened, which is expected within two or three years, communication will be more frequent." The proposed railroad across the Isthmus, however, was not opened until January 1855. If a letter were answered promptly, it usually took two years for a reply to be received; sometimes, as Narcissa indicated, it took three years. This means that Old Oregon was as remote in that day as the planet Mars is in this generation of space travel, if the prognostications of astroscientists are correct.

Financial Matters

As has been stated, the cost to the American Board of establishing its Oregon Mission amounted to about $6,000.00.[3] To this sum should be added the expenses incurred by Parker, Dunbar, and Allis who went out in 1834 to the Missouri frontier; the traveling expenses of Whitman and Parker in 1835; and Parker's expenses for 1836–37.[4] On March 27, 1838, Whitman made out his financial report covering the

period after March 18, 1837. He acknowledged receipt of two boxes of goods, shipped from Boston on January 18, 1837, which contained bedding, books, paper, and other supplies. The letters of the missionaries contain occasional references to the arrival of "missionary barrels." These usually contained a miscellaneous assortment of items which were divided according to the needs of individual members of the mission, unless otherwise directed. The books in the boxes Whitman mentioned formed the nucleus of the mission library of which Spalding became librarian.[5]

Purchases from the Hudson's Bay Company were figured in English money. As has been stated, Greene informed Whitman that the Board had to pay $540.00 for every £100. Whitman, in his report of March 27, 1838, summarized his personal expenditures of £63-14-2½ as follows:[6]

Supplies, Clothing & Indian goods to pay for
Provisions &c, &c, Transportation £29-1-1
Farming Utensils & Building Materials 11-5-9
Clothing &c for a Boy living with me 3-14-1
Bill at Walla Walla for last years
Seeds & provisions &c 5-8-9
Flour & Seeds & Hogs 10-3-6
One Half of Mr. Grays expenses in the
Flat Head country & at Rendezvous 4-1-½

From this total, Whitman subtracted £9-19-4½ which was his share of a cash contribution made by the "Society of Honolulu" to the Oregon Mission. Spalding received a like amount. Whitman also reported: "The avails of the sale of salt contributed by the King and his sisters at Oahu (one half), the other being reported by Mr. Spalding £17-5-10." This indicates that King Kamehameha III and his royal sisters were among the contributors for the evangelization of the Oregon Indians. After subtracting these two cash gifts from Hawaii, Whitman found it necessary to draw upon the Board for £130-15-11 to meet his and Spalding's expenses for the year.

To this statement, Whitman added another charge of £58-3-10 to pay wages due the two Hawaiians who had worked for him from September 21, 1836, to June 1, 1838, at £17-0-0 each per annum, and £0-12-0 due some Indians for such services as carrying letters. When we total

Whitman's various expense accounts, we find that up to March 28, 1838, he had drawn upon the Board for £336-18-½. Thus the total cost of the Waiilatpu station was somewhat more than $1,800.00 for its first two years. This included cost of some building materials, wages for laborers, food supplies, Indian goods for trading, tools, some livestock as hogs, and transportation. Neither Whitman nor Spalding received a salary. Considering the fact that prices at Fort Vancouver were double what they were in the States and the high rate of exchange, we can conclude that the total cost to the Board of this station for two years was indeed very modest.

Letters from Secretary Greene

Not all of the letters that the Whitmans received on that memorable July 11, 1838, brought joy. Discouraging word came from Secretary Greene regarding an increasing debt which the American Board was carrying. In 1836, the Board received $176,232.15 but spent $210,407.54. The accumulated deficit then amounted to $38,866.57. This increased by another $2,500.00 in 1837, due in part to a minor financial depression felt in the States. The American Board found it necessary to cut expenses in order to balance the budget and on June 23, 1837, prepared a statement which was sent out to all of its missionaries. One of these circulars addressed to "Rev. H. H. Spalding & Associates" evidently arrived in the packet of letters received on July 11th.[7]

Three letters from Greene also arrived, dated July 6, August 2, and November 4, 1837.[8] Conservative as the expenses of the 1836 mission party had been, they brought dismay to the secretaries of the Board. In a handwritten postscript to the June 23 circular, Greene said: "...no more than one thousand dollars annually can be granted to your mission until you hear further from the Committee... You must permit me here to say that the expenses of your mission hitherto have much exceeded our anticipation... I write also a remark of Mr. Parker, which he made on being informed of the expenses of your outfit and journey, without expressing my opinion respecting its correctness: He remarked that he would pledge himself to outfit a mission of equal numbers, take them across the country, and sustain them in their work three years for the same amount, i.e., about $7,000. We were greatly surprised at your draft of £371 received by Mr. Hill[9] yesterday. It is quite impossible for us to go on meeting such drafts in present circumstances."

Greene urged Whitman to exercise extreme economy. "Your expenses as they stand in your accounts received," he wrote on August 3, "are much greater than anticipated, much beyond what can be allowed to the Mission in future years." What would Greene have written had he known that additional drafts totaling some $1,600.00 were then on their way from Oregon? And what did Whitman and Spalding say to each other when they read the circular of June 1837 and remembered their request of April 1838 for 220 additional workers?

Spalding wrote a long letter to Greene on September 10 in which he vigorously defended the expenditures that he and Whitman had made in order to make their stations self-supporting as soon as possible. The initial expenses were large, he admitted, but these included the costs of livestock, plows, mill machinery, tools, etc. He ventured to assert that he and Whitman could make their stations self-supporting within ten years.

Parker's boast that he could take a mission party of the same number across the country at a cost far below that spent by Whitman and Spalding irritated both men. In answer to that claim, Spalding passed on to Greene some reports of the unfavorable impression that Parker had made on the Hudson's Bay Company's officials.[10] Whitman, in accordance with his milder disposition, did not reply as quickly to Parker's criticisms as Spalding. Writing to Greene on October 30, Whitman said: "I think Brother Spalding & myself will find no difficulty in getting on with $1000 between us & taking that as a guide, the other Brethren [i.e., the members of the 1838 reenforcement] intend to govern themselves by it & not exceed $500 apiece [i.e., per family]." It was not until May 1839 that an incident occurred which moved Whitman to write to Greene to answer Parker's criticisms.

Before receiving the discouraging letters from Greene, Whitman and Spalding had sent a party of six Nez Perces with extra horses and provisions to Fort Hall to meet any possible reenforcement that Gray might be bringing back with him to Oregon. The letters from Greene received in July, however, caused such hopes to fade away. Writing to her sister, Jane, on September 18, after the arrival of the reenforcement, Narcissa explained: "Letters received from Mr. Greene caused our hearts to sink, and we gave up all hopes of a reinforcement very soon joining us." The Whitmans and Spaldings even doubted that Gray himself would be able to return.

The First Presbyterian Church of Oregon

Even before Dr. Whitman had been called to The Dalles to see Mrs. Perkins in her illness, the Whitmans and the Methodist missionaries stationed there had agreed through correspondence to "set aside Tues. eve of each week to pray for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon all the missions in Oregon." On Tuesday evening, July 24, a prayer meeting was held in the Whitman home with Compo and Mungo present. What Narcissa described as "a melting season" was experienced when Compo gave evidence of conversion [Letter 54]. Since the natives at Waiilatpu were then showing an increased interest in Christianity, the Whitmans decided that the time was ripe for a series of evangelistic or "protracted" meetings. Whitman, therefore, wrote to Spalding and urged him "to come & labour with us, & to organize a church, &c immediately." Perhaps also there was a lingering hope that Gray might return during the latter part of August with some associates. In that case, it would be well if the Spaldings were present.

The invitation met with a cordial response from the Spaldings. Although Spalding had made several trips away from Lapwai after they had settled there in the latter part of November 1836, and had been to Waiilatpu with Lee the previous May, his wife had never been away during that period of nearly two years. One problem was the safety of their little flock of eight sheep. Spalding decided that he could leave the premises in care of the Hawaiian, Jack, who had arrived the previous June to help him, but hesitated to give Jack the responsibility of caring for the precious sheep. He finally decided that he would have to take the sheep with them, all the way, 120 miles to Waiilatpu and back. With their eight-month old daughter, the Spaldings left Lapwai with some American milk cows and the sheep on Wednesday, August 8th. The sheep had to be ferried across the Snake River in canoes where Lewiston, Idaho, is now located, and perhaps across some of the smaller rivers such as the Tucannon. The Spaldings spent at least five days in making the journey, arriving at Waiilatpu on or before Monday, August 13th. It was about this time that Whitman returned from The Dalles.

Spalding began his meetings with the Indians on Tuesday, the 14th, and continued them through the following Sunday. By this time he had a sufficient command of the Nez Perce tongue so that the natives could understand him. Possibly Compo, who was present for these meetings,

assisted as an interpreter. On Saturday, August 18, 1838, the Whitmans and the Spaldings met in the Whitman home and organized "The First Presbyterian Church in the Oregon Territory."[11] Actually, this was also the first Protestant church to be established on the whole Pacific Slope of what is now the United States, being prior to any similar organization formed by the Methodists in the Willamette Valley. Spalding, acting as clerk for the church, began a record book in which he noted: "H. H. Spalding was elected Pastor & Doct. Marcus Whitman Ruling Elder. Resolved that this church be governed on the Congregational plan, but attached to Bath Presbytery, N.Y." [12] Although Marcus Whitman carried with him his letter of transfer from the Presbyterian Church at Wheeler,[13] and Narcissa had a similar letter from her church in Angelica, Spalding made no reference to either of these documents when writing the report of the organization of the church. He did mention the fact that Joseph and Maria Maki brought letters of transfer from the mission church in Honolulu and on this evidence, they too became charter members of the First Presbyterian Church in the Oregon Territory.

"On the same day, viz 18 Aug.," wrote Spalding in the record book, "Charles Compo, formerly a Catholic, baptized by that church, declaring his disbelief in that faith & expressing a wish to unite with us, was examined & giving satisfactory evidence of being lately born into the Kingdom of Christ, was propounded for admission into the Church at some future time. Mr. Pambrun of Fort Walla Walla, a Catholic present, advised Compo to consider the matter before he left his own religion to join another." On the following day, a Sunday, Compo still declared his desire to join the church. Both Whitman and Spalding felt that first he should be married to the Nez Perce woman with whom he was living and who was the mother of his little boy. Compo willingly consented, and Spalding read the marriage service. He was then, as Spalding noted, "baptized & admitted to our little flock as the first fruit of our missionary labor in this country." Actually, having been baptized by a Catholic priest, there was no need for him to be rebaptized, as most Protestant churches, including the Presbyterian, recognize the validity of Catholic baptism. Spalding, evidently, was not informed on this subject. The little Compo boy, who was "about eighteen months old," was then baptized and given the name John. There is no record that Mrs. Compo joined the church.

On that same Sunday, the seven charter members of the First Presbyterian Church in the Oregon Territory partook of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Rev. Daniel Lee was still at Waiilatpu and joined them at the table. The infant pioneer church had an ecumenical cast with four Presbyterians, two Congregationalists, and an ex-Roman Catholic banned together in a hybrid Presbyterian-Congregational form of government. The church was not only interdenominational, it was also interracial and international; four had come from New York State, two from Hawaii, and one from Frenchs-peaking Canada. Although Pambrun was present at the time the Lord's Supper was served, he was not invited to partake, as he was a Roman Catholic.[14]

The Reenforcement of 1838

On Saturday evening, August 18, the very day the First Church of Oregon was organized, an Indian messenger arrived with the exciting news that Gray and his bride were only a couple of days ride away from Waillatpu. Following them was the American Board's reenforcement for its Oregon Mission consisting of three newly-wedded couples and a single man. With characteristic impulsiveness, Gray with his bride had left the other members of the party at Fort Boise on Wednesday, August 15, and by forced marches had pushed on ahead. They arrived at Waiilatpu on the following Tuesday evening, the 21st [Letter 50a].

Spalding was eager to return to Lapwai, as he was concerned about the safety of the premises there during his long absence. He had planned to start back on Monday, but now he felt it necessary to stay and greet the new arrivals. There would have to be a mission meeting. Many important decisions would have to be made. Should one or more new stations be opened? Where would nine extra people live during the corning winter? What new policies of missionary methods should be adopted? Whitman, appreciating the urgency of the situation which Spalding was facing, addressed a letter to "Revs. Walker, Eells & Smith" on August 22, in which he urged them to make all possible speed." Don't delay on account of the animals," he wrote, "but press on and if any are too weak to come, leave them with some of the Kayuses whom you will be likely to see... Do not fail to be here by Sabbath" [Letter 50a].

In this letter, Whitman quoted one of his favorite verses from the Bible. Referring to the joy that he, his wife, and the Spaldings experienced

when the Grays arrived, Whitman wrote: "We felt like Paul when he met the brethren from Rome, 'We thanked God and took courage'." This was the same verse that Whitman had quoted in a letter to Narcissa's parents when he described the joy the mission party experienced when, after they had been in danger of missing the Fur Company's caravan, they finally caught up with it at Loup Fork on May 24, 1836 [Letter 24]. In each time of crisis, Whitman felt that they had been "signally blessed" of God. With the return of Gray and the addition of eight more workers, the outlook for the Oregon Mission was indeed bright.

While waiting for the reenforcement to arrive, the Whitmans and the Spaldings plied Gray with questions. Why did Ellis and two of the other Nez Perces return with their horses from the 1837 Rendezvous instead of accompanying Gray to the Missouri frontier? What about the outcome of his venture to drive a band of horses to the States where they would be sold and the money used to buy cattle? Gray told his story. He had started east from the 1837 Rendezvous on July 25 with a small band of horses, probably not more than fourteen, with six Indians including one Nez Perce, The Hat, in advance of the Fur Company's eastbound caravan. Later Whitman and Spalding learned that Jim Bridger and other mountain men had warned Gray that he was courting disaster by venturing to go through hostile Sioux country with so few in his party, but Gray refused to listen.[15]

Disaster overtook Gray on August 7 near Ash Hollow in what is now western Nebraska, when he and his party were attacked by Sioux Indians. All six of the Indians with Gray were killed, his horses stolen, and Gray narrowly escaped death when two bullets pierced his hat leaving a scalp wound. Through the intercession of a French trader who happened to be with the Sioux at the time, Gray's life was spared, and he was permitted to continue his journey.[16] Gray was later accused by the Flathead Indians and the mountain men of cowardice and of abandoning his companions in order to save his own life.

Gray confessed that Secretary Greene was greatly displeased when he learned of his unauthorized return. He told the Whitmans and the Spaldings that he had spent part of the winter of 1837–38 as a student at the Medical College at Fairfield, New York.[17] He also reported that the Board's financial situation had so improved by the spring of 1838 that it felt able to authorize Gray to return to Oregon with a reenforcement.

Personnel of the 1838 Reenforcement

As soon as he was able after his return to the States, Gray called on the young lady to whom he was engaged. According to one report, his fiancée's mother noticed the four bullet holes in his hat and made inquiry as to the cause. Gray told them of the Sioux attack at Ash Hollow and how he had barely escaped with his life, whereupon the mother immediately declared that she could not allow her daughter "to venture upon such a dangerous journey as a trip to the Columbia Valley would be."[18] So the engagement was abruptly terminated.

