

[ CHAPTER NINETEEN ]

“WESTWARD HO!”

1843

**D**uring the spring of 1843, an awakened interest in Old Oregon stirred the United States from Boston to Westport, and from Chicago to New Orleans. This is evidenced by the number and frequency of editorials and articles about Oregon which appeared in the public press. The Boston *Daily Evening Transcript* for April 4, 1843, called it, “the pioneer’s land of promise.” The editor declared: “Hundreds are already prepared to start thither with the Spring, while hundreds are anxiously awaiting the action of Congress in reference to that country as the signal for their departure... *The Oregon fever has broken out, and is now raging like any other contagion.*”<sup>1</sup> Since Whitman was in Boston at that time, it is possible that the article came as a result of a call he had made on the editor.

The accounts of Oregon found in such books as Samuel Parker’s *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* and T. J. Farnham’s *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*<sup>2</sup> found avid readers. The *Cleveland Daily Herald* of March 1, 1843, quoted from a letter Dr. Elijah White had written on August 17, 1842, while en route to Oregon. White advised those planning to migrate in 1843 to take strong light wagons and no baggage except their cooking utensils and provisions for four months. In a bombastic editorial, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of March 8, 1843, sang the glories of Oregon: “There is enchantment in the word. It signifies a land of pure

delight in the woody solitudes of the West... That is a country of the largest liberty, the only known land of equality on the face of the earth... there is the place to build anew the Temple of Democracy.”

The Baltimore *Niles National Register* of April 22, 1843, told of “a large meeting” which was held in St. Louis on the previous March 28 “in favor of colonizing Oregon.” Among the resolutions adopted was one which stated that the most effective way “to take possession of Oregon” was by colonization and that this was best promoted by “individual enterprise.” Had Whitman been present at that meeting and had he been asked to word the resolutions adopted, they could not have reflected his views more accurately.

This westward surge of population was characterized by a restless energy, a longing for something new, and a desire for free land. The phrase, “the Oregon fever,” became popular. The Ohio *Statesman*, in its issue for April 26, 1843, stated: “The Oregon fever is raging in almost every part of the Union. Companies are forming in the East, and in several parts of Ohio, which added to those of Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, will make a pretty formidable army. The larger portions of these will probably join the companies at Fort Independence, Missouri, and proceed together across the mountains. It is reasonable to suppose that there will be at least five thousand Americans west of the Rocky Mountains by next autumn.”

The Painesville, Ohio, *Telegraph* carried the following in its May 24 issue:

#### WESTWARD HO

The tide of emigration flowing westward this season must be overwhelming. Besides the hundreds and thousands that daily throng the steamboats on the Lakes, there is a constant stream of “movers” on land. From ten to fifteen teams have passed through this town every day for the last three weeks, winding their way to Wisconsin and Iowa, and some, we understand, are bound for the “far west” which in these latter days means a country somewhere between the Rocky Mountains and sundown. Those we noticed had the appearance generally of intelligence, respectability and wealth and gave indication of that enterprising and energetic character which alone takes upon itself the hardships and privations incident to the settlement of a new country.

Such newspaper reports reflect a growing interest in Oregon throughout the nation. Along the western frontier, especially in Missouri, the interest was keen. "The Oregon fever" was contagious. It was "Westward Ho" for the most daring and the most courageous. Whitman took note of what was happening and was delighted.

### WHITMAN RETURNS TO RUSHVILLE

Whitman was in Boston for about nine days. Since he wanted to be back at Westport on or about May 1, he was eager to be on his way. Under normal traveling conditions of that day, it would have taken him nearly a month to go from Boston to Westport. Every day he spent in Boston meant one day less that he could spend with relatives in western New York State. We cannot be certain when Whitman left Boston. Possibly it was on Saturday, April 8, after he had submitted his report to Greene of that date and after he had written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Since Whitman submitted his report to Greene on Saturday, April 8, 1843, it does not appear that he was able to leave for Rushville before that morning. By the spring of 1843, a railroad connected Boston and Buffalo, which passed through Albany. The fare from Boston to Albany, a distance of about 20 miles, was \$4.00. A train leaving Boston at eight o'clock in the morning would arrive at Albany that evening. Knowing of Whitman's reluctance to travel on Sunday, he may have spent that day in Albany and then continued his rail journey on Monday. The train passed through Canandaigua where Whitman could have taken a stage for Rushville. This would have been Whitman's first experience riding on a train.

According to Perrin Whitman's recollections, his uncle had only three days to visit his mother and relatives before starting back to Oregon on April 20.<sup>3</sup> Perrin, however, may not have included the time Marcus spent with Narcissa's relatives. In May 1842, Judge and Mrs. Prentiss became members of the Presbyterian Church of Cuba, a small community in western Allegany County. All of Narcissa's letters to her parents after February 7, 1843, were directed to Cuba.

A few scattered references tell of Whitman's visit with his relatives in Naples and Rushville. Martha Wisewell, a daughter of Whitman's sister Alice, wrote that the first indication his mother had of the presence of her

son in the States was through reading the account of his visit with Horace Greeley.<sup>4</sup> Perrin claimed that his grandmother gently rebuked her son for going to Boston before visiting her in Rushville and that Marcus replied: "Business before pleasure, mother, but I am here now to visit you."<sup>5</sup> According to Whitman's nephew, Frank Wisewell, so great was the pressure of time on him that he "spent only a single night at his sister's home in Naples."<sup>6</sup> This town is about fifteen miles from Rushville.

Among the children in the Wisewell home was Martha, then between eleven and twelve years old, whose recollections were published in the *Sunday School Times* for June 10, 1903. Martha wrote: "While he was there, our house was a gathering place for the neighbors and friends, who listened to his narration of his life and work. I well remember that one day he dressed up in his buckskin suit, that they might see his appearance as he journeyed." A Rushville tradition states that Whitman left his heavy buffalo coat there when he left for Westport.<sup>7</sup> Martha Wisewell's account continues: "I remember standing opposite him in the room when he had a lasso in his hand. This he threw over my head and drew me up to him, to show the manner of catching animals in the West. And I have not forgotten how this frightened me... Dr. Whitman possessed a singularly pleasant and winning manner. Child as I was, I shall never forget his Christian bearing and conversation. Never solemn nor morose, he was always jovial, lighthearted, and happy." Martha remembered how once her father said to Dr. Whitman: "The Indians are so treacherous, I am afraid they will kill you." Whitman dismissed this fear with the remark that his life was in the Lord's hands. While in the Wisewell home, Marcus became acquainted with a namesake, Marcus Whitman Wisewell, who had been born in 1838.

Whitman spoke in the Presbyterian church in Naples about his experiences as a missionary in Oregon. [In May 1938, I had the pleasure of calling on a lady who had been present on that occasion. She was then nine years old and remembered the event clearly. She recalled that the congregation raised \$100.00 that evening for the Oregon Mission. This lady, Mrs. Eliza Ann Housel, died October 10, 1938, at the age of 104.<sup>8</sup>]

Whitman also spoke in the Congregational Church of Rushville at which time a seventeen-year-old lad, James Clark Strong, son of the Rev. Henry P. Strong who had served as pastor of the church for about three years before his death in 1835, was present. In later years, J. C.

Strong became a Brigadier General in the U.S. Army and lived for a time as a civilian in the Pacific Northwest. In his autobiography, General Strong gave the following account of Whitman's plea for Oregon: "He described the Indians, the country, and the climate so vividly that when he said he wanted to get as many as he could to go back with him to settle in the country, I asked him to take me, but he said he wanted only married men."<sup>9</sup> At this meeting Whitman, no doubt, expressed his appreciation for the twenty-five plows which had been sent to Waiilatpu by members of the Rushville church in 1840. In his letter to Greene of May 12, 1843, Whitman reported that the church had made a further contribution of \$12.00 to the American Board.

From these two instances, we may assume that Whitman was taking advantage of every opportunity to speak in behalf of the Oregon Mission and to urge all who would listen to migrate to Oregon and settle in the vicinity of the mission stations. The time, however, was too short to recruit settlers who could go out with the 1843 emigration.

Long after Whitman had started back to Westport, word reached the Rev. Samuel Parker in Ithaca of his presence in the States. Parker wondered why Whitman had not called on him and wrote to the Board in June 1843: "I had wished to have known something more definite about Doct. Whitman; his object of returning and prospects, etc. I have heard from his brother in Rushville that he is on his way back to the station."<sup>10</sup> Whitman was much too pressed for time to call on Parker.

### PERRIN WHITMAN, NEPHEW OF MARCUS

When Marcus Whitman made his horseback ride from Rushville to St. Louis in the spring of 1835, while on his first journey to the Rockies, he stopped to see his brother Samuel and his family who were then living at Danville, Illinois. In the home was a five-year-old boy called Perrin Beza. In September 1841, Samuel returned with his family to Rushville. There his wife died a year later leaving him with four children, of whom the eldest was Perrin. In later years Perrin told of his memories of his uncle's visit to Rushville in the spring of 1843 and of how his uncle's accounts of the midwinter ride over the Rockies had filled him with wonder. "His personality captivated me," wrote Perrin. "He seemed to have drawn me by some power, for he at once began to plead with my father to gain his consent for me to accompany him on his

return trip to Oregon.” Samuel’s problem in raising four motherless children made him responsive to his brother’s plea. Looking back on those days, Perrin wrote: “My father reluctantly consented after three days’ pleading, that the doctor should adopt me and take me with him if I was willing to go. My boyish instincts were aroused, and with the promise of a gun, a saddle, and a donkey, my consent was not delayed.”<sup>11</sup>

Although Perrin stated that adoption papers were drawn up, actually New York State had no adoption laws before 1873. Possibly Samuel and Marcus drew up a contract such as was then used when a boy was hired out as an apprentice. A family tradition states that Samuel gave Marcus \$500.00 to be invested for his son. So it was arranged for the thirteen-year-old Perrin to go with his Uncle Marcus to Old Oregon where he was destined to play an important role in the history of the Pacific Northwest.<sup>12</sup>

## LAST FAREWELLS

At the most, Marcus could not have had more than a week to visit relatives and friends at Rushville, Naples, Prattsburg, and Wheeler. The hour for the last farewells rushed at him. After being away for seven years, it seemed a pity that his visit was to be so short, but the need to be on the frontier in plenty of time to join the emigration gathering there was paramount. Marcus knew that in all probability he would never see his mother and other loved ones again in this world. It was difficult to say good-by.

Writing to his mother on May 27 from the Shawnee Mission near present-day Kansas City, Kansas, Marcus said: “Oh My Dear Mother!—how often have I thought how reluctant you were for me to go to Oregon & how many fears you had for my safety & comfort.” He claimed that he was returning to Oregon with no regrets. Outside of the joy of being with relatives and friends, he said that he had seen nothing which made him want to return to New York State. “Oregon has all my attractions,” he wrote. “Oregon has the strength of my affections of body & mind.”

When Marcus had returned to Rushville as an eighteen-year-old youth in 1820 after spending ten years with relatives in western Massachusetts, he had wanted to enter the ministry. To his deep disappointment, his mother had objected. In Whitman’s first letter to the American Board in which he inquired as to the possibility of receiving an appointment as a missionary, he had mentioned that, although his

mother “professes a hope,” she was not a member of any church. When he was with his mother in April 1843, he found that she still had not joined the church. This troubled him. His letters to her show that he held her in high esteem. She was a good woman, faithful and true as ever a mother could be. Evidently she was a woman of strong and independent ideas; although she attended church, she would not make a public confession of her faith and become a member.

Whitman’s letter to his mother written from the Shawnee Mission reveals his concern over her spiritual welfare. “Let me say in conclusion,” he wrote, “that I feel most desirous to know that my Dear Mother was determined to live the rest of her days witnessing a good profession of godliness. What keeps you from this? Is it that you are not a sinner, or if not that, is it that there is no Saviour of sinners, or is it that you have too long refused & neglected to love & obey him?” He closed his plea for her to make a public confession of her faith in Christ with these words: “The word & idea of Mother fill me with tenderest emotions for I have a Mother & have buried a Father. While I am about to say Adieu, let me [say] God is our Father. From your Affectionate Son, Marcus.”

#### WHITMAN’S VISIT WITH HIS WIFE’S RELATIVES

According to Perrin Whitman, he and his uncle left Rushville on April 20 for West Almond in the adjoining county of Allegany to visit Narcissa’s brother, Jonas Galusha Prentiss, who owned a store there. There is an abundance of evidence to show that Whitman was constantly seeking those who would be willing to go to Oregon. In a letter to Myron Eells, J. G. Prentiss referred to Whitman’s eagerness to get him to migrate.<sup>13</sup> Writing to Prentiss from the Shawnee Mission on May 28, Whitman made reference to a Government “secret service fund” which might be at the disposal of Oregon emigrants. It is possible that Dr. White, who had received some aid from such a fund, had told Whitman about it. The occasional references to a “secret service fund” in the correspondence of the missionaries indicate its existence. There is no evidence that Whitman himself ever received any help from this source.

After Marcus and Perrin had made a brief visit in his home, Jonas took them to Cuba, a village about thirty-five miles further west, where they called on Narcissa’s parents and on her sisters, Clarissa and Harriet. The former was married to Norman Kinney and the latter to

John Jackson. Whitman did his best to induce each of these two couples to migrate to Oregon. In his letter of May 28, 1843, to J. G. Prentiss, Whitman wrote: "I shall by no means be surprised to see some if not all of you on our side of the Mountains. Jackson talked favourably." Whitman was too sanguine in his hopes, for neither couple went to Oregon. Whitman also called on another sister of his wife's, Mary Ann, who, with her husband, the Rev. Lyman P. Judson, lived somewhere in the vicinity of Cuba. Judson had been a New School Presbyterian minister but had left that denomination when he became enamored with the vagaries of the New England prophet, William Miller, who was preaching the imminent second coming of Christ.

Whitman's visit with Narcissa's relatives was all too short. Writing to Clarissa more than a year later, Narcissa confided: "My husband's visit was very short, too much so to gain all the information I was in hopes he would bring me" [Letter 155]. Whitman delivered in person the letters that Narcissa had written to her relatives and, no doubt, carried letters from them back to Oregon.

### "MY PLANS REQUIRE TIME AND DISTANCE"

William Miller, a New England farmer, began in August 1831 to preach that the second coming of Christ and the end of the world were at hand. At first his prophecies attracted little attention, but as the announced date for the second coming, March 21, 1843, drew near, the excitement became intense. Whitman was either approaching Washington or in the city on Miller's day of doom and was aware of the excitement that reigned in some circles. Estimates of the number of Miller's followers vary from fifty thousand to a million.<sup>14</sup> The fateful day came—and went—and nothing happened. Miller, although deeply disappointed, went back to his Bible and did some refiguring. He claimed that he had made a mistake of one year and set, therefore, a second date for Christ's second coming—March 21, 1844. Strange to say, Miller was able to hold the allegiance of a large number of his followers after this admission of failure, including Lyman P. Judson. The second date passed without the prophecy being fulfilled. A third date, October 22, 1844, was set and it too proved to be false. This ended Miller's efforts to fix an exact date, but the movement he started continued and in time developed into the Seventh-day Adventist denomination.



In the thinking of William Miller and of his followers, including Lyman P. Judson, there was no need to plan for the future. Why do so if the end of the world were at hand?

On November 5, 1846, several years after he had seen his brother-in-law, Whitman wrote to him. After calling attention to the fact that he was in the East when "the famous time came for the end of the world," Whitman stressed the point that he did not permit such a prophecy to prevent him proceeding with his plans. He wrote: "I did conclude that inasmuch as you had adopted such sentiments, you were not prepared for any work calling for time in its execution,... I was content to pass you in silence. For to my mind, *all my work & plans involved time & distance & required confidence in the stability of God's government...*"<sup>15</sup> Here was the reason why the practical-minded Whitman did not try to persuade the visionary Judson to go as a missionary to Old Oregon.