Early in February 1838, a few weeks before Gray planned to leave for Oregon, he called on Samuel Parker at Ithaca, New York. Since Gray at that time had no prospects of marriage, Parker told him about a young lady in the Dutch Reformed Church of that city, Miss Mary Augusta Dix, 1810–1881, who would make an ideal wife for him. According to a family tradition, William and Mary first met at a church social held in Ithaca on Wednesday evening, February 14. Having already been told much about Mary by Parker, and perhaps by others, William proposed marriage that evening. This was too sudden for Mary who asked for time to think it over. By this time Gray was as anxious to be married and on his way to Oregon as Whitman had been two years earlier. Mary gave her consent on February 20, and they were married on Sunday evening, the 25th. The next day they left for Oregon. For the second time, Parker had played the role of a matchmaker for a couple who were to become members of the Oregon Mission of the American Board.

It so happened that the Board had appointed two clergymen, the Rev. Elkanah Walker, 1805–1877, and the Rev. Cushing Eells, 1810–1893, as missionaries to the Zulus in Africa, but because of a tribal war they were unable to go to that field. Learning that they were willing to have their destination changed to Oregon, the Board authorized them to go with Gray on his return journey. Walker and Eells were married on the same day, March 5, 1838, on the eve of their departure for Oregon; Walker to Miss Mary Richardson, 1811–1897, at Baldwin, Maine, and Eells to Miss Myra Fairbanks, 1805–1878, at Holden, Massachusetts. The two couples met for the first time on Saturday, March 17, when a farewell service was held for them in New York City. They were joined on the following Monday by the Rev. Asa Bowen Smith, 1809–1886, and his bride, née Sarah Gilbert White, 1813–1855.

Asa Bowen Smith

Since the Rev. Asa B. Smith was to become such a troublemaker in the Oregon Mission, special attention should be paid to his background. He and Sarah had become engaged in the fall of 1836 about the time that Asa received an appointment from the American Board with the expectation of being sent to Siam. By advice of the Board, the two postponed their marriage until the way was clear for them to leave for their assigned field. There were many delays including the effects of the financial depression of 1837. Harassed by financial problems, frustrated over the repeated postponement of his departure date for Siam, and eager to be married, Asa was ready to go anywhere if the Board would only give its approval. Psychologically, he was conditioned to make a quick and impulsive decision.

As a faithful reader of the *Missionary Herald*, Asa knew of the establishment of the Oregon Mission in 1836. He had read the lengthy and enthusiastic reports taken from Spalding's letters which appeared in several issues of the *Herald* beginning with July 1837. The October number carried about six thousand words from a letter Spalding had written to Greene on September 20, 1836, and the December issue devoted five pages to extracts from Spalding's letter of February 17, 1837. These letters overflowed with optimism regarding the enthusiastic reception given the missionaries by the natives and the cordial attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company. Spalding was eloquent with both tongue and pen and in these letters his tendency to exaggerate found full expression. To judge by these reports, the whole Nez Perce nation was on the verge of accepting Christianity. Asa Smith found the letters exciting. He decided that Oregon was the field in which he would like to serve.

Smith, despairing that the Board would ever send him to Siam, addressed an inquiry to Greene during the first part of January 1838 about the possibility of going to Oregon. Greene replied on January 15 stating that the Board had authorized the sending of only two ordained men to that field with Gray. Smith waited for about six weeks. He then went to Boston in early March to have a personal interview with Greene. Again he urged the Board to appoint him. He was told that it was rather late for him to join the reenforcement as the Grays were already on their way to the Missouri frontier, and the Walkers and the Eellses were to be in New York for a farewell service on March 18. Smith showed such eagerness to

be included that he was told he would be appointed if he could get married and be in New York by the 18th.

The evident need for quick decisions was breathtaking. Asa was back in Sarah's home at West Brookfield, Massachusetts, by March 10. He found Sarah much interested, but she wanted a few days to think about this sudden development. Two days later, Asa wrote again to the Board saying that they had decided to go, and asking for final confirmation of their appointment. Greene's letter confirming their selection arrived on the 14th. Asa and Sarah were married the next day and left at once for New York City. Not wishing to travel on Sunday, even when faced with an emergency, they stayed over in New Haven and continued their journey to New York on Monday, the 19th. They were one day too late for the farewell service, but were in time to join the other two couples when they started for Westport the next day.

It is interesting to note that the three men who became focal points of dissension and controversy within the Oregon Mission—Spalding, Gray, and Smith—each made a spur-of-the-moment decision. Spalding and his wife had been on their way to the Osage Mission when Whitman caught up with them at Howard, New York, and persuaded them to accept a change of destination. Gray had not asked for an appointment until February 17, 1836, and by the time he was notified that he could go, had settled his affairs, and made preparations for the journey, the Spaldings and the Whitmans were some twelve days in advance of him. Perhaps no couple went through such a period of turmoil when such life-shaping decisions had to be made in so short a time as the Smiths. Yet this was not of the Board's choosing, but rather due to the impulsiveness and impatience of Smith. He was so eager to be appointed to some mission field so that he could get married and enter upon his life's chosen work that he was incapable of a balanced judgment.

Cornelius Rogers

The seventh and last member of the 1838 mission party was Cornelius Rogers who likewise made a sudden decision to be a missionary in Old Oregon. When the three couples were in Cincinnati, March 29–April 4, they met Rogers who was then twenty-two years old and unmarried. He was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of which Dr. Lyman Beecher was pastor. Not waiting for any official appointment

from the American Board, Rogers decided to join the reenforcement on a volunteer basis. Even after his arrival in Oregon, Rogers remained on an unofficial basis for about two and a half years, or until he left for the Willamette Valley in May 1841.[19] He was a likeable, well-mannered young man who caused no trouble within the mission. Including Rogers, the personnel of the American Board's Oregon Mission grew to thirteen. It was never any larger. Of this number the Whitmans, the Spaldings, the Grays, and Rogers were Presbyterians; the other three couples were Congregationalists.

"A Strange Company of Missionaries"

The three couples and Rogers arrived at Liberty, Missouri, on April 15 where they met the Grays for the first time. The united party had about a week at Liberty to complete their arrangements for the long trek to Waiilatpu. They left on April 23 and joined the American Fur Company's caravan on the 28th. Their livestock included twenty-five horses and mules, and nine head of cattle including two milk cows. They took a light wagon with them as far as Fort Laramie where it was abandoned. In general the members of the 1838 reenforcement endured all of the hardships and privations experienced by those of the Whitman-Spalding party two years earlier. The four women rode side-saddle as Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding had done.

The four-month close association on the Oregon Trail, beginning at Liberty and continuing across the plains, the mountains, and the desert to Oregon, was a most trying experience for all members of the reenforcement. The physical hardships inseparable from their mode of travel, combined with serious clashes of personalities, created deep animosities which later disrupted the life of the Oregon Mission. As will be told, the Whitmans and the Spaldings were unavoidably drawn into the unhappy dissensions which began while the mission party was still at Liberty Missouri.

Since Gray had been to Oregon and back and since he was the one who was largely responsible for the American Board's decision to send a reenforcement that year to Oregon, it was logical that he should have considered himself to be in charge. The responsibility inflated his ego. An evidence of this is found in the fact that soon after the arrival of the three couples and Rogers at Westport, Gray informed them that he was

to be called "Dr. Gray." This claim to the title of Doctor was based on the fact that he had attended medical lectures for a few weeks at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Fairfield, New York, during the winter of 1837-38; however, he had not taken enough work to be licensed to practice medicine. Mary Walker, in her very personal and revealing diary, made several references to him as "Doctor Gray." Shortly after the reenforcement arrived at Waiilatpu and Whitman learned of this, he quickly eliminated the use of the title.

Gray had been listed in the *Annual Reports* of the American Board for 1836, 1837, and 1838 as a mechanic. The 1839 *Report*, however, listed him as "Doctor Gray," no doubt at his request. Whitman was irritated when this came to his attention. On October 22, 1839, he wrote to Greene: "I cannot conceive how you have been so much imposed upon to report him a Physician. What can a man learn in sixteen weeks of public lectures (which is barely all he can boast) to entitle him to that distinction?" The Board thereafter listed Gray as "Mechanic and Teacher."

Much of the trouble which Gray had with his associates arose out of the fact that he was too parsimonious in the purchase of supplies and in the hiring of assistants. In his eagerness to induce the Board to send out a reenforcement in 1838, Gray claimed that he could take a party of ten through to Old Oregon for $3,000.00. Having committed himself to a policy of strict economy, Gray felt obliged to maintain it even though this meant privations and extra work for his associates. For instance, the mission party of 1836 had had two hired men and three Nez Perces to assist with the animals and with packing and unpacking. Gray, with a party almost twice the size, hired only two men. This meant that the five men of the 1838 reenforcement, three of whom were clergymen, had to endure much physical labor in addition to taking their turns with the men of the caravan standing guard at night. Smith, in a letter to Greene dated April 29, 1839, complained: "I have not indeed worked my passage on board a vessel to a foreign port, but I can say in truth, I worked my passage across the Rocky Mountains."

Although Smith had been assured by Greene that he and his bride would have the sole use of a small tent while crossing the country, such was not the case.[20] Gray, remembering how the five members of the 1836 party shared their one tent, refused to buy enough canvass at Westport to make four small tents, to give one to each newly wedded

couple. Instead only two tents were made, each measuring 8 x 10 feet. This permitted each couple to have a bed four feet wide, seven feet long, and with three feet at one end for storage space. A sheet was hung in the center to separate the two beds. The Smiths shared their tent with the Walkers, and the Grays and the Eellses were together. The Smiths and the Walkers especially found the arrangement very unsatisfactory. Smith complained about it in one of his letters to Greene, and Mary Walker made mention of it in her diary. Both Cushing and Myra Eells were of the uncomplaining kind; they made no mention of the inconvenience; nor, of course, did the Grays.

On April 27, only four days after the mission party started on their overland journey, Mary wrote in the privacy of her diary: "Some of the company feel disposed to murmur against Moses [i.e., Gray]." Undoubtedly the complainant was Smith. The 1838 party had been gone from the frontier less than two weeks when Smith wished he had never started, but there was no turning back then. Mary Walker penned another caustic sentiment on May 6: "Some of our company expressed regret that they have undertaken the journey. I suspect more from aversion to the toil than real dread of sin." By May 27, personnel animosities were so sharp that Mary wrote: "We have a strange company of Missionaries. Scarcely one who is not intolerable on some account."[21]

The Rendezvous of 1838 was held at the junction of the Popo Agie and Wind Rivers on the east side of the Continental Divide, near present-day Riverton, Wyoming. While there, Smith on July 10 unburdened himself in a letter to Greene:"What I am now to write I whisper in your ear, but would not say it to the world. We have not found Mr. Gray such a man as we hoped to find. I presume you are already aware, & I should judge so from the letters he read from you at Independence, that he is not judicious in all his movements. He is rash & inconsiderate & not at all calculated properly to fill the station he now does. He has assumed a great deal of authority over us, & talked to us in a very harsh & unbecoming, & I may say abusive, manner, regardless of the feelings of others, even of the ladies. This has often rendered our situation very unpleasant." [22]

At the Rendezvous the mission party met Jason Lee who showed Gray the joint letter of Whitman and Spalding of April 21, 1838, in which they had asked for 220 additional missionaries. Even Gray was surprised at the magnitude of the request. Writing to Greene on July 10

from the Rendezvous, Gray said that he thought Whitman and Spalding "were somewhat premature in forwarding it, at least till they had heard something farther from yourself or from Me." [23]

On Thursday, July 12, the mission party took leave of the caravan of the American Fur Company and joined a party of about twenty men of the Hudson's Bay Company under the command of Francis Ermatinger who was to escort them to Fort Hall. The missionaries rode through South Pass on July 15, thus bringing the number of white women who rode horseback over the Rockies to six. This fact, when made known through the public press in the States, further increased interest in the possibilities of emigration to Old Oregon.

Upon their arrival at Fort Hall on July 17, the missionaries were heartened to find a party of six Nez Perces with horses and provisions waiting there for them. This was an indication that Whitman and Spalding were expecting Gray to return that year with a reenforcement. By this time the members of the reenforcement were discussing various possibilities for their future locations. In a letter to her parents, Mary Walker wrote: "Mr. Walker is expecting to settle with Dr. Whitman. Dr. Gray [sic] among the Flatheads, Mr. Smith & Eells, I know not where, but unless some one should like Mr. S. better than at present, he will have to settle alone. He is as successful in gaining universal ill will as Mr. Walker good."[24] Here is evidence that by this time Gray was dreaming of establishing a separate station and that neither of the other two couples was willing to live with the Smiths.

This was the "strange company of missionaries," as Mary Walker described the reenforcement, which the Whitmans and the Spaldings were waiting to welcome with such high expectations. For two years, these two couples had worked together in harmony, but with the arrival of the 1838 reenforcement, things were to be different. Of course, when the Grays arrived at Waiilatpu on August 21, they probably said little or nothing about the personality clashes which had been engendered along the way. For a short time the Whitmans and the Spaldings were overjoyed with the prospects of an enlarged mission. They soon became disillusioned as they were made aware of the personality conflicts which existed within the reenforcement.

Introducing Captain John A. Sutter

John A. Sutter of Switzerland, who was on his way to California, traveled with the Fur Company's caravan to the Rendezvous, and then with the mission party after it left that place. Mary Walker mentioned him several times in her diary. Eager for the members of the mission party to arrive at Waiilatpu as soon as possible, Whitman sent a second note to them on August 28, urging them to press forward with all possible speed [Letter 50b]. He sent fresh horses and suggested that the Indians follow with the packs. Having been informed by Gray that Captain Sutter was with the party, Whitman wrote: "Please give our compliments to Capt. Sutur & invite him to come on with you & let his packs come slowly with yours."

In a letter dated from Fort Vancouver on October 18, 1838, Douglas informed the officials of his Company in London that: "A party of Calvinist missionaries and Captain Sutter, a Swiss gentleman, with a suite of 8 men travelled with our people from rendezvous to Fort Hall; from whence they took the lead to the Columbia." According to Douglas, Sutter "draws his title from a commission formerly held in the French Army, and has no connection whatever with the United States Government." [25]

On Saturday, August 25, as the missionaries were crossing the Blue Mountains, a baby girl was born to the Nez Perce wife of James Conner, a mountain man who had been hired by Gray at the Rendezvous to assist in the packing. According to an entry in Mary's diary for that day, the Indian woman was able to resume riding within a few hours after giving birth. On August 27, Rogers was thrown from his horse and received an injury which further delayed the travelers. The Smiths volunteered to stay with him while the Walkers and the Eellses with the Sutter party pushed on ahead.