[Mention will be made in the concluding chapter of this work of the monuments and memorials which have been erected to honor the Whitmans. Among these is a statue of Marcus Whitman which has been placed in Statuary Hall of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., which bears on its base the words:

#### MY PLANS REQUIRE TIME AND DISTANCE

These words were taken from Whitman's letter to Judson, as quoted above, with some changes.]

### WESTWARD BOUND

**M**arcus and Perrin left on or about April 24 from Cuba, New York, for Buffalo where they expected to take passage on a vessel bound for Cleveland. When the two arrived in Buffalo, they found that the harbor was still blocked with masses of floating ice. The winter of 1842-43 had been uncommonly severe throughout the nation. According to a news story which appeared in the Presbyterian *Foreign Missionary* for June 1886, judge James Otis of Chicago stated: "In the month of April 1843, Dr. M. Whitman and myself were at the same hotel in Buffalo, N.Y., waiting for the ice to leave the harbor so that we could take the steamboat to Cleveland, Ohio. After some four days, we took the stage to Dunkirk [N.Y.], and thence went by boat to Cleveland."

Living in Cleveland at that time was one of Whitman's cousins, Freeman Whitman, son of his Uncle Freeman, with whom Marcus had lived during part of the ten years spent at Cummington, Massachusetts, as a boy. In the home was Freeman's son, known only by his initials, B.F., who later wrote his recollections of the visit of Dr. Whitman. B.F. wrote: "He spent a day and a night there, at our home, almost persuading my father to join the new enterprise."<sup>16</sup> B.F.'s reminiscences not only confirms the report that Whitman went through Cleveland on his way back to Westport, it also reflects Whitman's continued eagerness to recruit settlers for Oregon.

From Cleveland, the two Whitmans traveled to Cincinnati by stage, probably arriving there in time to spend Sunday, April 30, in the home of Dr. George Weed. At Cincinnati they boarded a river steamer which carried them to St. Louis, where they disembarked on or about May 6 [Letter 135]. Upon their arrival in this gateway to the West, Whitman learned that the Oregon emigration would not get started before the end of May because of the lateness of the season. Reports had already reached St. Louis of hundreds who planned to go that year to Oregon with thousands of cattle, horses, and mules. The emigrants could not start until the prairie grass was high enough to provide food for the animals. Thus Whitman found that he had some extra time on his hands.

In all probability Marcus and Perrin were guests in the home of the dentist, Dr. Edward Hale, whom Marcus had visited on his eastward journey. Many years later, Perrin told about his uncle having had a tooth filled with gold by Dr. Hale while he watched with fascination the first dentistry he had ever seen. Dr. Hale had no drill to grind out the decayed matter in the tooth, such as modern dentists use, but had to rely on scraping out the cavity with small scalpels. After the tooth was cleaned, thin strips of gold leaf were pounded in, thus filling the cavity.<sup>17</sup>

### WHITMAN CALLS ON JANE PRENTISS

Since he had some free time, Whitman decided to visit Jane and Edward Prentiss at Quincy, Illinois, a little more than one hundred miles up the Mississippi River. Edward happened to be away when Marcus and his nephew arrived, but Jane was there. There were no members of either the Whitman or the Prentiss families whom Marcus and Narcissa were

more eager to persuade to go to Oregon than Jane and Edward, with the single exception of Perrin. Neither Jane nor Edward was married. Both Marcus and Narcissa had dreamed of Jane as a teacher in the Mission school and they hoped that Edward, after completing his studies for the ministry, could take charge of the religious duties at Waiilatpu. In a letter written to Edward from the Shawnee Mission on May 27, Marcus expressed regret at not having seen him at Quincy, and then, in a joking manner, wrote: "Tell Jane two or three young lawyers will be in the party for Oregon but I hope this will not deter her from coming if she has an opportunity."

In another letter addressed to the two, written from Waiilatpu on May 15, 1846, Marcus said: "Narcissa wants Jane to come and I want Edward, but it is not for us that you should come but for yourselves and the Lord. Edward would do well to have a wife and then come, and Jane will be agreeable with or without a husband, as suits her best; for if she comes without one, I shall try to convince her of her duty to marry." All of the endeavors and urgings of both Marcus and Narcissa to induce some of their relatives, in addition to Perrin, to migrate to Oregon were in vain. The only other near relative of any member of the Oregon Mission to go to Oregon during the Mission period was Horace Hart, a brother of Eliza Spalding's, who migrated in 1846.

### ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS

Whitman was back in St. Louis on May 12. On that date he wrote a short letter to Greene. He reported that he had been unable to find any families who were willing to migrate to Oregon that year. He referred again to a subject which was troubling him, namely, the growing threat of the Roman Catholic missions in Oregon. Somewhere along his line of travel, perhaps in St. Louis, he had purchased for one dollar a copy of Father P. J. De Smet's *Letters and Sketches* which had been published that year in Philadelphia. He called the book to the attention of Greene and added: "It gives a good account of their Mission in Oregon. You will see by that how things are likely to affect us in that country." Whitman reported that De Smet was then in Westport making arrangements for the departure of a Catholic reenforcement destined for the Flathead country, and that De Smet planned to return to Europe that summer for more missionaries.

Whitman was alarmed over this information. He urged Greene to get the book and read it. "I think a carefull consideration of this book, together with these facts & movements, you will realize our feeling that we must look with much interest upon this the only spot on the Pacifick [sic] coast left where Protestants have a present hope of a foot hold. It is requisite that more good, pious men & Ministers go to Oregon without delay, as Citizens or our hope there is greatly clouded if not destroyed." Whitman's concern over De Smet's activities is also found in letters he wrote to his mother on May 27 and to J. G. Prentiss on the 28<sup>th</sup>. Whitman's failure to find some Protestant families willing to move to Oregon was a source of great disappointment. He was troubled, also, over the apparent lack of concern on the part of Secretary Greene and the Prudential Committee over his proposal to take some positive steps to counteract the Roman Catholics.

A second book which Whitman saw in St. Louis which gave him concern was Philip L. Edwards' *Sketch of the Oregon Territory; or, Emigrants' Guide*, which had been published in 1842 at Liberty, Missouri.<sup>18</sup> Edwards, who had gone out to Old Oregon with the Jason Lee party in 1834, had returned to the States with Lee in 1838, and had settled in Missouri. Since he had made the round trip between the Missouri frontier and Oregon on horseback, his recommendations as to what emigrants should take and how they should travel were received as authoritative. Here was one who could speak from experience.

Whitman was aroused over what he considered to be the disastrous advice which Edwards had given regarding the impracticability of taking wagons all the way through to the Columbia River Valley. Edwards had written: "And were I to join a company of emigrants, I should always prefer horses and mules to any other mode of conveyance; and inconvenient as it may seem, I should always prefer packing the few necessaries of the journey to the encumbrance of wagons. If the latter are employed at all, let them be light but substantial, and drawn by horses and mules. Let it also be understood, that *they are to be abandoned by the way.*"<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the St. Louis *New Era* of May 25, 1843, carried an article by Edwards which filled two columns of fine print. Here Edwards repeated his conviction that wagons could not be taken into the Columbia River Valley and recommended that all emigrants who started their journey with them should be prepared to abandon them

along the way and complete their travels on horseback.

Whitman knew far more about the possibility of wagons going through to the Columbia River than did Edwards. He realized the supreme importance of taking wagons all the way when so many women and children were to be included in the 1843 emigration. Therefore, Whitman did what he could to counteract Edwards' advice. While in St. Louis, Whitman assisted the Eyres and Hobson families "in purchasing wagons and mules"<sup>20</sup> J. W. Nesmith, a prominent member of the 1843 emigration, testified that: "Dr. Whitman was persistent in his assertion that wagons could proceed as far as the Grand Dalles of the Columbia River, from which point, he asserted, they could be taken down by rafts or batteaux to the Willamette Valley."<sup>21</sup> No doubt Whitman frequently reminded inquirers that he and Spalding had taken their wagon as far west as Fort Hall, and then the two-wheeled cart as far as Fort Boise. He could also have told that some mountain men had taken three wagons over the Blue Mountains in 1840. To Whitman the success of the 1843 Oregon emigration was crucial, and the key to its success was the ability of the emigrants to take their wagons all the way through to the Columbia.