On Wednesday, the 29th, the two couples with Sutter rode thirty miles in seven hours and arrived at Waiilatpu at 2:00 p.m. They were warmly greeted by the Whitmans and the Spaldings. The Grays were absent because they had gone to Fort Walla Walla. Mary wrote in her diary: "We were feasted on melons, pumpkin pies & milk. Capt. Sutor was with us. Just as we were sitting down to eat melons, the house became thronged with Indians & we were obliged to suspend eating & shake hands with some 30, 40, or 50 of them. Towards night we partook of

a fine dinner of vegetables, salt salmon, bread, butter, cream &c. Thus our long toilsome journey at length came to a close."

The next day the Smiths, Rogers, and the Conners arrived with the baggage. Also on that day, the Grays returned from Fort Walla Walla. Thus, for the first and only time in the history of the Oregon Mission, all thirteen members were together. Just when Captain Sutter left for Fort Vancouver is not known, evidently shortly after his arrival at Waiilatpu. Before saying goodbye to his missionary friends, he gave his leatherbound French-English and English-French pocket dictionary to the Walkers. On the flyleaf of this volume, now on display at the Whitman Mission National Historic Site, is the following inscription in Mary Walker's handwriting: "Elkanah Walker. Presented by Capt. Sutor who crossed the plains with our party in 1838. He gave us this book as a parting memo when we parted at Dr. Marcus Whitman's mission among the Cayuses in Oregon. He afterwards settled in Sacramento, Ca. & was the first to discover gold in Cal. in 1848. He died in June, 1880. His funeral was in Washington, D.C. M.R.W." [26]

The First Mission Meeting

The members of the reenforcement spent Friday, August 31, in unpacking, paying off the hired men, and getting settled. Before the reenforcement arrived, the Whitmans had thirteen living with them, either in their adobe house or in Indian lodges on the grounds. This included the three Spaldings, the three Compos, the two Hawaiians, Margaret McKay, Mungo Mevway, a sick half-breed boy (Xavier Foier), and two Indian helpers. With the three Whitmans, this made sixteen. Then suddenly the Whitmans had to provide accommodations for the nine members of the reenforcement plus the three Conners, thus bringing the total to twenty-eight. Since the total area of the house, including the lean-to, was about 1,500 square feet, this meant that some would have had to sleep in tents or Indian lodges. Possibly some sleeping accommodations had been arranged in the halfstory of the main section of the house for the children. All cooking was done over an open fire in the fireplace of the leanto with the exception, perhaps, of that done outof-doors by the native wives of Compo and Conner.

Because Spalding was becoming increasingly eager to be on his way back to Lapwai, the first business meeting of the enlarged Oregon

Mission began on Saturday morning and, after the Sunday intermission, continued through Monday. Spalding served as moderator and Walker, clerk.[27] Rogers had not received a commission from the Board; hence he was not invited to take part in the deliberations. Neither were the women. On a few rare occasions in following years, some of the women were invited to attend the official meetings of the Mission, but even then they were not permitted to take part in the discussions or to vote. It was a man's world. There is evidence, however, that a husband often voiced his wife's opinions.

The first and most important question which confronted the six men was the assignment of the reenforcement. Gray wanted to open a new station among the Spokane Indians, then sometimes called Flatheads.[28] However, it was the unanimous judgment of the other five men that Gray was not qualified to do independent missionary work. Spalding, in a letter to Greene, October 15, 1842, stated: "At the first meeting after Mr. Gray and his party arrived, the three clergymen who accompanied him said respectively and decidedly they would not be associated with Mr. Gray." After a lengthy and sometimes heated debate, which surprised Whitman, the majority voted that Walker and Eells would be assigned to the Spokane field. The question then arose, where was the unhappy Gray to be sent? Finally, Spalding agreed to let the Grays live at Lapwai.

The next perplexing decision which had to be made was the assignment of the Smiths. Eells and Walker made it clear that they did not want them at the Flathead station. Spalding had already consented to take the Grays. Since it was clearly impossible for the Smiths and the Grays to live in the same station; therefore, by elimination, the Smiths would have to live with the Whitmans at Waiilatpu. This compromise settlement, accepted at the first Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission, was to give rise to four years of growing dissension. Gray was never happy with the decision affecting him and repeatedly tried to gain permission during the following years to start a new station. And, as we shall see, Smith, likewise unhappy and ill-adjusted, withdrew to Kamiah in the summer of 1839.

Other actions taken at this business meeting included the following: (1) That all members of the mission apply themselves to the study of the language of the place where they lived and reduce it to writing; (2) That the natives be taught primarily in their own language, but as

far as possible they should also be taught some English; (3) That the offer of a printing press by the Hawaiian Mission be accepted; (4) That a corn and gristmill and a blacksmith shop be established at Lapwai; and finally (5) That Dr. Whitman go to Fort Vancouver for supplies. Nothing was said as to where Rogers was to live. Evidently, he could go where he pleased. It was also agreed, although not so recorded in the minutes, that Walker and Eells should leave soon for the Spokane country to select a site for their station, and that a new and larger house was to be erected at Waiilatpu.

On Sunday, September 2, all business was laid aside, and the day was spent in rest and worship. Services were conducted by Spalding for the natives. All nine of the incoming party joined the Mission Church, raising its membership to sixteen. Walker was asked to deliver the sermon. He chose John 15:8 for his text: "Herein is my Father glorified." The very words suggest the outline of his thought. They had left their comfortable homes in the States and had endured the hardships and perils of a long journey across the country, not for personal glory but for the glory of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was served, after which Spalding explained to a group of curious Indians, who were watching the proceedings, the meaning of the service. After the meeting was over, Mary Walker wrote in her diary:"We had an interesting & I think a happy season, notwithstanding all the hardness that has existed among us."

The Columbia Maternal Association

On Monday, September 8, while the six men were still in their business meeting, the six missionary wives met and organized the Columbia [River] Maternal Association, which has the distinction of having been the first club organized by American women west of the Rockies. It was modelled after similar organizations quite common at that time in the East and could be likened to various forms of mother's clubs of our own generation.

The original record book, now in the archives of Whitman College, shows that Eliza Spalding was elected president; Narcissa Whitman, corresponding secretary; Mary Gray, recording secretary; and Mary Walker, vicepresident. The records begin with the following statement of objectives in Mary Gray's handwriting:[29]

> Sensible of the evils that beset the young mind especially in a Heathen land, & confident that no arm but God's can secure our children or those committed to our care, from the dangers that surround them, to bring them early into the fold of Christ & fit them for usefulness here & glory hereafter, we the subscribers agree to form ourselves into an Association for the purpose of adopting such [methods] as are best calculated to assist us in the right performance of our Maternal duties.

At that time only Narcissa and Eliza were mothers but Mary Walker was in the sixth month of her pregnancy and Mary Gray, who gave birth to a son on the following March 20, had reason to believe that she also was pregnant.

Even the women of the mission had their disagreements. It appears that soon after the arrival of the reenforcement at Waiilatpu, Mary Gray was questioned by Narcissa. Regarding this, Mary on February 23, 1839, wrote from Lapwai to Mary Walker who was then at Waiilatpu: "The second day after our arrival at W[aiilatpu], Mrs. Whitman in conversation with me commenced questioning me relative to my situation. I evaded her first question but she continued her questions until I could no longer evade them without hurting her with rudeness. This I was unwilling to do, & supposing I might place some confidence in her, told her some circumstances but she drew her own conclusions. I told her I wished her to keep her views to herself—for I felt uncertain—she said she must tell her husband—to this I made no reply, for I supposed it would be of no avail, but thought he as a physician would feel it out of place to publish such things—but I found that my favors were soon spread abroad, and how could it come but through Mrs. W.?" [30] The report of Mary's pregnancy was soon known throughout the mission, to her great embarrassment.

On February 22, 1839, following the visit of the Whitmans and Eellses at Lapwai, Spalding wrote in his diary:"Mrs. Whitman & Mrs. Gray do not succeed in settling their difficulties. Mr. Gray in all probability was the first person that made known the fact in this country that his wife was pregnant, but wishes to make himself & wife think that Mrs. Whitman pumped the secret out of Mrs. Gray & then communicated it to Mrs. Spalding & she to me, whereas Mr. Gray communicated the fact to me long before. A very little matter to cause such a difficulty." [31]

In the spring before the arrival of the 1838 reenforcement, Narcissa and Eliza had agreed to observe a certain hour each day in prayer for each other and their little daughters. Eliza in her diary for March 28 and 29, 1838, wrote:"I have received a note from Mrs. Whitman this evening in which she informs me that she has fixed upon the half past eight or nine o'clock in the morning of each day to be observed by us as a season of special and united prayer... Resolved, to observe daily at nine in the morning, a season of reading some select portion of scripture & prayer, in unison with Mrs. Whitman, to seek divine assistance in discharging the responsible duties of mothers & for the early conversion of our children."

Never again after that initial organization meeting were all of the charter members of the Columbia Maternal Association able to meet together at the same time. The women, following the example of Narcissa and Eliza, agreed to observe"the second & last Wednesday of every month" as a Maternal Association meeting, each in her respective station even though she might be alone at the time. Mary Walker kept the fullest diary of any of the missionaries for the full mission period. One has but to look through this remarkable document for the entries for the designated Wednesdays to see with what regularity she observed the days. Sometimes she met with her neighbor, Myra Eells, in their lonely station at Tshimakain, and sometimes she was alone.[32]

Narcissa was active in securing subscriptions for the *Mother's Magazine*, the national journal of the movement, not only from the women of the Oregon Mission but also from the wives of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and from women who lived in the Willamette Valley. The archives of the American Board contain two orders for subscriptions sent by Narcissa for *Mother's Magazine* and for the *Youth's Companion* in 1843 and 1845. The 1846 volume of the former published a letter from Narcissa dated April 16, 1846. The minutes of the Maternal Association show that during the nine years of its existence, the membership increased to thirteen, including the wives of the five independent missionaries who arrived in Old Oregon in 1839 and 1840 and the native wives of two Company officials, Archibald McDonald and Archibald McKinlay. The names of twenty-seven children are listed, including fourteen of the sixteen born to the women of the Oregon Mission during the years 1837–47 inclusive.[33] The minutes also record the deaths of several of the children. These records are undoubtedly the first vital statistics kept in Old Oregon.

Departures and Arrivals

On Tuesday morning, September 4, 1838, the Spaldings with their cows and sheep, the Grays, and the Conners left for Lapwai. Spaiding had hired Conner to work for him through the coming winter. Compo also accompanied the party to help with the packing and the care of the animals.

The six Nez Perces, who had taken supplies to Fort Hall for the reenforcement, preceded the Spalding party back to Lapwai. They carried the news of the disaster which had overtaken Gray and his party at Ash Hollow where The Hat had been killed. They also reported that the horses, owned by the Nez Perces, which Gray had driven east with the hope of exchanging them for cattle, had been stolen. Hence, Gray was returning with no cattle. This news angered the formerly friendly Nez Perces. They blamed Gray for the death of one of their number and for the loss of their horses. Spalding was also censured as the Indians felt that he had encouraged Gray in his project.

Evidently Spalding and Gray had a bitter confrontation with some of the most belligerent of the Nez Perces as reflected in an entry in Mary Walker's diary for September 20:"In the afternoon letter from Mr. S. informing that they were in trouble. Dick [Possibly Jack, the Hawaiian] & Conner so alarmed they can neither eat nor sleep. He [i.e., Spalding] does not dare part with Compo." In order to appease the anger of the Nez Perces, Spalding had to give them some of his precious cows.[34] Although the incident was evidently temporary in character, it was a harbinger of more trouble which both Whitman and Spalding were to have with the Indians. When Rogers heard of the trouble at Lapwai, he left on September 20 for that place to be of any assistance possible.

Mission Site at Tshimakain Selected

On September 10, Walker and Eells left for the Spokane country to select a mission site. The two men reached the ford on the south bank of the Spokane River on Friday evening, the 14th, where they met a number of Spokane Indians. With the aid of someone who could interpret to a limited degree, Eells read from his New Testament. "They seemed to know what it was," wrote Walker,"and said that Garry had read the same. While he was reading, tears came into their eyes. I never so much desired the gift of tongues as at the present time that I might communicate

religious truth."[35] Although both Walker and Eells knew about Spokane Gary and that he had been at the Red River school, they did not meet him on this their first trip to the Spokane country.

On Saturday, the two men crossed the Spokane River and followed a northern tributary taking the trail that led to Fort Colville. About seven miles from the mouth of this creek, they rode across a plain which they were later to select to be the site of their mission station. This was about seventy miles south of Fort Colville and about twenty-five miles northwest of present-day Spokane. The place was called Tshimakain or Chimakain, "place of the springs," referring to a spring which still flows on the site where Walker and Eells built their cabins. The name, now spelled Chamokane, has survived as the name of the creek flowing through this valley.

On that Saturday afternoon, the two missionaries met the local chief called Big Head or Old Chief. Later he was known as Cornelius. He was to figure prominently in the Tshimakain story. A son of his, Spokane Berens, had been sent to the Red River Mission school in the spring of 1830 when only eleven years old. He was one of the five Old Oregon Indian boys taken to the school when Spokane Garry and Kootenay Pelly returned there after their visit to their people during the winter of 1829–30. Spokane Berens died at the school and was buried on July 21, 1834. Walker wrote that Chief Big Head "referred to the case of his son who died at the Red River. Said he mourned much at his death. Not because he was dead but because he did not return to teach him about the way to heaven."

Old Chief was most eager to have missionaries settle in his vicinity. He had visited Lapwai shortly after the Spaldings went there in the fall of 1836, and had met Gray in the Spokane country in the spring of 1837. He had visited Waiilatpu at the time the reenforcement arrived, or shortly thereafter, in order to plead that some of the missionaries go to his people. His keen interest, therefore, gave great promise for the success of the Spokane mission.

On Monday, September 17, Walker and Eells arrived at Fort Colville, where they were given a warm welcome by Archibald McDonaid, the Hudson's Bay Company's trader in charge.[36] The missionaries spent several days at the Fort during which time they sought the advice of McDonald as to the best place to establish their station. He recom-

mended the Tshimakain site and promised to furnish tools and supplies to help them erect their cabins. The two men returned to Tshimakain on Tuesday, the 25th, at which time they met a member of Old Chief's band whom they called Solomon "from the sagacious look on his countenance." He proved to be a good man and a friend of both missionary families.

After selecting a building site near the spring Walker and Eells, with the willing help of a number of Indians, raised the walls for two log cabins, each about fourteen feet square and separated by about twenty feet. The season being too far advanced for them to finish the buildings and move their wives to the location, they decided to return to Waiilatpu and complete their work the next spring. They were back at Waiilatpu on Saturday, October 13.

On the Saturday following the departure of Walker and Eells for Spokane, Whitman left for Fort Vancouver to get supplies. Mary Walker's diary for September 17 contains the following note: "We rose early. I churned and wrote to Mrs. Perkins[37] &c. In the P.M. began to work on husband's coat. The Dr. hurried & bustled just as my husband does. Finally he got in such a fret that his wife began to cry which brought him to himself; he went on more calmly until he got ready to start." Whitman returned to his home on Monday morning, October 15.

Roman Catholic Missionaries Arrive in Old Oregon

The first Roman Catholic missionaries to arrive in Old Oregon were Fathers Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers who were given free passage across Canada with the Hudson's Bay Company's express in the spring and summer of 1838. In a letter dated October 31, 1838, from the Governor and Committee of the Company's office in London to James Douglas at Fort Vancouver, we may read: "Those missionaries were permitted to go to the Columbia on the express condition that they were to locate themselves on the Cowlitz Portage, or wherever the Company's representative at Fort Vancouver might determine on the north side of the Columbia River, as we were unwilling to facilitate the formation of a Settlement on the South Side, which in all probability, will in due time, become United States Territory, but Mr. McLoughlin is of opinion that advantage may arise from allowing one of them to seat

himself down among such of the Company's retired Canadian servants on the Wilhamet [Willamette], as may determine on not removing to the Cowlitz river portage." [38]

Although at the time, Dr. McLoughlin was not a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he was sympathetic and cooperative with it. He had been born of Catholic parents who had him baptized by a priest when he was fifteen days old. Later he had become a communicant member of the Church of England.[39] When Jason Lee and his companions first arrived at Fort Vancouver in September 1834, McLoughlin asked Lee to baptize a number of women and children at the Fort, including Mrs. McLoughlin. This Lee did.[40]

When the members of the Whitman-Spalding party were at Fort Vancouver in the fall of 1836, Narcissa noted in her diary that Dr. McLoughlin was conducting religious services on Sundays for the Catholic employees at the Fort. Using the French language, the Doctor would read a chapter from the Bible, a sermon, and offer prayers. Writing from Fort Vancouver to Samuel Parker, Narcissa said:"They have been expecting a Roman Catholic priest by the express this fall, but no one has come [Letter 36]. Anticipating the arrival of a priest, Dr. McLoughlin had a log church erected in 1836 at Fairfield on French Prairie near Champoeg in the Willamette Valley. There Father Blanchet celebrated the first mass in what is now the State of Oregon on January 3, 1839.[41] Father Demers was assigned to work with the French Canadians at the Cowlitz Portage.

The arrival of these two Roman Catholic priests at Fort Vancouver in the fall of 1838 opened another chapter in the complicated story of the contest then taking place between the United States and Great Britain over the location of the Oregon boundary. Dr. McLoughlin was no doubt primarily interested in meeting the spiritual needs of the former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, yet he was astute enough to appreciate the services that Father Blanchet could render as a liaison between the Company and the French Canadians living in the Willamette Valley.

Prior to the arrival of Father Blanchet, the former servants of the Company had been drawn into the orbit of the Methodist missionaries. Some of the French Canadians had signed the petition of 1837 which Slacum took East with him in which a plea was made for the United

States to extend its jurisdiction over Oregon. Likewise, nine Canadians signed a similar memorial in 1838 which Lee carried East. The attitude of the British Government, as expressed through the Hudson's Bay Company, was firmly to the contrary. The formation even of a provisional American government in the Willamette Valley was viewed as a threat to British territorial claims in Oregon.

After the arrival of Father Blanchet, Dr. McLoughlin was able to exercise a tighter control over the French Canadians in the Valley. Thereafter for four years, or until a provisional government was formed in May 1843, the Canadians refrained from joining the American settlers in their endeavors to establish a local government or to petition the United States to extend its jurisdiction to Oregon.

In 1840 a third memorial was drawn up by American settlers which boldly stated: "And your petitioners represent, that the said Territory, north of the Columbia, is an invaluable possession to the American Union; that in and about Puget Sound are the only harbors of easy access, and commodious and safe, upon the whole coast of the Territory... For these and other reasons, your petitioners pray that Congress will establish its sovereignty over said Territory."[42] This was signed by sixty-seven American settlers who were either citizens of the United States or were desirous of becoming so.[43] No French Canadians signed this memorial.

Catholic Priests Subsidized by the Hudson's Bay Company

The archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London contain a copy of the 1857 *Parliamentary Report, Notes from the Select Committee* which contains an account of the investigations of this Committee of the British Parliament into the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. On February 26, 1857, when Simpson was being cross-examined, he stated that his Company was paying £100 a year to the Roman Catholic bishop in Oregon. Since the international border had been settled by treaty in 1846, this statement surprised members of the Committee. One asked: "What do you mean by Oregon? Oregon is in the United States. Do you give religious instruction to the inhabitants of the United States?" Simpson's answer was somewhat ambiguous: "No, there is a Roman Catholic bishop who was taken across by us a good many years ago to Oregon, and he remains there on the promise that he should be

allowed 100 £ a year." [44] Just how long that subsidy continued after 1857 is not known to the author.

An interesting parallel may be drawn between what appears to be, on strong circumstantial evidence, the payment of a subsidy by the United States Government to the Methodist Church to assist in the cost of sending a colony of missionaries to the Willamette Valley in 1839–40 and the free passage given two priests by the Hudson's Bay Company to Oregon in 1838 and the annual subsidy of £100. Mention will be made later of the assistance given by the Company to a colony of settlers from the Red River sent out to Old Oregon in 1841. After the provisional government was established in the Willamette Valley in 1843, the political influence of Bishop Blanchet[45] was minimal.

The coming of the Roman Catholic priests into Oregon brought many complications for the Protestant missionaries and especially for the Whitinans. Mary Walker in her diary commented on a minor problem which the Protestants at Waiilatpu faced when they were invited to go to Fort Walla Walla to meet the incoming Catholic priests. Under date of November 3, 1838, Mary wrote: "Last night Mr. Pambrun sent us a quarter of beef. He was expecting some Catholic priests to visit him & so he slew the old cream colored cow, which was 23 years old. He also sent the tripe, so that I had the job of cleaning it. Mr. P. also invited the gentlemen to call over and make his guests a visit. They hardly knew what to do about accepting it, but finally concluded that it was best." The fact that the men were hesitant about accepting Pambrun's invitation to pay a social call in order to meet the priests reflects the intolerant spirit towards Roman Catholics of the communities in which each was born and reared. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, there were very few Catholics in New England and upper New York State. This lack of knowledge and of personal contact with Roman Catholics explains much of the prejudice the missionaries displayed. According to Mary's account, Whitman, Eells, and her husband finally decided to go to meet the priests, but Smith refused saying "that it looked too much like countenancing Romanism." Mary added: "Hope our husbands will manage discreetly." The men returned on Monday with the news that the expected Hudson's Bay express had been delayed and the priests had not arrived.

If the Protestant missionaries had known that the Hudson's Bay

Company had paid the traveling expenses of the priests and was giving an annual subsidy of £100 to the bishop who was to settle in the Willamette Valley, surely they would have had reason for concern. These facts were not known to Spalding even in 1865 when he began his attacks through the press on the Roman Catholic missionaries in Oregon nor by Gray who wrote several tirades against the Hudson's Bay Company [See Appendix 3].

Whitman's Second Adobe House

Fortunately for all members of the Oregon Mission, both Whitman and Spalding had a bountiful harvest in the fall of 1838. In a letter dated September 15, 1838, Smith told of Whitman's success. "My first business here has been to assist in securing the crops," he wrote. "Dr. W. has about 17 acres in all under cultivation. His crop of wheat was very fine. It is not threshed but he thinks there will be from 75 to 100 bushels from 2½ acres. Nicer wheat I never saw. His crop of corn was good. No frost touched it… The corn is all gathered in & put in big cribsónear 300 bushels of it. Potatoes do well here. Dr. has about 6 (?) acres, all in the field yet thinks there will not be less than 1000 bushels. He has about 2 acres of turnips, & garden vegetables in abundance. We have had an abundance of melons all the time since we have been here.

"The labor of gleaning the crops is done considerably by the natives. The women do most of the work. They have harvested the corn almost entirely. Some of it was brought from the field to the house in bags on the backs of the women. We have no vehicle of any kind for the transportation of articles. No cart, sled, or corn dray. Much of the corn was cut up & drawn to the house by the oxen on brush. This was very hard dragging." Several years had to pass before Whitman was able to obtain a wagon.

Smith's account continues: "We labor to great disadvantage in many respects. We are in great want of tools of most every kind. Dr. has two ploughs but neither of them very good… We labor under disadvantage in respect to building. There is no good building timber nearer than 20 miles. On the mountains there is a great abundance of excellent pine & spruce but at present it is very difficult getting it. There is a limited supply of cottonwood (a kind of poplar) on the streams near us & scarcely any other timber… We build our houses here with *dobies*, or clay dried in

the sun in the form of brick 20 inches long, 10 wide & 5 in thickness. This is the best of anything we can use." [46]

When Walker and Eells returned from their first visit to the Spokane country, they made a detour in order to call on the Spaldings at Lapwai. Walker was much impressed with Spalding's potato crop and claimed that three acres produced 1,500 bushels, or 500 bushels to the acre. Walker wrote: "I never saw any that turned out so well." [47] This marks the beginning of Idaho's fame as a great potato raising state. It should be remembered that both Whitman and Spalding used their produce in trade with the Indians, sometimes in payment for labor, and also for seed for themselves and for the natives.

After gathering the harvest, the next important task at Waiilatpu was the erection of another house. The first adobe building was pitifully inadequate. On September 4, 1838, Sarah Smith wrote the following description of the Whitman house in her diary: "We are arranging our things, begin to feel a little at home. The Doctor's house would be considered in the States a very rough one. Part of it is log & part dobie or dried clay. One side of it has partly fallen down & [is] propped up with large poles. Some of the floors are nailed & some of them loose boards & all unplaned. But we are glad to find a home in so comfortable a place. Our room is the Indians meeting house, school room, wash room & store room, so you may well suppose [how] it is furnished." We have no floor plan of Whitman's first house but from the above description by Sarah, we may assume that the room she and her husband occupied was the largest in the main part of the 30 x 36 foot building.

Asa Smith, in a letter written to his parents about the middle of October, throws further light upon Whitman's first adobe house when he stated that it contained only "3 rooms & 2 bedrooms." [48] From one of Narcissa's letters [No. 39] we learn that the 12 x 36 lean-to had two bedrooms and a "very pleasant kitchen in the middle." If Smith was referring to the two bedrooms in the lean-to, then the "3 rooms" would have included the one in the lean-to and only two in the main part of the house. It is possible that some sleeping accommodations were in the upper half-story of the main structure. Even so, the prospect of housing about twenty people in such cramped quarters during the winter months was not appealing. The crowded conditions brought difficulties, as we shall see.

Plans for a New Building

Following the flooding of the basement of his first house during December 1837 and the following March, Whitman saw the necessity of building another house located on higher ground and further back from the river. Narcissa's letter of May 2, 1840, contains a drawing of the floor plan of this second house. The outline of the foundations of this house as laid bare by the excavations of archaeologists at the Whitman Mission National Historic Site shows that the house which was actually erected differed in many respects from what was originally planned. [See the illustration in this volume for the actual floor plan, page 363.] Whitman selected a site about ninety feet to the north of the first adobe structure. He sent men into the mountains some twenty or more miles from Waiilatpu to whipsaw boards during the winters of 1837–38 and 1838–39 [Letter 39]. Occasionally there was enough snow during the winter months so that lumber could be drawn to the mission site on sleds. Some boards were packed on horses. Information is lacking as to how much Whitman had been able to accomplish towards the erection of the new house before the reenforcement of 1838 arrived.

Whitman planned the erection of a "T" shaped building with the main axis of the top of the "T" running north and south, and with the stem of the "T" joining on the east side. Evidently the building was laid out with a compass, as the axis of the top of the "T" was oriented approximately with the magnetic north. This part of the new building was to be a story and a half high and to contain a bedroom, a living room, and an Indian room. A stairway leading to the attic was in the central part, or in the living room. The drawing made in 1840 by Asahel Munger indicated a fourth room at the south end of the top of the "T" (room "A" on his drawing) but it is evident from the uncovered foundations that this was never built. According to the archaeologist, the top of the "T" measured 19' 3" by 60' 10", and the stem of the "T" measured 22' x 80'.

In a letter to his parents written about the middle of October 1838, during the temporary absence of Whitman, Walker, and Eells, Smith stated that he was laying adobe bricks for the new house and that the walls had been raised "nearly to the chamber floor." This indicates that the unit on which he was working had an upper story or a half-story. We have good reason to believe that the top of the "T" was the first section of the building to be erected. Smith was able to finish one room

by December 4, 1838, for on that day he and his wife moved out of the crowded adobe house near the river into the new building.

Evidence is lacking as to when the other units of the building were erected, except the room marked "H" on Munger's drawing, which was built near the end of 1843. This room was erected over a cellar and, according to the rough sketch made of the Whitman home by Paul Kane in 1847 [see the illustration on page 363], was a story and a half high. A room was being built at the east end of the stem of the "T" at the time of the massacre in November 1847.

The adobe bricks uncovered by the archaeologist measure roughly 5 x 10 x 29 inches and, according to one estimate, about six thousand were needed in the erection of this building.[49] Spalding in his description of the building found in the inventory of the Waiilatpu property compiled after the massacre, stated that the roof was constructed of "split timber, grassed earth [i.e., sod]."[50] With the possible exception of the first roof on the lean-to, the roofs at Waiilatpu seem to have been efficient in shedding the heavy winter rains; no complaints about leaky roofs have been found in the writings of those who lived for varying periods of time at this station. Evidently the main Whitman home was built in segments over several years as time and manpower were available. Although one room was finished in December 1838, about a year and a half passed before the Whitmans were able to move into their new quarters.

"Such Folks Right in My Kitchen"

The news that Henry and Mary Gray carried to the Whitmans and the Spaldings on August 21, 1838, that a reenforcement of seven (in addition to Mrs. Gray) for the Oregon Mission was about to arrive, lifted their spirits to the heights. As Whitman wrote: "They thanked God and took courage." It was a time of rejoicing—a day of triumph! But within a few days after all had arrived at Waiilatpu, the Whitmans and the Spaldings became aware that the tensions, which had developed within the reenforcement during their overland journey, were being forced upon them. Circumstances were such that they too became involved in personality clashes.

The fact that these people were missionaries did not mean that they were saints. They were first of all human beings, subject to all

of the inherent weaknesses of human flesh. Indeed, the fact that they were missionaries is evidence that each was an individual with strong convictions, else they would not have ventured on such a journey. The hardships endured while traveling, and the primitive conditions under which so many lived in the cramped quarters of the Whitman home, made it easy for strained relationships to arise. Perhaps no sharper test of Christian forbearance has been devised than that of making two or more families live under the same roof and share the same kitchen. This becomes especially trying when such families are surrounded by peoples of another culture, race, or language, thus forcing them all the more upon each other's society. Modern-day missionaries who have lived in the same compound on some foreign mission field can testify to the truth of this statement.

The change which took place in the minds and hearts of Marcus and Narcissa when their initial joy was changed to disappointment can easily be traced in the writings of the missionaries themselves, especially in Mary Walker's diary and in some of Narcissa's letters. On the whole, this is an unpleasant side of the Whitman story, but in the light of later events, it is too important to be omitted. The friction which developed within the mission had important consequences.