Following the adjournment of the Twenty-Seventh Congress on March 4, 1843, the senior Senator from Missouri, Thomas H. Benton, had returned to his home in St. Louis. Benton was keenly interested in western exploration and thus became intimately associated with John C. Frémont, who had led several such expeditions into the Far West and who had married Jessie, one of Benton's daughters. According to Perrin Whitman, he and his uncle called twice on the distinguished Senator. "I was with him both times," wrote Perrin.<sup>22</sup> Since Frémont was also in St. Louis at the times Whitman called on Senator Benton, it is reasonable to believe that he met Frémont in the Benton home.<sup>23</sup> Whitman, in his letter of May 27 to Edward Prentiss, said: "Lieut. Fremont of the U. States Engineers Corps goes out with about thirty men to explore for the Government and expects to return this fall." Although Whitman may not have previously met Benton and Frémont, their common interest in the political and economic future of the Oregon country would have established an immediate bond of sympathy.

Frémont and his company left St. Louis by river steamer for Westport on Saturday, May 13, and arrived at their destination on the 18<sup>th</sup>.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that Whitman and his nephew were passengers on the same vessel. Because of the lateness of the season, Whitman found that the emigration was not yet ready to start. In his letter to his mother written on the 27<sup>th</sup>, he commented: "I regret I did not stay longer at the east as the companies are so slow in starting. I might about as well have been three weeks later but as I could not know before hand, it was better to be safe." Shortly after arriving at Westport, Whitman and his nephew went to Independence where Whitman reclaimed the animals and camping equipment, which he had left with the Presbyterian elder, C. W. Boyers, the previous February. Possibly at this time, Marcus bought a riding animal for Perrin and another pack animal.

### THE EMIGRANTS GATHER

As soon as the prairie grass was high enough to provide pasturage to livestock, the emigrants began to assemble along the Kansas River beginning a few miles out of present-day Kansas City, Kansas. Peter H. Burnett, who was one of the most influential members of the 1843 emigration and who was to become, seven years later, the first Governor of California, arrived at the emigrants' rendezvous on May 17. Burnett states in his journal that a meeting of the emigrants was held on the 18<sup>th</sup> and that a committee was appointed to consult with Dr. Whitman. Another committee was appointed to inspect wagons and a third to draw up rules and regulations to govern the migration on its trek across the country.<sup>24</sup>

George Wilkes, a young unmarried man who was also a member of the 1843 emigration, gives more details about this meeting in his journal: "A meeting was held... which resulted in appointing a committee to return to Independence, and make inquiries of Doctor Whitman, missionary... respecting the practicabilities of the road, and an adjournment was made to the 20<sup>th</sup> to Elm Grove, a little distance off, for the purpose of making final arrangements for the regular government of the expedition."<sup>25</sup> Whitman attended the Elm Grove meeting.

Estimates vary as to the number of people in the 1843 emigration. Nesmith claimed that a roll compiled on May 20 listed 295 males over the age of sixteen who were capable of bearing arms.<sup>26</sup> Burnett thought that there were at least 800 in the emigration, while other estimates go up to one thousand with at least 120 wagons.<sup>27</sup> The latter figure is usually

accepted. This number would include the latecomers who were not present at the Elm Grove meeting. The officers elected at the organizational gathering on May 20 included Peter H. Burnett, captain; J. W. Nesmith, orderly sergeant. Captain John Gantt, a former Army officer and mountain man, was hired to guide the emigration as far as Fort Hall. A code of rules was adopted which included the proviso that all young men sixteen or older could vote. This was logical; a sixteen-year-old boy was expected to do a man's work in bearing arms, standing guard, and herding the animals. Women were not permitted to vote. For the sake of efficiency, the emigration was divided into companies, each having about forty wagons. On Monday, May 22, the first wagons began rolling westward.

After meeting with the emigrants on Saturday, the 20th, the Whitmans went to the Methodist Mission founded in 1830 at Shawnee, about six miles southwest of present-day Kansas City, Kansas; there they remained until May 31. Some of the original brick buildings of the Mission are still standing. The fact that Whitman and his nephew spent about ten days at the Methodist Mission probably accounts for a few references to him by some emigrants as being a Methodist missionary.

Four letters which Whitman wrote while at the Shawnee Mission, dated May 27 (2), 28, and 30, are extant. Writing to his mother, Marcus said that his health was good, that he had lost about ten pounds since leaving Rushville, and that Perrin "has been a good boy & is happy." In a letter to J. G. Prentiss, Whitman estimated that the emigration contained "over two hundred men, besides women & children." Whitman was enthusiastic over the prospects of such a large emigration. "It is now decided in my mind that Oregon will be occupied by American citizens. Those who go only open the way for more another year. Wagons will go all the way, I have no doubt, this year." In this same letter, Whitman also wrote: "Lieut Fremont is camped about two miles off for the night." Marcus and Perrin spent the night of Thursday, June 1, with Frémont and his party. Theodore Talbot, a member of the Frémont expedition, noted in his journal: "Dr. Whitman, the Baptist [sic] Missionary, established at Wallawalla on the Columbia, was our guest tonight. He is behind the main body of emigrants, but can of course easily overtake them. He expresses much anxiety for their safe journey, and is determined to do all in his power to assist them, a promise of much value, as well from his practical good sense as his general knowledge of the route."<sup>28</sup>

## WHITMAN'S CONTINUED CONCERN ABOUT THE CATHOLICS

Whitman's continued concern about Roman Catholic activities in Oregon is found in his letter of May 30 written to Greene while he was still at the Shawnee Mission. Whitman again called Greene's attention to the book which Father De Smet had published: "We cannot feel it to be at all just that we do nothing while worldly men & Papists are doing so much. De Smet's business to Europe can be seen, I think, at the top of the 233 page of his *Indian Sketches &c.* You will see by his book, I think, that the papal effort is designed to convey over the country [i.e., Oregon] to the English." If Greene had secured a copy of De Smet's book and if he had turned to the page indicated by Whitman, he could have read: "In my opinion, it is on this spot [i.e., Old Oregon] that we must seek to establish our holy religion. It is here that we must have a college, convent & schools... Here is the field of battle where we must in the first place gain the victory."

Although De Smet was evidently referring to a spiritual victory, both Whitman and Spalding were suspicious of the political motives of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Oregon. The fact that Fathers Blanchet and Demers came from Canada and that their transportation had been provided by the Hudson's Bay Company gave grounds for such suspicions. There is plenty of evidence that in the early years of the Catholic Mission in Oregon, the sympathies of the priests were closely allied with the Hudson's Bay Company. Spalding, in later years, stressed what he considered to have been the sinister designs of the Catholic missionaries to help the British Government secure title to the Oregon country. This became a major emphasis in his *Whitman-Saved-Oregon* story. The quotation given above from Whitman's letter to Greene of May 30, 1843, shows that he found political implications in what was evidently a simple statement by Father De Smet of his spiritual objectives.

Whitman was discouraged over the prospects of the future of Protestant missions in Oregon. When he was told by Secretary Ames of the Methodist Missionary Society of the dismissal of Jason Lee, he no doubt was also informed that the Society had appointed the Rev. George Gary as Lee's successor and had instructed Gary to close out the Methodist work in Oregon. Gary was then on his way to Oregon by sea.



When Whitman was in Boston, he learned more of the financial difficulties of the American Board. The dream that he and Spalding had cherished in 1838 of a reenforcement of 220 missionaries was nothing more than a dream. While in Boston, Whitman, with a more realistic understanding of the financial resources of the Board, limited his request for a reenforcement to just one—he wanted a minister to be sent to Waiilatpu—but even this modest request was denied.

Now faced with the possibility of an enlarged Catholic contingent of missionaries to Oregon, Whitman turned to the only possible alternative to counteract their influence—that of encouraging Protestant settlers to migrate to Oregon. He brought up this possibility again in his letter of May 30 to Greene: “We do not ask you to become the patron of emigration to Oregon but we desire you to use your influence that in connection with all the influx into the country there may be a fair proportion of good men of our own denomination... Also that the Ministers should come out as Citizens or under the Home Missionary Society... I think our greatest hope for having Oregon at least part Protestant now lies in encouraging... good men to go there while the country is open.” Even though Whitman’s proposal made no demands upon the slender financial resources of the Board, his pleas fell on deaf ears; there is no evidence that the Board acted in any way on his recommendations.