Mary Walker opens many windows in her diary through which we can look into the Whitman household. In strict conformity with the custom of that day, she always referred to the other members of the Mission, even to her husband, with the title "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Dr." as the case might be. She never used the given name alone. Mary noted a number of incidents which involved Asa Smith. On September 18, she wrote: "Mr. Smith came to pantry & found nothing but milk & melons. Didn't like it... At supper Mr. S. said he was very hungry, had had no dinner. In forenoon Mr. S. sent out to give a melon to some boys for pounding [i.e., washing clothes]. Mrs. W. countermanded." On October 13, she noted: "Mrs. Whitman quite put out with Mr. Smith because he was unwilling to let her have Jack [the Hawaiian] help her." Even mild-mannered Dr. Whitman had difficulties with Smith; on November 30, Mary wrote: "Dr. W. quite out of patience with Mr. Smith."

A difference of opinion arose over the question whether women should pray aloud in the mission prayer meetings. Narcissa grew up in

communities in western New York where women took part with men in public prayer. Hers was an emotional religion. As a girl and young woman, she took part in revivals and gloried in seeing sinners weep when under conviction of sin. These were for her "melting times." The three couples from New England were more restrained in giving expression to their inner feelings. In their home communities women did not pray aloud in the presence of men. During the absence of Walker and Eells on their trip to Spokane, Mary ventured to pray aloud in the Whitman family worship. But this troubled her, for she wrote in her diary on October 2: "I wish I knew whether my husband likes to have me pray before folks or not. When he comes home I will ask him."

Narcissa, in a letter to her father dated October 10, 1840, wrote: "We have none in our mission of as high-toned piety as we could wish, especially among those who came in the last reenforcement. They think it wrong for females to pray in the presence of men, and do not allow it even in our small circle here. This has been a great trial to me, and I have almost sunk under it." And again on October 6, 1841, she wrote: "In all the prayer meetings of this mission, the brethren only pray. I believe all the sisters would be willing to pray if their husbands would let them... My husband has no objection to my praying, but if my sisters do not, he thinks it quite as well for me not to."

Still another irritant was the fact that Elkanah Walker chewed tobacco and, no doubt to Narcissa's great disgust, used the open fireplace in the kitchen as a spittoon. Also at least one of the New England men liked his wine, and this too was objectionable to the Whitmans. In wet and cold weather, the men sought the warmth of the kitchen where Narcissa and the other women would be preparing their meals. All this is background for the following comment taken from Narcissa's letter to her sister, Jane, dated March 23, 1839: "We need help very much, and those who will pray, too. In this we have been disappointed in our helpers last come, particularly the two Revs. who have gone to the Flatheads. They think it not good to have too many meetings, too many prayers, and that it is wrong and unseemly for a woman to pray where there are men, and plead the necessity for wine, tobacco, etc.' and now how do you think I have lived with *such folks right in my kitchen for the whole winter.*" [51]

The endless household duties, multiplied by the presence of so many in her home, added to the nervous strain under which Narcissa

was living. In addition to such daily tasks as cooking for twenty or more over an open fire in the fireplace, were the repeated duties of washing clothes, making soap, and dipping candles. On January 29, 1839, Mary Walker mentioned that she, Mary, had that day "dipped 24 doz candles." Narcissa also had the care of her little girl whom she was still nursing. A remembrance of these facts helps us to appreciate the following extracts from Mary's diary: "Nov. 16. Worked about house all day. Got very tired. Mrs. W. appears to feel cross at everybody… She seems in a worry about [something]. Went out & blustered round & succeeded in melting over her tallow." "Friday 23. Mrs. Whitman washing. Cross time of it." And "Friday 30. Mrs. W. washing. Think she has less help from the other ladies than she ought."

On Sunday, November 11, less than a month before her baby was born, Mary wrote: "Oh! I wish I had a little chamber where I could secrete myself." On the 18th, she added: "My husband seems to think I expose myself more than is necessary, but what can I do? There is no place where I can be."

Asa Smith, eager to have a private bedroom for himself and his wife, worked hard to complete one room in the new adobe house. The Smiths were able to spend the first night in the new house on Monday, December 3, although Mary did not refer to them as actually moving out of the old adobe until the next day, December 4. On Monday evening, according to Mary's diary, the three couples—the Whitmans, the Walkers, and the Eellses—sat up "till midnight talking about Mr. S[mith] & Mr. G[ray]." Evidently Narcissa was deeply moved by what was said, for Mary added: "Mrs. W. gets to feeling very bad, goes to bed crying." And on the 4th, Mary wrote:"Mrs. W. in a sad mood all day, did not present herself at the breakfast table." Then comes the saddest entry to be found in Mary's diary: "[Mrs. Whitman] went out doors, down by the river to cry." Since she could find no privacy in her home, Narcissa had to seek some lonely spot in the outofdoors where she could weep.

As soon as the Smiths had moved, Elkanah erected a board partition in a corner of one of the rooms in the main section of the adobe house thus giving his wife a private bedroom. Mary was able to move into it on the 5th. On the 6th, for some unknown reason, Elkanah found it necessary to ride to Fort Walla Walla and hence was not present when his son was born. Early on the morning of the 7th, Mary's labor pains began.

She called the Whitmans who made such preparations as were necessary. About nine o'clock the pains increased. Later, looking back upon her experience, she wrote in her diary: "Felt as if I almost wished I had never been married. But there was no retreating, meet it I must. About eleven I began to be quite discouraged. I had hoped to be delivered ere then… But just as I supposed the worst was at hand, my ears were saluted with the cry of my child. A son was the salutation. Soon I forgot my misery in the joy of possessing a proper child." They called the boy Cyrus Hamblin after one of Elkanah's classmates who was a pioneer missionary to Turkey.[52] Inevitably the birth of the baby meant extra work for Narcissa.

Camping on the Tucannon

Perhaps the nearest to a vacation that the Whitmans ever experienced came during the latter part of January and the first part of February 1839 when they rode to the Tucannon River, about fifty miles distant, with their little girl and spent about two and one-half weeks camping. The occasion for the outing arose out of some special meetings Spalding had conducted at Lapwai for the Nez Perces during December 1838. The meetings were first held in a 20' x 40' log schoolhouse which Gray had built. This soon became too small to accommodate the numbers who came, so that Spalding had to conduct the meetings outofdoors. With his characteristic tendency to exaggerate, Spalding, in a letter to Greene dated March 3, 1839, reported that "several thousand" Nez Perces were in attendance and the"probably two thousand have made a public confession of their sins." [53]

Spalding's Success with the Nez Perces

Both Spalding and Gray were eager to have a millrace dug so that a gristmill could be erected at Lapwai. The presence of so many natives on the mission grounds suggested the idea of enlisting their aid in the project and paying them with potatoes. The Indians were encouraged to assist in digging the millrace by being told that they would benefit by having a gristmill available for the grinding of their wheat. So with the enthusiastic help of several hundred Indians, a ditch was dug about half a mile long, four feet wide, and in some places fifteen feet deep. They had no other tools than two shovels, a few hoes, some axes, tomahawks, and sharpened sticks. The Indians worked in the mornings and early

afternoons and then attended Spalding's meetings in the latter part of the afternoons and evenings. The outline of the millrace can still be traced at the Spalding mission site which is now a part of the Nez Perce National Historical Park.

One of the secrets of Spalding's success with the Nez Perces was the fact that he won the support of several influential chiefs. Among those who seemed to have experienced a spiritual awakening during those December meetings were two chiefs, Teutakas and Timosa. Spalding had the custom of bestowing upon his converts Bible names and to these two he gave the names of Joseph and Timothy. Teutakas is mentioned in Parker's *Journal of an Exploring Tour* when his interpreter, Kentuc, once had occasion to compare the sincerity of Teutakas with that of another chief called Charlie. According to Parker, Kentuc said:"Charlie prayed with his lips, but Teutacus prayed with his heart." [54]

Teutakas is also known as Old Joseph to distinguish him from his son, also called Joseph, or Young Joseph, who was to be a leader in the Nez Perce uprising of 1877. Among the few natives who became members of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, there was none more sincere and faithful in the profession and practice of the Christian faith than Timothy. He figures prominently in the history of the Oregon Mission of the American Board and also in the history of the Indian wars following the Whitman massacre. He was always a faithful friend of the white men. On the other hand, Tackensuatis, who had manifested such eagerness to have at least one missionary couple settle among the Nez Perces, lost interest in the white man's religion. For some reason he had become disillusioned within a year or so after the Spaldings went to Lapwai. Writing to Greene on February 6, 1840, Smith said: "People at home may think from what was written of him that he is a christian, but he is far from it. Instead of being settled with Mr. S[palding], he has become his enemy & proves to be a very wicked man." [55]

Whitman Visits Spalding at Lapwai

When Whitman learned of the stirring events taking place at Lapwai, he decided to go and see for himself. He left Waiilatpu on January 1, 1839. According to a letter Narcissa wrote to her sister Jane, dated May 17, 1839, he wanted "to attend a protracted meeting" which Spalding was holding for the natives. Judging by subsequent events, however, it is possible that

there were other reasons for the trip. Spalding was having some difficulties with Gray at Lapwai and may have asked for Whitman's presence to discuss the problem. Also, it is possible that Whitman wanted to talk with Spalding about problems which had arisen at Waiilatpu with Smith.

Whitman made the 120-mile ride to Lapwai in less than four days. After seeing the response the natives were giving to Spalding, Whitman found himself deeply impressed. Never again during the mission period was Spalding going to be able to attract so many natives to the mission site and keep them there for so many days as was the case during the winter of 1838-39. Whitman admired Spalding's ability to use the native language and felt somewhat conscience stricken at his failure to be as proficient.

Evidently Whitman and Spalding discussed the need for Whitman to get away from Waiilatpu for a time and live with the natives in order to have a better opportunity to learn the language. A plan was evolved. Whitman would return to Waiilatpu, get Narcissa and Alice Clarissa and then the three would return to the place where the Lapwai-Waiilatpu trail crossed the Tucannon River. Timothy agreed to meet the Whitmans there with some of his band and do what he could to teach them the Nez Perce language.

Whitman left Lapwai on January 10 and was back at his home by the 15th. When he told Narcissa of his plan, he found her not only willing to endure whatever hardships they might encounter at that time of the year, but even enthusiastic. Writing to her sister Jane, Narcissa said: "He had no difficulty to persuade me to accompany him, for I was nearly exhausted, both in body and mind, in the labour and care of our numerous family." She explained that the purpose of their going to live with the Indians was "for the benefit of having free access to the language and be free from care and company" [Letter 63].

With the Nez Perces on the Tucannon

The Whitmans with their daughter, then nearly two years old, left Waiilatpu on Tuesday, January 22. Cushing and Myra Eells, Mary Walker, and Margaret McKay rode with them for the first three miles. The following extract from Mary's diary reflects a continuing tension in the home: "Mrs. W. has dealt so largely in powder and balls of late that perhaps her absence will not detract much from our happiness."

If such an excursion could be called a vacation, then this was the first that Marcus and Narcissa had enjoyed after their marriage. The weather was mild, even quite warm for that time of the year. After a leisurely journey of three days, they arrived at the Tucannon where they found an encampment of Nez Perces with Timothy. Soon after their arrival, the weather turned cold and snow fell. The Whitmans were sheltered in a tent. In order to keep warm, Marcus built a small fire inside the tent but the smoke caused the child to cry. Marcus then moved the fire to the entrance and erected a "lodge" around the fire to carry off the smoke. This proved to be a better plan.

Narcissa's account of the worship services her husband conducted on Sunday shows not only Whitman's participation in teaching Christianity but also the religious receptivity of the Nez Perces. She wrote:

> Sab. at Tukanon. Jan. 27, 1839. This has been a day of peculiar interest here. Could you have been an eye witness of the scenes you would, as I do, have rejoiced in being thus privileged. The morning worship at daybreak I did not attend. At midday I was present. Husband talked to them of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; all listened with eager attention. After prayer and singing, an opportunity was given for those who had heavy hearts under a sense of sin, and only those, to speak if they wished it. For a few moments all sat in silence; soon a prominent and intelligent man named Timothy broke the silence with sobs weeping. He arose, spoke of his great wickedness, and how very black his heart was; how weak and insufficient he was of himself to effect his own salvation; that his only dependence was in the blood of Christ to make him clean and save his soul from sin and hell.
>
> He was followed by a brother, who spoke much to the same effect. Next came the wives of the first and of the second, who seemed to manifest deep feelings. Several others followed; one in particular, while confessing her sins, her tears fell to the ground so copiously that I was reminded of the weeping 'Mary who washed her Saviour's feet with her tears.' All manifested much deep feeling; some in loud sobs and tears; others in anxious and solemn countenance. You can better imagine my feelings than I can describe them on witnessing such a scene in heathen

lands. They had but recently come from the meeting at Brother Spalding's.

Narcissa liked the Nez Perces. She told Jane that: "Most of them were not so hardened in sin; or, rather, they were not so proud a people as our people, the Wieletpoos, are." Both Marcus and Narcissa experienced a deep feeling of joy and satisfaction when they witnessed these evidences of the acceptance of Christianity by the natives. This was a moment of triumph for the Whitmans, an experience which made them feel that all of the hardships they had endured were eminently worthwhile. God was blessing their labors!

While sitting in the door of her tent on that Sunday evening, Narcissa continued her letter to Jane: "O, my dear Jane, could you see us here this beautiful eve, the full moon shining in all her splendor, clear, yet freezing cold, my little one sleeping by my side, husband at worship with the people within hearing, and I sitting in the 'door of the tent' writing, with my usual clothing except a shawl, and handkerchief on my head, and before me a large comfortable fire in the open air. Do you think we suffer? No, dear Jane; I have not realized so much enjoyment for a long time as I have since I have been here."

The Whitmans stayed at Tucannon into the third week and returned home on Saturday, February 9. Mary Walker mentioned this in her diary and added: "Adieu to peace and order."

Growing Dissension Within the Mission

The winter of 1838–39 and spring of 1839 was a time of growing dissension within the Oregon Mission. A focal point of trouble at Waiilatpu was Asa Smith, who soon realized that the life of an Oregon missionary was far different from that which he had imagined. His deep unhappiness is reflected in a letter to Greene dated April 29, 1839, and a longer one of some six thousand words of August 27.[56] For one thing, he was amazed to realize how much time the missionaries had to spend in manual work and secular activities just to keep alive. He Wrote: "I feel that it is a great calamity that we are under the necessity of spending so much time in providing for our temporal wants. But necessity is laid upon us & we must do it or suffer."

Soon after his arrival at Waiilatpu, Smith began to have doubts over

the wisdom of the endeavors that Whitman and Spalding were making to settle the Indians. Here was a fundamental difference of opinion. In his letter of April 29, Smith wrote: "Much has been said about furnishing the Indians with cattle, ploughs, sending out farmers, mechanics, &c. With regard to this I must say that it appears to me to be departing from the object which the Board has in view. A few cows are important for our comfort & support but to think of furnishing a nation with them, it would I believe defeat our object in coming. I feel that there is very great danger of introducing the habits of civilized life faster than the natives are capable of appreciating them." Smith felt that the enthusiasm the Indians manifested at the coming of the missionaries was not a reflection of their eagerness for the truths of Christianity but rather for their "hope of temporal gain." Over and over again, he emphasized what he considered to be the selfishness of the natives. Writing in his diary on September 1, 1839, Spalding commented: "Mr. Smith preaches against all efforts to settle the poor Indians, thinks they should be kept upon the chase to prevent their becoming worldly minded."

In recalling the circumstances which led to his application to be included in the 1838 reenforcements, Smith blamed Spalding for the over enthusiastic reports which the latter had sent to the Board during his first year in Old Oregon and which had been published in the *Missionary Herald*. Smith felt that he would never have volunteered for the Oregon Mission had he not been misled by Spalding's exaggerations. Blaming Spalding for his predicament, he became increasingly critical of him. Writing to Greene on February 6, 1840, Smith said: "Before I left the States this mission seemed to absorb the attention of Christians, I often thought, more than all others, tho' in fact it was one of the very least in its relative importance." And in his letter of August 27, 1839, he declared:"Had I known what I now do before I left the States, I can not say that I should have come here."

Friction arose between Smith and Whitman during the winter of 1838–39; details are lacking as to its causes. Smith became extremely unhappy, and by February was determined to leave Waiilatpu. He wanted a station of his own. The idea occurred to him that he might move to Kamiah in the heart of the Nez Perce country, about sixty miles up the river from Lapwai. During the winter of 1838–39, Lawyer had spent some time at Waiilatpu tutoring Smith in the Nez Perce language.[57]

Lawyer's home was at Kamiah; in all probability it was he who told Smith about the advantages of studying the language there.

Special Mission Meeting of February 1839

The decision had been made at the first mission meeting held at Waiilatpu in September 1838 to establish a gristmill at Lapwai. As has been stated, Spalding was successful in securing the aid of the Nez Perces in the digging of a millrace. The next requirement was to quarry the millstones. Walker was asked to go to Lapwai to help Gray, Spalding, and Rogers in this undertaking. When Smith learned of Walker's intended journey, he decided to go along, with the intention of continuing on to Kamiah to explore the country for a mission site. The two men left Waiilatpu on Monday, February 11, and arrived at Lapwai the following Wednesday afternoon.

The arrival of Walker and Smith at Lapwai brought five of the seven men of the Mission together. Smith emphatically told his four associates that "he would leave the Mission rather than be connected with Dr. Whitman." [58] The situation was so serious that the men agreed a special meeting of the Mission should be held as soon as possible. Spalding, therefore, sent word the next day, February 14, to Whitman asking that he and Eells come to Lapwai at once. In the meantime, Walker, Gray, and Rogers set out to see if they could cut out some millstones, and Smith, with an Indian guide, left for Kamiah to explore for a possible mission site.

When Narcissa learned of the special meeting, she decided to go with her husband to Lapwai. Accordingly, the Whitmans with their little girl and Eells left Waiilatpu on the 19th, and arrived at Lapwai at noon on the 22nd. By this time the three men who had gone for millstones had returned, but without having any success; and Smith was back from Kamiah. Thus all members of the Oregon Mission were present except Mary Walker, Myra Eells, and Sarah Smith.

The Mission meeting began on Saturday morning, the 23rd, with Spalding serving as moderator. A number of minor items of business were first considered. Some time before this date, Spalding had officiated at the marriage of Richard Williams, a mountain man in his employ, to a Nez Perce woman with whom he had been living. It had been the common practice in the heyday of the fur trade for the traders

and trappers to live with native women without benefit of clergy. There had been no other course, when no clergy or authorized law officials were available. This was looked upon as a shocking situation by clergymen of various denominations who came into contact with this custom. Anglican ministers at Red River, Chaplain Beaver at Fort Vancouver, and the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley, all encouraged the white men to legalize their common law relationships by having a marriage service performed. This would give valuable legal rights to the offspring of such marriages. Spalding acted entirely in line with accepted ecclesiastical practice when he married Williams and the Nez Perce woman, yet someone protested, no doubt the overcritical Smith. After reviewing the facts of the case, the Mission voted that in the future no member of the Mission should perform such a marriage unless the white man was a candidate for church membership.[59]

After some other lesser issues were settled, a resolution was introduced to authorize the transfer of Smith from Waiilatpu to some undesignated new location. Spalding, in his diary, noted that this precipitated "a long debate." Not being able to reach a decision on Saturday, the question was carried over until the following Monday when, after further deliberation, the resolution was rejected. Smith was not authorized to leave Waiilatpu.

Then a second resolution was introduced which called for Dr. Whitman to leave Wailatpu and open a new station on the Snake River near the mouth of the Palouse River. Such a location, argued Spalding, Walker, and Eells, would put the doctor in a more central location, thus making him more quickly available in cases of severe illness in the more distant stations. An implication of this resolution was that Smith would take charge of the Waiilatpu mission. To the surprise and dismay of both Marcus and Narcissa, this motion carried. Narcissa was of the opinion that Spalding was the one most responsible for the vote. Looking back on that meeting, Narcissa in a letter to her father dated October 10, 1840, wrote: "Every mind in the mission that he had had access to, he has tried to prejudice against us, and did succeed for a while, which was the cause of our being voted to remove and form a new station."

Another important action was taken when full charge of the blacksmith shop, gristmill, and framing operations at Lapwai was given to Gray, with the understanding that Spalding, relieved of such duties,

would be able to give full time to his religious work. Such an assignment of duties to Gray was in harmony with the original intention of the Board, but the action of the Mission, as will be seen, did not prove satisfactory. The Mission also voted that the printing press, which was expected to arrive that spring from Honolulu, be located at Lapwai. It may be that this decision was based in part on the fact that Spalding, as a student in Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati, 1833–35, had worked in a printing shop.

The business meeting closed on Tuesday noon, February 26. Walker, Eells, and Smith left at once for Waiilatpu. Previous arrangements had been made with the Spokane chief, Cornelius, to escort the Walkers and the Eellses to Tshimakain, leaving Waiilatpu on or about March 5; thus the men felt a special urge to be on their way back to Waiilatpu. They made the return journey in two and one-half days, and upon their arrival, found Cornelius waiting for them. Evidently Elkanah gave Mary a discouraging report of the Lapwai meeting, for she wrote in her diary that the men "had a bad time."

Smith Considers Leaving the Mission

The Whitmans tarried at Lapwai for a few days because of the illness of little Eliza Spalding. Eager to be back at his home before the two couples left for Tshimakain, Whitman left Lapwai on Saturday, March 2, after making arrangements for the Spaldings to escort his wife and daughter to the Tucannon River where he would meet them on the 8th. Whitman wanted Spalding's advice in the selection of a site for the proposed new station. Even though pressed for time, it appears that Whitman obeyed his conscience about not traveling on Sunday. After remaining in camp on that day, he continued his journey early Monday morning. He had a hard ride all day Monday and perhaps through all of Monday night. Mary wrote in her diary for Tuesday, May 5: "About sunrise Dr. W. reached home & about noon we left W[aiilatpu]." A residence of about six months for the Walkers and the Eellses in the crowded Whitman home had come to an end.

Rarely in the eleven-year history of the Oregon Mission was Whitman so dejected as he was during those days. To begin with, there were the letters from Greene received in the summer of 1838 with the criticisms of Whitman's expenditures made by Samuel Parker. Then

came the tensions and personality conflicts which grew out of the crowded living conditions at Waiilatpu during the fall of 1838 and the following winter. The blunt declaration that Smith had made to the members of the Mission that he refused to live in the same station with him and Narcissa must have been hard to take. But the final blow was the vote that the Mission had taken that he should turn over Waiilatpu to Smith and start a new station. Of all members of the Mission, no one was less qualified for the responsibilities of Waiilatpu than Smith and no one realized this more than Whitman. The hasty and ill-considered vote of the Mission calling upon the Whitmans to leave Waiilatpu and start a new station was devastating to his morale. His heart failed him as he thought of the work, the privations, and the difficulties attendant upon establishing a new station in the wilderness. The outlook was so discouraging that Whitman seriously considered leaving the Mission.

When the Walker-Eells party left Waiilatpu at noon on March 5 for Tshimakain, Whitman traveled with them to their first encampment on Mill Creek, five or six miles east of Waiilatpu, on what is now a part of the campus of Whitman College. Mary Walker wrote that day in her diary: "We talked with him all that time would allow & he left us feeling much better than when he came home." For the time being, Whitman tried to accept the decision of the Mission with Christian forbearance. At least he would make an effort to investigate the possibilities of a new location.

Riding in advance of the Walkers and the Eellses, Whitman met the Spaldings and Narcissa at the crossing of the Tucannon River on the 8th. Because of Eliza Spalding's feeble health, she remained in camp the next day while her husband, their daughter, and the Whitmans with their little girl rode the trail following the Tucannon to where it emptied into the Snake River. The Whitmans and Spalding met the Walker-Eells party, who had taken a different trail from that followed by Whitman, at the Snake River crossing on March 9. Mary Walker mentioned the meeting in her diary and added: "Had not a remarkably pleasant interview with them." This was the last time the two women en route to the Spokane country were to see any of the other four women of the Mission for over a year. With the passing of time, the strained relationships, evident at Waiilatpu, disappeared.

While the four men were together, they again discussed the advisability of the Whitmans leaving Waiilatpu. By this time Narcissa was voicing her strong opposition. When Spalding, Walker, and Eells began to realize more of the problems involved, they began to doubt the wisdom of their vote. On Saturday, February 9, the Walker-Eells party bade farewell to the Spaldings and Whitman, crossed the Snake, and continued their journey to Tshimakain. A few miles below the mouth of the Tucannon was the place where the Palouse River, coming in from the north, also emptied into the Snake. The trail which led to the Spokane country followed the Palouse and its tributaries for about fifty miles before striking across the country to the Spokane River. [See map in this volume.] Spalding wrote in his diary for that day: "Doct. & myself examine the Paluse, not favorable for a location." After spending Sunday with a band of Nez Perces on the Tucannon, the Whitmans and Spaldings separated on Monday to return to their respective stations.

Back at Waiilatpu, Whitman and Smith debated the pros and cons of the prospective move. Out of the discussions came a compromise suggestion, perhaps made by Whitman: Smith would move to Kamiah on a temporary basis in order to study the language, and the Whitmans would remain at Waiilatpu. Then at the Annual Meeting of the Mission scheduled for September, the whole question would be reconsidered. Feeling the necessity of Spalding's approval for this plan, the two men journeyed again to Lapwai where they arrived on March 23. On the 25th Spalding wrote in his diary: "Doct. Whitman & Mr. Smith wish advice as to their future course but after long consultation, came to no conclusion." Whitman and Smith started back to Waiilatpu on the 25th. This was the third time since the beginning of that year that Whitman had ridden the 240-mile round trip from Waiilatpu to Lapwai.

On March 28, the day after their return to Waiilatpu, Smith wrote to Walker: "It is very evident that the Dr. & his wife were not so willing to leave this place as was pretended at the meeting. He told me that he did not expect that such a decision would have been made. So it seems that neither of us have been suited by the arrangement. I lament that I ever consented to remain here [i.e., at Waiilatpu]. Indeed my heart never has consented to it & I do not expect ever to be satisfied or contented with my present situation. *I lament the day that connected me with this mission.* Why it is that I am here, I know not… Should this mission be broken up, I should

not be disappointed. At any rate I doubt whether I have any connection with it for a long time to come." [60]

On April 1, Spalding wrote in his diary: "Last eve letters arrived from Doct. Whitman & wife. Doct. remains at his old station. Everything seems to be settled." During the latter part of that month, Spalding went to Waiilatpu to get the printing press. On the 27th, he wrote: "Mr. Smith & the Doct. on good terms for which I am truly thankful. Also Mrs. Whitman & Mrs. Smith are on good terms which is a matter of much joy. Doubtless they have all prayed more & talked less."

On April 30, the Smiths left for Kamiah. For the first time in eight months, the Whitman household was back to normal size. After tarrying a few days at Lapwai, the Smiths moved on to Kamiah arriving there on May 10. Gray accompanied them in order to help in the erection of a rude cabin to serve as a temporary shelter for the summer. The cabin had no floor except the earth and no windows. Sarah wrote in her diary that they really did not need windows as "the many cracks furnish us with sufficient light." None of the other couples in the Oregon Mission lived in such an isolated place and under such primitive conditions as the Smiths at Kamiah. Moreover, none of the six missionary wives was in such poor health as Sarah Smith.

Smith and Gray, who had not been on speaking terms with each other at times when crossing the country in the summer of 1838, now discovered that they were in full agreement in their criticisms of Spalding. In the lonely isolation of Kamiah, the unhappy and ill-adjusted Smith had plenty of time to brood on his misfortunes and to write long letters to Greene. Thus, while at Kamiah, Smith's discontentment became a greater threat to the harmony and success of the Oregon Mission than it ever was at Waiilatpu.

Other Events of the Spring and Summer of 1839

On April 17, 1839, Spalding learned of the arrival at Fort Vancouver of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin O. Hall, members of the Hawaiian Mission of the American Board, with the small printing press which that Mission was giving to the Oregon Mission. Hall informed Spalding that he expected to accompany a Hudson's Bay party under the command of Francis Ermatinger up the Columbia to Fort Walla Walla with the hope of arriving there on or about May 1. He suggested that Spalding meet him at the

fort with horses to carry the press to Lapwai but that a canoe be provided for Mrs. Hall as she was then unable to ride horseback. She was suffering from a chronic illness of the spine and was able to sit up, as Narcissa wrote, "but very little" [Letter 63]. We are amazed to read of the long sea voyage and then the travel in Old Oregon under primitive conditions which Mrs. Hall ventured to undertake in her handicapped condition. Moreover, she was pregnant and gave birth to a daughter at Waiilatpu on November 5, 1839. Even Whitman, however, felt that the travel would improve her health and that she would gain much by a change of climate [Letter 62].

The Spaldings with their little girl left Lapwai on April 24 and arrived at Waiilatpu on the 27th. Word came from Pambrun on the 29th that the Halls, with the press, were at Fort Walla Walla. The next day, the Whitmans and the Spaldings rode to the fort. Spalding was delighted with the press and the supplies which came with it. Writing in his diary, he said: "Rev. Mr. Bingham says the press, type, paper, binding materials, sugar, molasses & salt which his church & congregation purchased & sent as a donation to this Mission amounted to about $400." This was the first American press to be established on the Pacific Coast of what is now the United States. In the years following, seven items in the Nez Perce and one in the Spokane language were to be printed on it.[61]

Whitman Reports to Greene

The Spaldings and Edwin Hall, with the pack train carrying the press and supplies, left Fort Walla Walla on May 6. Mrs. Hall made the journey to Lapwai in a canoe manned by friendly Nez Perces. Whitman was at the Fort to see them off. During this visit to the Fort, Whitman had opportunity to talk with Ermatinger, who passed on to him some gossip regarding the unfavorable impression that Samuel Parker had left on Company officials at Fort Vancouver. Such information revived unhappy memories of letters which he and Spalding had received from Greene about a year earlier quoting Parker as saying that he could have taken a party of missionaries of the same size as the 1836 party to Oregon at far less expense than that incurred by Whitman and Spalding. Whitman had replied to those letters in October 1838, but in a mild way.