### “TRAVEL, TRAVEL, TRAVEL”

Whitman and Perrin started their westward journey on Friday morning, June 2, after spending the previous night with Lieut. Frémont. They had but little baggage which was carried by two, possibly three, pack animals. The cynical Peter Waldo, a member of the 1843 emigration wrote: “I fed him the first part of the road. He had nothing to start with but a boiled ham... I reckon he expected that ham to last him and his boy all the way across. After we crossed the Snake River, we had to feed him again. I did not like it much. But he was an energetic man and I liked his perseverance. He had not much judgment but a great deal of perseverance. He expected the emigrants to feed him and they did.”<sup>29</sup>

Waldo’s statement about Whitman taking only a ham as his total food supply needs some comment. In all probability, unknown to Waldo, Whitman was promised some food supplies when he met with the

emigrants at Elm Grove on May 20 in return for the services he could render both as a supplemental guide to Captain Gantt and also as the doctor for the emigration.

The emigration consisted of a fine type of people. The *Liberty Banner* of Clay County, Missouri, described the men as being of "fine intelligence and vigorous and intrepid character, admirably calculated to lay the firm foundation of a future empire."<sup>30</sup> Estimates vary as to the number of cattle driven to Oregon by the 1848 emigration. According to a statement made by one of the emigrants: "There are over 3,000 and perhaps 5,000 head of cattle, mules and horses attached to the company. Captain Applegate has over 200 head, and others over 100 head."<sup>31</sup> The presence of so many cattle became a controversial issue; some of the emigrants did not want to help guard or drive them and wanted to move faster than cattle could travel. After the main body of emigrants had crossed the Big Blue River in what is now northeastern Kansas, those owning cattle formed a separate company which was called the "Cow Column."<sup>32</sup>

At first the emigrants were careless about their food, throwing away portions after each meal which should have been saved, and generously inviting others to eat with them. They soon learned that every scrap of food, even bacon rinds, had to be conserved. Captain Gantt killed an old buffalo bull on June 15. The wanton killing of the majestic shaggy beasts of the prairies by thoughtless white men, who were slaughtering the animals for their hides or for the thrill of killing, was already beginning to decimate the great herds. Because of the lack of buffalo, some of the emigrants were obliged to butcher some of their cattle.

The vanguard of the emigration came to the South Fork of the Platte River about July 1. Their wagon boxes were covered with buffalo skins and made into boats which were used in crossing the river. Whitman and his nephew overtook the main body of the emigrants at this place. Here Whitman rendered valiant service in helping the families cross. Because the late spring had delayed the departure of the emigration from the frontier, Whitman repeatedly warned of the necessity of constant travel. Perrin later wrote: "He never allowed them to stay two nights in one place. Kept them moving every day, if it was only for a little way, so as to change grass for the stock."<sup>33</sup> Jesse Applegate stressed the same fact: "From the time he joined us on the Platte until he left us at Fort Hall, his great experience and indomitable energy were of

priceless value to the migration column. His constant advice, which we knew was based on a knowledge of the road before us was 'travel, travel, TRAVEL... nothing else will take you to the end of your journey; nothing is wise that does not help you along; nothing is good for you that causes a moment's delay.'" <sup>34</sup>

#### COMMENTS OF EMIGRANTS

One of the 1843 emigrants, J. W. Nesmith, described Whitman in these words: "He was of a powerful physical organization, and possessed a great and good heart, full of charity and courage, and utterly destitute of cant, hypocrisy, shams and effeminacy, and always terribly in earnest." Regarding Whitman's services to the emigrants, Nesmith wrote: "While with us he was clad entirely in buckskin, and rode one of those patient long-eared animals said to be 'without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity.' The Doctor spent much of his time in hunting out the best route for the wagons, and would plunge into streams in search of practical fords, regardless of the depth or temperature of the water, and sometimes after the fatigue of a hard day's march, would spend much of the night in going from one party to another to minister to the sick." <sup>35</sup>

Applegate also commented on Whitman's services to the members of the emigration as a doctor. He tells that one day a wagon swung out of the train and stopped. In it was an expectant mother and Dr. Whitman, who had been riding alongside the wagon for some time. A tent was pitched, a fire kindled, and water put on to boil. The other wagons rolled by, some wondering why one family should drop out of line and make camp at that hour of the day. The long emigrant train moved on leaving the lone covered wagon far in the rear. Here is Applegate's description: "There are anxious watchers for the absent wagon, for there are many matrons who may be afflicted like its inmate before the journey is over... But as the sun goes down, the absent wagon rolls into camp, the bright, speaking [sic] face and cheery look of the doctor, who rides in advance, declare without words that all is well, and both mother and child are comfortable."

The successful delivery of the child firmly established Whitman's reputation and give confidence to the whole emigration. Applegate further commented: "His great authority as a physician and complete success in the case referred to, saved us many prolonged and perhaps

ruinous delays for similar causes, and it is no disparagement to others to say, that to no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman." At the end of the day when the first baby of the 1843 emigration was born, several of the men of the cow column gathered at the tent of the pilot, with whom Whitman lived, "listening, to his wise and energetic counsel." The pilot sat silent at one side, "quietly smoked his pipe for he knows the brave doctor is 'strengthening his hands.'" <sup>36</sup>

Looking back on his experiences in crossing the country, one member of the 1843 emigration came to the conclusion that it was not wise to depend on buffalo or other wild game for food. Writing from Fort Vancouver on November 11, 1843, S. M. Gilmore advised any in the States who were thinking of migrating to Oregon: "You should bring 200 pounds of flour, 100 pounds of bacon, for every member of the family that can eat, besides other provisions. Make no calculation on getting buffalo or other wild meat, for you are only wasting time and killing horses and mules to get it." He also recommended that wagon beds should be so constructed that they could be converted into boats and used in crossing streams. Such wagon beds should be well covered "so they will not leak, or your provisions and clothes will spoil." <sup>37</sup>

The vanguard of the emigration reached Fort Laramie on July 14. There the emigrants were astounded at the high prices being asked for food items and other supplies. According to Burnett, the following prices were charged: "Coffee, \$1.50 a pint; brown sugar, the same; flour, unbolted, 25 cents a pound; powder, \$1.50 a pound; lead, 75 cents a pound; percussion caps, \$1.50 a box; calico, very inferior, \$1.00 a yard." <sup>38</sup> As will be noted, some emigrants of 1843 and following years, who found it necessary to buy food supplies at Waiilatpu, criticized Whitman for what they thought were exorbitant prices he asked. Yet Whitman charged only five cents a pound for flour when it sold for twenty-five cents at Fort Laramie.

The Laramie River was high because of the melting snows in the mountains. Since it could not be forded, the wagon boxes again had to be converted into boats. Waldo reported: "No one was willing to risk himself in swimming the river and carrying the line but Dr. Whitman, which he did successfully." <sup>39</sup> A. L. Lovejoy, whom Whitman had left at Bent's Fort the previous January 7, had crossed the country and joined

the emigration somewhere in the vicinity of Fort Laramie in order to return with it to Oregon.

### LETTERS FROM NARCISSA

When Whitman was at Fort Laramie or a little west of it, he had the thrill of meeting a messenger who carried a letter for him from Narcissa which had been written at Waiilatpu on May 18, about two months before. This was the first letter he had received from his wife since he left for the East on October 3 the previous fall. For the first time, Whitman learned of the burning of the mill, an event which had taken place more than eight months before. Believing that he had received some of the letters she had sent to him at eastern addresses, Narcissa made only a passing reference to the incident. Her letter dealt mainly with the excitement which stirred the Cayuses because of the rumors of the coming of American soldiers "for their destruction." She told of Dr. White's meeting with the Nez Percés; of the selection of Ellis to be that tribe's first Head Chief; and of the adoption of the code of laws. She wrote of the reluctance of the Cayuses to accept the laws and of how much they needed their missionary. "They seem to be and to feel 'like sheep without a shepherd,'" she wrote. "It may be," she added, "that I am addressing the dead instead of the living. I hope that it is otherwise, and may you be preserved to return in peace... for my anxious heart longs to greet you. The mission sends four horse loads of flour to Fort Boise & Fort Hall for you and your Company." This was welcome news indeed.

Having an opportunity to send letters back to the States, Whitman wrote to Greene on July 20 from "Bigbute Creek, 100 miles west of Laramie's Fork."<sup>40</sup> He forwarded his wife's letter. "I am in no way solicitous for the loss of the Mill," he wrote, "or on account of the excitement [among the natives] & hope no change will be made in the Mission & that you will be able to reinforce us next year." The last sentence of this letter drew attention to one of the hazards of wagon train travel; individuals, especially children, would accidentally fall under a moving wagon and be run over. This often resulted in broken bones or in death. Whitman wrote: "We buried a small boy this morning that died from a wagon having passed over the abdomen."

## ARRIVAL AT FORT HALL

The company with whom Peter Burnett traveled, crossed the Continental Divide during the first week of August. Whitman, who had by this time pushed on ahead, heard of a new cutoff which shortened the distance to Fort Hall. Burnett referred to this when he wrote: "On the 12<sup>th</sup> of August, we were informed that Doctor Whitman had written a letter stating that the Catholic missionaries had discovered, by the aid of their Flathead Indian pilot, a pass through the mountains by the way of Fort Bridger, which was shorter than the old route."<sup>41</sup> Burnett's party arrived at Fort Bridger, on Black's Fork of the Green River, on August 14, and at Fort Hall on the 27<sup>th</sup>.

At Fort Hall, Whitman met again Captain Richard Grant, the Hudson's Bay Company's trader in charge, whom he had seen the previous October.<sup>42</sup> Grant had escorted Mrs. Whitman from Waskopum to Fort Walla Walla with the Hudson's Bay express early in April 1843 and thus was able to give Whitman some recent information regarding his wife and the state of affairs at Waiilatpu. Whitman found several Nez Perce Indians waiting for him at Fort Hall with pack animals loaded with flour, which had been sent by Spalding. What Whitman charged for this flour, which he sold to the emigrants, is not known. Nesmith, in his "Diary of the Emigration of 1843," reported that Grant asked "25¢ per pint" for the flour that he sold.<sup>43</sup> Also at Fort Hall were some other Nez Percés and Cayuses who were returning from the buffalo country. Among them was the Cayuse chief, Stickus, to whom reference has already been made. Of him, Nesmith wrote: "He was a faithful old fellow, perfectly familiar with all the trails and topography of the country from Fort Hall to the Dalles."<sup>44</sup> Stickus and his band joined the 1843 emigration at Fort Hall, traveling with Whitman.

Edward H. Lenox, also a member of the emigration, wrote in his reminiscences that Whitman received a letter from his wife at Fort Hall on August 28 which contained the plea: "Do hurry home."<sup>45</sup> Whitman was eager to press on ahead of the emigration but the critical question which arose at Fort Hall in regard to the feasibility of the emigrants taking their wagons further west caused him to delay.

## CONFRONTATION WITH CAPTAIN RICHARD GRANT

The members of the Oregon emigration of 1843 faced a crisis when they arrived at Fort Hall with their 120 wagons and large herds of cattle, horses, and mules. Possibly some thought that Fort Hall marked the end of the Oregon Trail as far as wagons were concerned. Captain Gantt, having piloted the emigration to that point according to his agreement, left with a small party bound for California. Since returning to the States was unthinkable, the emigrants had to choose between two alternatives: leave their wagons and continue their journey on horseback, or attempt to take their wagons across the desert and over the Blue Mountains into the Columbia River Valley, something which many said could not be done.

Among those who strongly recommended the first course of action was Captain Grant, who reenforced his arguments by showing the emigrants the wagons left at the fort by members of the 1842 emigration. Grant had traveled the route between Fort Hall and Fort Walla Walla several times on horseback and was probably sincere in the advice that he gave. Adherents of the Whitman-Saved-Oregon story, however, have argued that Grant, realizing that the American claim to Oregon would be immeasurably strengthened if a wagon road to the Columbia were opened, deliberately did what he could to prevent it.

An indication that Captain Grant might have been aware of the political implications of the successful opening of a wagon road to the Columbia is to be found in the following quotation from George Wilkes' *History of Oregon*: "Some of the members [of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall] told us that they could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the immense stretch of our [wagon] line, the number of our lowing herds, and the squads of prancing horsemen, and they inquired laughingly *if we had come to conquer Oregon*, or devour it out of hand."<sup>46</sup> Any joking that Captain Grant, or any of his associates, may have made about the intention of the Americans to take over the Oregon country, could have reflected a realization that that was exactly what was happening.

Burnett, in his *Recollections*, wrote: "I consulted Mr. Grant as to his opinion of the practicability of taking our wagons through. He replied that, while he would not say it was impossible for us Americans to make the trip in our wagons, he could not himself see how it could be done."

Some of the emigrants, probably those without small children, heeded Grant's advice, as Nesmith reported: "Part of the company went on pack animals, leaving their wagons."<sup>47</sup>

In 1897, Perrin Whitman stated in an interview: "When we arrived at Fort Hall, I heard the commandant [i.e., Captain Grant] tell the immigrants that Dr. Whitman would starve them all to death in the Green [the reference should have been to the Snake] River country. He said that they could never get their wagons to the Columbia Valley in their lives. I went and told Dr. Whitman about it, and he got the immigrants together and gave them a harangue. He told them he would get them to the Columbia River if he lived; that they had just to stick to their wagons and follow him, he would get them through."<sup>48</sup>

The emigrants had to face some practical problems. How would it have been possible to mount some eight hundred or more people, including about five hundred women and children, and conduct them safely over five hundred miles of deserts and mountains to Fort Walla Walla? How could a young mother, riding side-saddle, providing such were available, carry an infant child for so great a distance? What about the transportation of supplies? Whitman insisted that if Captain Grant's advice were to be followed, the emigration would end in a tragic disaster. He told them again that wagons had been taken over the Blue Mountains and what had been done once could be done again. "Had we followed Grant's advice," wrote Nesmith, "and abandoned the cattle and wagons at Fort Hall, much suffering must have ensued besides, wagons and cattle were indispensable to men expecting to live by farming in a country destitute of such articles."<sup>49</sup>

The majority of the emigrants accepted Whitman's advice and kept their wagons, but evidently upon the condition that he serve as pilot for the remainder of the journey. Whitman was reluctant to accept this responsibility, as he wanted to push on ahead with a small party of single men including Lovejoy. The words of his wife were echoing through his mind: "Do hurry home," but the urgency of seeing the emigration safely through to its destination outweighed personal desires.

In a letter to Greene written from Fort Walla Walla on November 1, 1843, Whitman explained: "My journey across the Mountains was very much prolonged by the necessity for me to pilot the Emigrants. I tried in vain to come ahead at different points but found it would be at the risk



of disaster to the emigrants of having to leave their wagons without the possibility of obtaining a sufficient number of horses to take any considerable part of their families & necessary food & clothing.”

### OPENING THE WAGON ROAD TO THE COLUMBIA

There was no effort to organize the emigration into separate companies after it had reached Fort Hall. No longer were the emigrants faced with the danger of attack from hostile Indians. Individual groups pushed on as fast as they could. Whitman usually was with the vanguard company. The Snake River was crossed at Salmon Falls, where one of the emigrants, Miles Eyres, whom Whitman had met in St. Louis and whom he had encouraged to go to Oregon, was drowned. Eyres had all of his money in a belt around his waist. His body was not recovered; thus his wife and three children were left almost destitute. They spent the winter of 1843–44 with the Whitmans at Waiilatpu, being among the first of many unfortunate victims of the Oregon Trail to seek the hospitality of the mission station.