Some of the things which Ermatinger told raised Whitman's ire. He was doubly sensitive of criticism because of recent events within the

Mission; for instance, the vote calling upon him to leave Waiilatpu. There is reason to believe that the Whitmans had considered the possibility of leaving the Mission and moving to the Willamette Valley. Whatever may have been the psychological background, this we know; on May 10, 1839, Whitman wrote a 3,000–word letter to Greene which is the sharpest of all of his extant letters. In it he reviewed his experiences with Parker while crossing the plains and the mountains in the summer of 1835. He cited incident after incident to show Parker's ineptness, his lack of good judgment, his refusal to do his fair share of work, and finally his failure in Old Oregon to prepare the way for the mission party of 1836.[62] Regarding this last point, Whitman wrote:"We cannot say how much good Mr. P's tour will do others, it has done us none, for instead of meeting us at Rendezvous as he agreed, he neglected even to write a single letter containing any information concerning the country, Indians, prospects, or advice of any kind whatever" [Letter 62].

In this letter of May 10, Whitman made only a brief reference to the action of the Mission regarding his possible removal from Waiilatpu: "It was expected that I should have gone to join a new station in a more central location, but it has been deferred for the present." Whitman also gave a financial report for the year ending on the date he wrote. The total expense incurred by the Oregon Mission was £595-1-0, which was less than an average of £100 for each of the six families. When we remember that prices at Fort Vancouver were about double prime cost, the total expense for the year was most reasonable. Whitman assumed £118-19-10 as his share, which included the cost of taking care of three couples of the reenforcement during the winter of 1838–39. His itemized statement follows:

Family supplies, building materials, farming (tools) provisions, medicines, Indian goods, transportation £67-8-4

One-sixth General Expense for Black Smith shop, Mill Irons, Steel for ploughs, hoes, chains, etc, bolt cloth, hire of Smith, transportation £17-17-2

Labour..... £21-3-4

Passage of an Hawaiian & wife from the Sandwich Isls.... £12-10-0

Alice Clarissa Whitman

About four months before Narcissa received her first mail from her family in New York State, she wrote a letter to her "Very, Very Dear Parents," under date of March 14, 1838. This was her thirtieth birthday and the first of her daughter, Alice Clarissa. The letter begins with the lament: "More than two years have passed since I left my father's home and not a single word has been wafted hence, or, perhaps I should say, has greeted my ears to afford consolation in a desponding hour. This long, long silence makes me feel the truth of our situation, that we are far, very far removed from the land of our birth and Christian privileges."

This letter, like others written by Narcissa to her loved ones during the two years her daughter was alive, is sprinkled with tender references to her. The proud mother listed the words the one-yearold could say, as "Papa," "Mama," and "pussy." The last word shows that the Whitmans had a cat. From other references, we know that they also had at least one dog. The little girl was then learning to walk. Narcissa wrote: "She is as large and larger than some of the native children of two years old. Her strength, size, and activity surprise the Indians very much. They think it is owing to their being laced on their tecashes (as they call the board they use for them), motionless night and day, that makes their children so weak and small when compared with her."

On April 11, 1838, Narcissa wrote again to her parents and again made mention of her little girl. "My Clarissa is my own little companion from day to day, and dear daughter." Again: "She is her mother's constant companion, & appears to be very lonely if she is out of sight but for a few moments... Dear child, she is a great solace & comfort to her mother in her lonely hours & God grant she may live still to continue so."[63] In this letter Narcissa requested that some flannel dresses, shoes, and other clothing items be sent for her daughter. She also requested that "the name of Alice Clarissa Whitman, born Wieletpoo, O. Territory, March 14, 1837, be placed in father's family Bible."[64]

On September 18, 1838, shortly after the arrival of the reenforcement, Narcissa wrote another long letter to her sister Jane, from which the following is taken: "Yes, Jane, you cannot know how much of a comfort our little daughter, Alice Clarissa, is to her father and mother. O, how many melancholy hours she has saved me, while living here alone so

long, especially when her father is gone for many days together. I wish most sincerely that her aunts could see her, for surely they would love her as well as her parents. She is now eighteen months old, very large and remarkably healthy. She is a great talker. Causes her mother many steps and much anxiety. She is just beginning to sing with us in our family worship. The moment singing commences, if she is not in her mother's arms, she comes to me immediately and wishes me to take her, especially if it is a Nez Perce hymn[65] that we are singing. We have but three or four of them, and sing them every day, and Alice has become so familiar with them that she is repeating some part of them most of the time."

As Narcissa was writing this letter, Alice Clarissa happened to lay a dirty hand on the upper left-hand corner of the page. Since Narcissa had nearly finished filling the page when the incident took place, she decided not to rewrite that part of her letter but to send it as it was with the explanation: "You see, Jane, Alice has come & laid her dirty hands on this paper & given it a fine mark. I send it as it is so that you may have some of her doings to look at & realize perhaps that there is such a child in existence." [See illustration in this volume, page 346.]

The original letter was included in the collection of Narcissa's letters given by her sister, Harriet, to the Oregon Historical Society sometime before 1891. When I was gathering material for my *Marcus Whitman, M.D.*, I visited the Oregon Historical Society and asked to see this letter, as I wanted to see the little girl's smudge marks. I then learned that the letter had mysteriously disappeared. Years later, while examining the Whitman letters in the Coe Collection at Yale University, I discovered this letter, and there on one page were the marks of Alice Clarissa's dirty hand. A copy of this page is included as an illustration in this book. Just how the letter got into the Coe Collection is not fully known.

Alice Clarissa Drowned

As has been indicated, the Walla Walla River flowed a few feet from the first Whitman home. Both Marcus and Narcissa were aware of the danger of the stream as they saw their little girl learning to walk and watched her active feet carry her about the house and dooryard. Marcus was unable to construct a fence around the dooryard for lack of suitable materials. On the Friday before the tragedy, the parents were working in their vegetable garden with Alice who, in her baby ways, was trying to

be of assistance. Marcus happened to pull up a radish which the child took and ran away with it. After awhile the parents, missing her in the garden, searched for her and found her washing the radish in the river. They were "horrorstricken," to use Narcissa's term, to find her alone by the stream [Letter 67].

Being more aware than ever of the danger of the stream, the parents repeatedly sought to warn Alice of its dangers. Some weeks before the final tragedy, Whitman found it necessary to drown a sick dog, called Boxer, with which Alice had often played. Feeling that this might be a good object lesson, Alice was permitted to watch the drowning of the dog. That evening after her mother had again repeated the warning about going near the river, the child said: "Alice fall in water; Alice she die like Boxer—Mama have no Alice" [Letter 67].

The events of the last day of Alice's life are described in detail by the sorrowing mother in a letter sent to her father dated September 30, 1839. On Sunday morning, June 23, Narcissa awakened her daughter with a kiss. The child slowly opened her eyes and, then seeing her mother, stretched up her pudgy arms for an embrace. Although only two years and three months old, Alice was able to sing a number of hymns frequently used by her parents in family worship. That morning she asked for "Rock of Ages." Later the grieving mother remembered how, after singing the first stanza, Alice asked: "Mama, should my tears forever flow." That was her way of calling for the second stanza where these words occur.

Later that morning the Whitmans took their daughter with them when they conducted a worship service for the Indians in their vicinity. Here again at the close of the service, "Rock of Ages" was sung. Of this, Narcissa wrote: "She united with us again, with a clearness and distinctness we shall never forget, and with such ecstacy as almost to raise her out of her chair. And no wonder for what words could have been more appropriate to her mind than these:

While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my eyelids close in death;
When I rise to worlds unknown,
And behold Thee on Thy throne,
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee.

Dear father, when you sing this hymn, think of me, for my thoughts do not recur to it without almost overcoming me… This was the last [time] we heard her sing."

About two-thirty on that fateful Sunday afternoon, Margaret McKay set the table for the Sunday evening meal. Both Marcus and Narcissa were absorbed in reading. Later Narcissa had a dim recollection that Alice had said: "Mama, supper is almost ready; let Alice get some water" [Letter 68]. Taking two cups from the table, the child left the house. "This was like a shadow that passed across my mind," wrote Narcissa." [It] passed away and made no impression."

Soon Narcissa realized that the child was gone and asked Margaret to look for her. Margaret went out and not seeing Alice, went to the garden for some vegetables instead of returning at once to report. Then Mungo went out to look and soon he came back saying that he saw two cups in the river. "How did they get there?" asked Narcissa. "Let them be," said Marcus, "and get them tomorrow, because of the Sabbath." But Narcissa, becoming uneasy, again asked: "How did they get there?" Then Marcus replied: "I suppose Alice put them there." Laying aside his book, he went out to investigate. Narcissa followed. At first they went to the garden. Then after a flash of memory crossed her mind about Alice getting the cups, Narcissa ran to the river. Marcus joined her.

In a letter to her mother, Narcissa described their frantic search: "We ran down on the brink of the river near the place where she was, and, as if forbidden to approach the spot, although accessible, we passed her, crossed a bend in the river far below, and then back again, and then in another direction, still further below, while others got into the river and waded to find her, and what was remarkable, all entered the river below where she was last found."

When all hope passed of finding her alive, the despairing parents turned towards their house. Then, according to Narcissa: "We saw an old Indian preparing to enter the river where she fell in. I stopped to see him swim under water until he passed me, and just a little below me he took her from the water and exclaimed 'She is found.'"[66] Dr. Whitman grasped the body and did what he could to restore breathing but it was in vain. The child was dead. In the depths of her sorrow, Narcissa "flew to the promises of God's holy word," where she found the strength to say: "Thy will be done, not mine" [Letter 68].

The Funeral

A messenger was sent at once to notify the Spaldings and others at Lapwai. He made the 120-mile trip in twenty-five hours. E. O. Hall, the printer, left at once for Waiilatpu. He rode all Monday night and arrived at Waiilatpu in twenty-four hours. Spalding was recovering from an injury received as the result of a serious fall, perhaps from a horse, and was unable to ride horseback. Therefore, the Spaldings made the trip to Fort Walla Walla by canoe down the Clearwater, the Snake, and the Columbia Rivers. The log canoe was manned by Nez Perces. They traveled all Monday night, and during the day on Tuesday and Wednesday, arriving at Fort Walla Walla about 8:00 p.m. on Wednesday. The next morning, June 26, they rode out to Waiilatpu, arriving there about 10:00 a.m. Pambrun accompanied them. Spalding noted in his diary: "Riding caused considerable pain in my side... Mrs. S. much fatigued." It may be assumed that the Spaldings took their little girl with them.

During the three-day interval following the child's death, Narcissa had prepared a shroud for the body while Marcus supervised the making of a coffin and the digging of a grave at the foot of the hill to the northeast of the mission house. Spalding took for his text words found in II Kings 4:26: "Is it well with the child?" Only a few were present for the funeral service. These included the Whitmans and the members of their household, the Spaldings, Hall, Pambrun, and possibly a few Indians. In a letter to her mother dated October 9, 1839, Narcissa wrote that although the grave was in sight every time she stepped out-of-doors:"I seem not to feel that she is there." The spirit had gone to God who gave it.

Because of the slowness of the mails, we may assume that for the next two years letters from the States carried references to Alice Clarissa. Perhaps also in time came the clothing that Narcissa had requested in her letter of April 11, 1838. Such references and articles of clothing would have been poignant reminders of the little child no longer with them.

Sometime after the funeral, Dr. Whitman constructed a picket fence around the grave which a visitor to Waiilatpu saw in May 1843.[67] In the late 1930s, a construction crew working on the road at the base of the hill, uncovered some short boards which might have been used for a coffin and bones judged to be of a two-year-old child. Because of a belief

that these remains were those of Alice Clarissa, a marker was erected on the site and dedicated on May 8, 1969.

Reconciliation and Rededication

An old adage proved again to be true: "A joy shared is a joy increased; a sorrow shared is a sorrow decreased." The hearts of all in the Mission were touched by the great bereavement which had come to the Whitmans. For the time being, at least, old animosities were forgotten and a kindlier feeling was manifested. Whitman began to reproach himself for his reluctance to abide by the decision of the Mission to move. Terrible questions haunted his mind. Was the death of his little girl a judgment of God for his hardness of heart? Was this tragic event a sign from heaven telling him not to leave the Mission but to remain at his post? In a letter dated June 30, 1839, and directed to Elkanah Walker, Whitman wrote: "It is sufficient to say I could not, see any hope of a reconciliation in the Mission & *had concluded to take the consequences of leaving the Mission*[68] at the (next) annual meeting but God in his wise & holy Providence has seen fit to stay me from such a course. I feel satisfied nothing but his hand has done it. I was set upon an opportunity of self justification but God, I trust, has shown me that I should exercise a different spirit."

Whitman gave Walker further details regarding his change of attitude: "On Sabbath, the 23rd instant, I was lead to read Henry on Meekness[69] which so softened my feelings for the time at least as to lead me to desire that Grace & to resolve to exercise it toward the Brethren of the Mission, which was the first lucid moment of reason I had seen. But this was God's method to prepare me for a severe chastening stroke. In the afternoon of that day, he saw cause to take from us our much loved Alice Clarissa." Matthew Henry's small volume on *Meekness* may have been the book he was reading when little Alice got the cups and left the house for the river. Whitman was moved to ask the forgiveness of all in the Mission "for the spirit of hardness & stubbornness which they have seen in me at any time." Whitman added, in this letter to Walker: "I find my pen quite too stiff to express the feelings of my heart. I no longer wish to make conditions of peace with my brethren… I feel to confess that I have been to blame at every step of difficulty in the Mission." Humbly, he asked the forgiveness of the Walkers for everything he might have

done to offend them. In this confession, Narcissa joined and likewise asked forgiveness.

Narcissa, in a letter to her father dated October 10, 1840, mentioned that her husband had been about to leave the Mission "had not the Lord removed from us our beloved child." She wrote that the affliction had not only softened his heart, but also "had a great effect upon all in the mission; it softened their hearts toward us." In a letter that Whitman wrote to Greene on October 15, 1840, he stated that he had planned to leave the Mission "had not the Providence of God arrested me in my deliberate determination to do so by taking away our dear child in so sudden a manner by drowning."

More Trips to Lapwai

The Spaldings remained at Waiilatpu for a week following Alice Clarissa's funeral, thus giving Spalding time to recover from his injury. Since Spalding felt the need for a conference of all working in the Nez Perce language to decide on an alphabet, he induced the Whitmans to return with him and E. O. Hall to Lapwai. The party left Waiilatpu on Thursday morning, July 4, and, in order to avoid traveling on Sunday, rode on the average forty miles a day. They arrived at Lapwai late on Saturday, the 6th. On the following Monday, the Whitmans, the Spaldings, and Hall left for Kamiah, sixty miles distant, to consult with Smith. This trip took them two days. Spalding noted in his diary that the Smiths were living "in a very open house without floor or windows, much to the injury... of Mrs. Smith's health. Their food, pudding & milk is quite too simple, I think."