About September 20, the first of the emigrants arrived at Fort Boise, where they were kindly received by Francis Payette, the Hudson's Bay trader in charge. For the most part, the emigrants had experienced no difficulty in taking their wagons across the Snake River desert. The most difficult part of their route, however, lay before them in the rugged Blue Mountains. Since it was getting late in the season, Whitman urged them not to tarry but to press on with all possible speed. Perhaps he reminded the emigrants that he had encountered snow in the Mountains during the first week of October of the previous year. In his letter of November 1 to Greene, Whitman wrote: "By taking a light horse wagon, I was enabled to come ahead from Fort Boise." Although Whitman and Spalding had left the latter's light wagon at Fort Boise in 1836, it does not appear that this was the wagon which Whitman used in 1843.<sup>50</sup> Possibly he borrowed such a wagon from some member of the emigration and with it pioneered the wagon road over the Blue Mountains.

Whitman was assisted in guiding the long wagon train over the mountains by his Indian friend Stickus. Nesmith wrote that although Stickus knew not a word of English and the Americans knew nothing of the Indian language, yet "he succeeded by pantomime in taking us over the roughest wagon route I ever saw. Stickus was a member of Dr.

Whitman's church, and the only Indian I ever saw that I thought had any conception of and practiced the Christian religion."<sup>51</sup> Actually Stickus never became a member of the Mission church. Since he and his band lived at some distance from Waiilatpu, he could not have attended very often the religious services Whitman conducted. The Whitman letters contain references to Stickus and always with respect. What Timothy was to Spalding, Stickus was to Whitman.

### WHITMAN CALLED TO LAPWAI AND TSHIMAKAIN

While in the Grande Ronde Valley, Whitman received a letter written by Elkanah Walker from Lapwai which carried the distressing news that both Henry and Eliza Spalding were critically ill with scarlet fever. Eliza had been stricken first and for two weeks had hovered between life and death. Believing that her end was near, Henry sent word to Geiger at Waiilatpu and to the two couples at Tshimakain to come and attend her funeral. Geiger arrived at Lapwai on September 14 and Walker on the 15<sup>th</sup>. They found Eliza out of danger but Henry had been stricken and then, a few days later, the children. As soon as Walker arrived at Lapwai, believing that Whitman would be drawing near to his station at that time with the 1843 emigration, he sent an Indian messenger to intercept him with the urgent plea that he go at once to Lapwai.

Whitman responded by turning over the guiding of the emigration to Stickus and hastened to Lapwai, where he arrived on September 25. He found both of the Spaldings out of danger; the children were still sick but not dangerously so. After staying at Lapwai for only one night, he left on Tuesday, the 26<sup>th</sup>, for Waiilatpu. Naturally, Whitman told Spalding of his successful intercession with the American Board and of the rescinding of the disastrous order of February 1842. In his letter to Greene of November 1, Whitman wrote of Spalding: "He has expressed a much better state of feeling towards the members of the Mission and the Board since his sickness, and the reception of your letter and my return, than ever before." Contemporary documents do not indicate any further friction between Whitman and Spalding during the remaining years of the Mission. The years of dissension within the Mission were over.

Whitman arrived back at Waiilatpu perhaps by Thursday evening, September 28. By that time Narcissa had heard of her husband's return and was either en route to or had arrived at The Dalles, expecting to

meet him there. When Geiger was called to Lapwai, he left only an Indian in charge of the premises at Waiilatpu. When Whitman returned to his station, he discovered that the advance party of the emigration, consisting of men on horseback, had arrived during Geiger's absence and had broken open his house and "left it open to the Indians although wheat, corn, potatoes, garden vegetables, hogs & cattle were in abundance outside" [Letter 142]. Whitman was shocked at the irresponsible, even reprehensible, actions of those whom he had helped.

Whitman was home for only one day before an urgent message came from Cushing Eells. His wife was expecting her second child, and the doctor was needed. After giving hasty instructions to Geiger regarding the selling of supplies to the emigrants, Whitman set out on his 140-mile ride to Tshimakain where he arrived sometime during the night of October 1. According to Mary Walker's diary, Whitman was exceedingly restless during the week he was waiting for the Eells baby to be born; on October 6, she wrote: "Dr. W. very uneasy, regrets he came too soon."<sup>52</sup> No doubt he was constantly mindful of the emigrants streaming by Waiilatpu, many of whom were in need of food, medical attention, and advice. Moreover, he had the natural desire to see his wife as soon as possible. A baby boy was born early on the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup>, who was named Myron.<sup>53</sup>

At noon of the day the baby was born, Whitman started back to Waiilatpu. En route he overtook Walker and five-year-old David Malin, who had started from Tshimakain a day or so before he did. During Narcissa's absence from Waiilatpu, David had spent most, if not all the time with the Walkers at Tshimakain. Whitman found upon his arrival at Waiilatpu, on October 10, that the main body of the emigrants had already passed. Geiger had been there to meet their needs. "All came in their turns," wrote Whitman, "and were supplied with provisions." Somehow Whitman had obtained a pair of small millstones and soon had the mill in operation, "so that the latter part of the emigration got grinding done. My wheat, beef & most of my hogs & corn & many of my potatoes have been furnished them" [Letter 142].

## SUCCESSFUL END OF THE 1843 EMIGRATION

Upon their arrival at The Dalles, most of the emigrants decided to complete their journey to the Willamette Valley by going down the Columbia River with their wagons and equipment on boats or rafts. The herds of cattle, horses, and mules were driven through the heavy forests which cloak the sides of Mt. Hood into the Valley. A few venturesome men took their wagons over the mountains. In places the terrain was so precipitous that large trees had to be cut down and tied to the descending wagons to serve as a brake. Thus the first great emigration to Oregon came to a successful end. The feasibility of taking wagons through, not only over the Blue Mountains to the Columbia River, but also over the Cascades into the Willamette Valley, had been demonstrated. The wagon road to Oregon was opened at last!

Several years before the 1843 emigration arrived in the Valley, the Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, one of the Methodist missionaries, told Dr. McLoughlin: "Before we die, we will see the Yankees coming across the mountains with their teams and families." McLoughlin scoffed at the idea and said that they might as well undertake a trip to the moon. When some of the emigrants arrived in the Valley, the skeptical McLoughlin went to see them. Meeting Parrish, he exclaimed: "God forgive me, Parrish, but the Yankees are here, and the first thing you know they will yoke up their oxen, drive down to the mouth of the Columbia River and come out at Japan." And again he said: "The devil is in the Americans, the devil is in you people."<sup>54</sup>

That which had seemed to Dr. McLoughlin as improbable as going to the moon had actually come to pass [and now, in our generation, even going to the moon has become an actuality].

### WHITMAN ACCUSED OF CHARGING "EXORBITANT PRICES"

After their arrival in the Willamette Valley, some members of the 1843 immigration criticized Whitman for charging what they claimed were exorbitant prices for food supplies sold to them at Waiilatpu. Dr. Elijah White became the spokesman for the critics in his report of November 15, 1843, sent to his superiors in Washington: "The Presbyterian Mission, however, for the first time have fallen very heavily under censure from the immigrating party this fall, from the fact principally,

as I understand, of their exacting most exorbitant prices for supplies of provisions. I have only ex-parte statements, which if but half true, they deserve the just reprobation of mankind.”<sup>55</sup>

Nearly two years later, when Whitman was called to Oregon City on business, he met White on the street and demanded an explanation of the criticisms that White had been spreading abroad. B. F. Nichols, an early Oregon immigrant, tells the story of what happened:

I was present in Oregon City, some time in the month of June 1845, when Dr. Whitman and Dr. White had what you might call a public controversy. Dr. White from a sectarian jealousy, had written a letter to some of the eastern papers, charging Whitman with misusing immigrants. Dr. Whitman came down and happened to meet Dr. White in Oregon City, when they had a dispute. Dr. White proposed to establish what he had said, so a meeting for a public investigation was called at the Red House. Dr. White called Mr. Geiger, who still lives in Oregon City, as his first witness.