Now that a printing press was at hand and Hall from Honolulu was present to help with any printing that might be done, it was necessary to decide upon a system for reducing the Nez Perce language to writing. Spalding had worked on this problem and had devised an alphabet in which he used some consonant letters of the Roman alphabet, not needed in the Nez Perce language, to represent certain vowel sounds: e.g., "b" was used as "a" in"hawk". [70] Spalding's alphabet proved to be too inaccurate to be used. Even though Smith had been on the field for less than a year, he had already mastered the language to such an extent that even Spalding deferred to his judgment. Sometime previous to this meeting at Kamiah, Greene had sent to the Oregon missionaries an es-

say by John Pickering on "The Adoption of a Uniform Orthography for the Indian languages of North America," [71] which proved to be a helpful guide. The four men—Whitman, Spalding, Hall, and Smith agreed on taking the twelve letter alphabet which was being used in the Hawaiian Islands to which were added the letters "s" and "t." Other letters, as "b, d, f, g, r, v, and z" were to be used in foreign words. The alphabet thus worked out was formally adopted at the mission meeting held the following September.

The Whitmans spent the following Sunday, July 14, at Lapwai and left on Tuesday for Waiilatpu where they arrived on Friday, the 19th. That very day word came from Tshimakain that Mrs. Eells was seriously ill. Her husband, desparing of her life, begged Whitman to come at once. Marcus was reluctant to leave his wife alone when the loss of their daughter was still so fresh in their minds, but duty called. Narcissa had to pay the price of being a doctor's wife. "It was then," she wrote, "that I fully realized the full reality of my bereavement" [Letter 68].

Marcus was able to return in about two weeks. During the third week in August, the Whitmans were pleasantly surprised when William Geiger, Jr., of Angelica, New York, suddenly arrived at Waiilatpu. With him was a D. G. Johnson. Both men were on their way to the Willamette Valley with the expectation of settling there. They were the first of a long procession of Oregon immigrants to stream past the Whitman mission. A few years later [as will be mentioned], Geiger entered Whitman's employ.

On Sunday, August 25, little Eliza Spalding got an obstruction in her throat which so alarmed her parents that they sent for Dr. Whitman. By riding all night after receiving word, he was able to reach Lapwai on the 28th. He found the little girl recovered. This was the fifth time since the first of that year, 1839, that Whitman had made the 240-mile, round trip, ride to Lapwai. During those same eight months, he had also ridden twice to the Tucannon River, once to Kamiah from Lapwai, and once to Tshimakain, making a total of about 1,800 miles. If on these trips, Whitman had averaged riding thirty miles a day, this meant that he would have spent a full two months in the saddle! Under such circumstances, we marvel how he was able at the same time to direct farming activities at Waiilatpu, tend to the growing administrative duties of the Mission, continue his study of the language, and carry on his professional and missionary activities for the natives.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Mission was scheduled to be held at Lapwai during the first part of September, Whitman made plans, before he left Waiilatpu, for Narcissa to follow. On the evening of August 30, when Narcissa was expected to arrive, Marcus mounted his horse and with little Eliza Spalding rode down the trail on the south side of the Clearwater to meet his wife. Narcissa and those with her happened to have crossed the Snake River at Alpowa and had gone up the north side of the Clearwater, so they missed each other. Narcissa arrived at Lapwai at sunset while Marcus returned after dark.

Chapter 13 footnotes

1 Strictly speaking, the name Lapwai applied to the whole valley and also to the site of the first Spalding home. Today the name Lapwai has been given to a small settlement several miles up the valley. In 1897 the mission site on the bank of the Clearwater was named Spalding when a post office was established there.

2 From Spalding letter of October 9, 1837, in *Hawaiian Spectator*, I:367: "Mrs. McDonald . . . with more or less native blood . . . has no native appearance, has spent some time with Rev. Mr. Cochran of Red. R., reads and speaks English very correctly." Narcissa called her "quite an intelligent woman" [Letter 50].

3 See, also, discussion of finances in section "The Men at Fort Vancouver," Chapter Nine, and Appendix 2.

4 Although Dunbar and Allis founded the mission for the Pawnee Indians, at first they were appointed for the Oregon work.

5 See Drury, *Walker*, pp. 254 ff., for an account of the author's experiences in receiving from Sam Walker, the youngest son of Elkanah and Mary Walker, many items such as letters, books, etc., which had belonged to his parents. Included in the lot were eight volumes from the Columbia Mission Library. Most of the items then received are now in Coll. Wn.

6 The financial reports of the Oregon Mission are in Coll. A. Photostats of certain relevant sections are in Coll. Wn.

7 See Drury, *Spalding*, p. 203. The copy Spalding received is now in Coll. W.

8 Hulbert, *O.P.*, VI:284 ff.

9 Henry Hill was Treasurer of the American Board, 1822–54.

10 Drury, *Spalding*, 205 ff. Also, McLoughlin ms., Coll. B., p. 6: "The Rev. Mr. Parker... is very unpopular with the other Protestant missionaries in this country for which I see no cause."

11 The original record book is in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. An inaccurate transcription appeared in the 1903 *Minutes of the Synod of Washington* which was republished in the *Minutes* for 1936. Spalding included in the records of the church a brief biographical sketch of each of the charter members.

12 See Chapter Four, fn. 3, for reference to the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 into the Old and New School branches. The latter was closely affiliated with the Congregational Church. Bath Presbytery was a part of the New School. At the time of the organization of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, the missionaries were unaware of this division in their home church. No record has been found in the minutes of Bath Presbytery to this Oregon church. Spalding possibly had forgotten to report its organization. Actually, the polity of the Oregon Mission Church was more Congregational than it was Presbyterian.

13 Original in Coll. W.

14 Writing to Greene on Sept. 11, 1838, Spalding asked: "Did I do right in baptizing Compo, who had before been baptized by a Catholic priest, & did I do right in refusing our friend Mr. Pambrun, a Catholic, a place at our table?" No record of Greene's reply to these questions has been found.

15 Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 72, quoting from Smith's letter to Greene of July 10, 1838.

16 *W.C.Q.*, xvi (1913), No. 2, gives Gray's journal of the trip. Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 166 ff. points out that Gray's conduct in this skirmish brought lasting

disgrace to him among the mountain men when they heard about the fight.

17 According to the records of the Medical College, Gray gave his home address as "Columbia, Oregon."

18 Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 86.

19 The *Annual Reports of the American Board* listed Rogers as a member of the Oregon Mission for three years under the following classifications: 1840—Mechanic; 1841—Teacher; and 1842—Printer & Teacher.

20 Drury, *F.W.W.*, III:239, quoting from Gray's letter to Creene written at the Rendezvous July 10, 1838: "Please inform me in your next letter whether you told Mr. Smith while in N. York that he would be furnished with a separate tent, travelling cases, cooking utensils &c &c for the journey or what suggestion you made to him on the subject of traveling from Independence to Walla Walla." Evidently Smith had complained to Gray regarding his failure to provide what Greene had promised. Greene's answer to Gray's question has not been found.

21 Drury, *F.W.W.*, II:87. Hereafter when name of person quoted and date of diary entry are given, no further reference will be given in footnotes.

22 Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 72. Josephy, in his *The Nez Perce Indians*, p. 176, in commenting on Smith's evaluation of Gray, wrote: "Smith was a master at character assassination, but in the case of Gray, he reported facts."

23 Drury, *F.W.W.*, III:238.

24 Drury, *F.W.W.*, II:109.

25 HBC *Arch.*, 2/223/b/20.

26 See ante, fn. 5 of this chapter. This volume was one of the items received from Sam Walker on July 15, 1939. A few months after these items were obtained, the Walker home with all of its contents burned. Mr. and Mrs. Walker escaped.

27 No record book containing the minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Oregon Mission has been located. Copies of actions taken were sometimes included in letters sent to the American Board by individual members of the Mission. In Walker's letter to Greene dated October 15, 1838, we find a summary of actions taken at the September 1838 meeting. See Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 90.

28 The term Flathead is nowadays confined to a tribe in western Montana, but in the time of the missionaries, the name was used more widely to include some other tribes, such as the Spokanes, who spoke closely related Salishan dialects.

29 See Drury, "The Columbia Maternal Associations," *O.H.Q.*, XXXIX (1938), pp. 99ff.

30 Drury, *F.W.W.*, I:245. Original letter in Coll. Y.

31 Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 255. Hereafter references to diary entries of either Spalding or Smith will be to this volume, thus no footnotes will be needed.

32 Drury, *F.W.W.*, I:244 gives a letter written by Mary Gray to Lapwai on Sept. 29, 1838, in which she stated: "We have observed the M[aternal] Association but in order to do this we were last Wednesday obliged to resort to a grove to find a place sufficiently retired from public gaze.

33 Through some oversight, the two younger daughters of the Spaldings were not listed. For a list of the children born to the five women, see Drury, *F.W.W.*, I:22. The Smiths had no children. Descendants of the Walkers, the Spaldings, and the Grays still live in the Pacific Northwest.

34 Drury, *Spalding*, p. 201, quoting from a letter Spalding wrote to Greene on July 12, 1841: "I have already disposed of a few young cattle on this score."

35 Walker to Greene, Oct. 15, 1838. See also, Drury, *Walker*, p. 101.

36 Fort Colville stood in the middle of a prairie about one and one-half miles wide, and about three miles long on the east bank of the Columbia River. The site is now covered with waters backed up by the Grand Coulee Dam.

37 Mrs. Perkins, neé Elvira Johnson, was a schoolmate of Mary Walker's in 1834 when both attended the Maine Wesleyan Seminary, Kents Hill, Maine. Miss Johnson was a member of the first 1837 Methodist reenforcement. On Nov. 21, 1837, she married the Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, who arrived in Oregon with the second reenforcement of that year.

38 HBC Arch., A/6/25. According to a letter from the Hudson's Bay Company in London to Douglas, Nov. 15, 1837, the initial idea of sending priests to Old Oregon for the French Canadians came from the Bishop of Juliopolis, the Roman Catholic primate of Canada. The letter stated: "One important objection to our compliance with the Bishop's request . . . is that when the boundary line shall be determined, the southern side of the Columbia River may become United States Territory, and we are unwilling to become instrumental in forwarding the views of the American Government and establishing for them a Colony of British Subjects, who in due time might become dangerous neighbors." HBC Arch., B/223/c carries a reference to a recommendation of Dr. McLoughlin's that a priest be sent to the Willamette Valley. In Oct. 1838, the adult male population of the Valley was 51, including 23 French Canadians, 10 Methodist missionaries, and 18 other Americans. *McLoughlin's Vancouver Letters*, III:XXXIV.

39 Frederick V. Holman, "Biographical Sketch of Dr. McLoughlin," *O.H.Q.*, VIII (1907) 312.

40 *W.H.Q.*, XXIV (1933):56, quoting from a letter written by Cyrus Shepard which first appeared in *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Oct. 28, 1835.

41 This log church was the forerunner of the Roman Catholic church at St. Paul, Oregon. A brick building, which replaced the log church, was dedicated Nov. 1, 1846. It is still in use.

42 Gray, *Oregon*, pp. 194 ff., gives the text, quoting from *Senate Document, TwentySixth Congress, First Session, No. 514*.

43 Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:231.

44 HBC Arch., *1857 Parliamentary Report, Notes from the Select Committee*, pp. 1102 ff.

45 There were four priests with the Blanchet surname in the Old Oregon country. The first was Francois Norbet Blanchet, consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia in Partibus Infidelium (name later changed to Bishop of Drasa) at Montreal on July 25, 1845. A younger brother, A. M. A. Blanchet was made Bishop of Walla Walla shortly before the Whitman massacre in 1847. A nephew of these two, Francis Xavier Blanchet, and George Blanchet, O.M. (relationship unknown) later went to Oregon. Information furnished by kindness of the late Father W. J. Davis, S.J., of Spokane.

46 Drury, *F.W.W.*, III: 159.

47 Elkanah Walker's diary; original in Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

48 Drury, *F.W.W.*, III:162.

49 Richardson, *The Whitman Mission*, p. 49.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

51 Italics are the author's.

52 Cyrus Walker was the second son born of white American parents in Old Oregon, but the first to live to maturity. The first was Joseph Beers, a son of a Methodist missionary couple, Mr. and Mrs. Alanson Beers, born Sept. 15, 1837, in the Willamette Valley.

53 A long part of Spalding's letter appeared in the *Missionary Herald*, XXXIII (1839):473 ff.

54 Parker, *Journal*, p. 288.

55 Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 127. Sections of Spalding's letters to Greene, written in 1836 and 1837, which referred to Tackensuatis, had been published in the *Missionary Herald*.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 96 ff.

57 Whitman's letter, No. 59a, carries reference to a request for a supply of corn and potatoes to be paid to Lawyer, perhaps for his services in teaching the Nez Perce language to Smith.

58 Drury, *Spalding*, p. 217, quoting from Spalding's letter to Greene, Oct. 15, 1842.

59 Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 173, for reference by Smith to the marriage performed by Spalding.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 95. Italics are the author's.

61 See articles by Howard M. Ballou, *O.H.Q.*, XXIII (1922): 3952; 95-110, for history of the press.

62 Much information from this letter has been used in a previous chapter of this book where the travels of Whitman and Parker to the Rockies in 1835 were reviewed.

63 This letter of Narcissa's was published in *T.O.P.A.*, 1891: 101 ff., but with about 1,000 words being omitted. The quotation here given is from the part not published.

64 All efforts to locate the Prentiss family Bible have failed. The Whitman family Bible is in Coll. W.

65 Spalding translated a number of gospel hymns into the Nez Perce language, some of which are still being used by the Christian Nez Perces. It may be that the Nez Perce hymns used by the Whitmans were some Spalding had translated.

66 In a letter to me dated May 13, 1960, Helen L. Shaffner of Dillon, Montana, wrote: "I wish I could have recorded all the stories told me by my Father and GreatUncle. One of my favorites, though, concerns the son of the man who found Alice Clarissa's body. For years his picture hung on the wall in the basement of my Great Uncle's home. The picture showed him in the bright shirt that had been given his Father by Whitman as a reward for finding the body." She identified the Indian who found the body of Alice Clarissa as Chief Umtippe.

67 Hines, *Wild Life in Oregon*, p. 176.

68 Italics are the author's.

69 Matthew Henry's *Discourse on Meekness* was published at Plymouth, Mass., in 1828. This volume may have been included in a shipment of books sent to the Oregon Mission by the American Board which arrived during the summer of 1838. The following quotation from p. 12, might have been read by Whitman on that fateful

June 23:"When the events of providence are grievous and afflictive, displeasing to sense, and crossing our secular interests; meekness, doth not only quiet us under them, but reconciles us to them; and enables us, not only to bear, but to receive evil as well as good, at the hand of the Lord."

70 *O.H.Q.*, XXIII (1922) carries illustrations of some pages printed by Spalding at Lapwai which illustrate the alphabet which Spalding first devised.

71 Published in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. IV, Part I, Cambridge, Mass., 1820.