When asked to state how Dr. Whitman had treated the immigrants, Mr. Geiger told a very different story than White had counted on. Instead of telling how Dr. Whitman had misused them, he told of his many kindnesses to them, and what a friend he had always been to them. When White saw that the tables were turned against him by his own witnesses, he jumped up and said: “Mr. Geiger, you can take your seat, sir; I will acknowledge that you can outlie me.” He failed to prove a single allegation that he had made, so the investigation proved to be a great triumph for Dr. Whitman.<sup>56</sup>

Burnett also came to Whitman’s defense by writing: “This foolish, false, and ungrateful charge was based upon the fact that he asked us a dollar a bushel for wheat, and forty cents for potatoes. As our people had been accustomed to sell their wheat at from fifty to sixty cents a bushel, and their potatoes at from twenty to twenty-five cents, in the Western States, they thought the prices demanded by the doctor amounted to something like extortion, not reflecting that he had to pay at least twice as much for his own supplies of merchandise, and could not afford to sell his

produce as low as they did theirs at home.”<sup>57</sup> According to Burnett, some of the immigrants felt so strongly about the high prices that Whitman was asking that they refused to buy and, as a result, ran out of food before they got to the Willamette Valley and were obliged to borrow from others.

Whitman was also criticized by some because of the terms he was asking for trading fresh, fat oxen for the worn-out cattle of the immigrants. Of this Daniel Waldo wrote in sharp terms: “Whitman lied to me like hell at Waiilatpu. He wanted my cattle and told me the grass was all burnt between his place and the Dalles. I told him I would try it anyhow. The first night I left for the Dalles, I found the finest grass I ever saw, and it was good every night.”<sup>58</sup>

Lenox, in a less critical spirit, said: “My father found it necessary to get new oxen, ours were so worn out, so we traded our five oxen for two fresh ones with Mr. Geiger, working our cows to make out a full team.”<sup>59</sup> Another immigrant, J. B. McClane wrote of trading two head of worn-out cattle for a fat ox, but made no criticism of what he considered to be a fair transaction made with Whitman.<sup>60</sup> Whitman frequently extended credit and often was never paid. In this respect his experience was similar to that of Dr. McLoughlin and the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, where credit was likewise given to immigrants who later neglected or even refused to settle their accounts. Geiger and Whitman sold so much of the produce of the Waiilatpu fields in the fall of 1843 that Whitman was obliged to call upon Spalding to furnish supplies for the winter [Letter 142].

## AN APPRAISAL OF THE RESULTS OF WHITMAN’S RIDE

As outlined in an earlier chapter, evidence indicates that Whitman had three motives for making his journey to Washington and Boston in 1842–43, namely: mission business, political interests, and the desire to counteract Roman Catholic influences.<sup>61</sup> We can now ask: To what extent was Whitman successful in the realization of these objectives? Regarding his concern for the future welfare of the Oregon Mission, he succeeded in inducing the Board to rescind its action of February 1842. Spalding was not to be dismissed nor were the stations at Waiilatpu and Lapwai to be closed.

Linked with his concern over the future of the Oregon Mission of the American Board was his desire to counteract the growing influ-

ence of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Oregon by persuading the American Board to send out a reenforcement to its Mission in Oregon and also to promote the emigration of Protestant families. In this objective, Whitman failed, for the Board never sent another missionary to Oregon and seemingly did nothing to encourage Protestants to emigrate and settle in the vicinity of the Mission stations. The four couples already under appointment carried on in their respective stations at Waiilatpu, Lapwai, and Tshimakain without additional help.

### POLITICAL RESULTS OF WHITMAN'S RIDE

The most far-reaching results of Whitman's ride are to be found in the political realm. Whitman's interests were not centered upon any possible treaty that the United States might sign with Great Britain which would fix the location of the Oregon boundary. Rather, Whitman's emphasis was on emigration. He was tremendously interested in having the United States Government extend its jurisdiction over Oregon, but nowhere in his correspondence does he indicate any opinion as to just where the border was to be located. He evidently reasoned that the boundary question would automatically be settled if enough American citizens could be induced to settle in Oregon. All the efforts of statesmen and diplomats to fix the boundary at some line favorable to the United States would have been fruitless without a large and growing American colony in Oregon.

A new era in Oregon's history began with the arrival of the large 1843 emigration. The wagon road from Fort Hall to the Columbia River was the magic key which unlocked Oregon's doors to the restless thousands on America's western frontiers. The success of the 1843 emigration guaranteed that other large emigrations would follow. The larger the number of Americans in Oregon, the greater would be the pressure on the government to extend its jurisdiction over the territory.

Whitman remembered with glowing pride the part he had played in the opening of the road to the Columbia. Perhaps the most revealing comment, reflecting his appraisal of the importance of the services he rendered for the political future of Oregon, is in the following extract from his letters to Greene dated November 1, 1843:

I do not regret having visited the States for I feel that this country must either be American or else foreign & mostly Papal. If I never

do more than to have been *one of the first to take white women across the Mountains & prevent the disaster & reaction which would have occurred by the breaking up of the present Emigration & establishing the first wagon road across to the border of the Columbia River, I am satisfied.* I cannot feel that we can look on & see Papal & Foreign influence making its greatest effort & we hold ourselves as expatriated & neutral. I am determined to exert myself for my country & to procure such regulations & laws as will best secure both the Indian & white man in their transit & settlement [and] intercourse.<sup>62</sup>

Shortly after his return to Waiilatpu in the fall of 1843, Whitman wrote out the draft of his proposed bill for Congressional consideration, the contents of which he had discussed with government officials while in Washington during the previous March.<sup>63</sup> He also wrote a letter to the "Hon. James M. Porter, Secretary of War." On the back of the letter, now on file in the National Archives along with the draft of his bill, is the notation: "Marcus Whitman. Enc. synopsis of a bill with his views in reference to impot. [importance] of the Oregon Terry... Rec. June 22, '44." Whitman's letter to Porter is undated but from internal evidence and from the date of its receipt, we know that it was written sometime in the fall of 1843. Since the letter and the proposed bill are not known to have been published since 1905, both are given in Appendix 7 of this book.

Whitman's letter to Porter is important as it gives a detailed report about the 1843 Oregon emigration and needs to be read carefully. After making reference to "the immense immigration of families to Oregon" which had taken place that year, Whitman wrote: "I have since our interview, been instrumental in piloting across the route described in the accompanying Bill, and which is the only eligible wagon road, no less than... one thousand persons of both sexes with their wagons, amounting in all to more than one hundred and twenty, 698 oxen and 973 loose cattle." He referred to the "incredible hardships" suffered by the immigrants and claimed that their success in taking their wagons and effects through to the Columbia River had "established a durable road from Missouri to Oregon... contrary to all the sinister assertions of those who pretend it to be impossible." Whitman prophesied that larger numbers of people would be going to Oregon in "each succeeding year."



In this letter to Porter, Whitman pointed out the necessity of extending United States jurisdiction to Oregon so that its citizens could execute legal documents. "At present," he wrote, "no person is authorized to administer an oath or legally attest a fact from the western line of Missouri to the Pacific." Such lack of law often meant real economic hardships.

Aware of a provision in a bill before Congress which would have given 640 acres to every white male over sixteen who would settle in Oregon, Whitman began thinking of how he might claim the land at Waiilatpu. Under the proposed law, no provision was made for such institutions and organizations as the American Board to make such a claim for its mission sites. Whitman touched on this subject when he wrote to Greene on April 8, 1844: "Perhaps in some way, as we have so eminently aided the Government by being among the first to cross the mountains, and the first to bring white women over, and last but not least, as I brought the late emigration on to the shores of the Columbia with their wagons contrary to all former assertions of the impossibility of the route, we may be allowed the right of private citizens by taking lands in the country."

In his letter to Greene of July 22, 1844, Whitman repeated his conviction that it was he who had saved the 1843 emigration from disaster: "No one but myself was present to give them the assurance of getting through." In the last letter he wrote Greene, dated October 18, 1847, just six weeks before his death, we find the following:

Two things, and it is true those which were the most important; were accomplished by my return to the States. By means of the establishment of the wagon road, which is due to that effort alone, the emigration was secured & saved from disaster in the fall of forty-three. *Upon that event the present acquired rights of U. States by her Citizens hung.* And not less certain is it that upon the result of emigration to this country, the present existence of this Mission & of Protestantism in general hung also.<sup>64</sup>

In these various statements Whitman summarizes his conviction that the opening of Oregon to American settlement hinged upon two events: (1) the successful crossing of the Rockies by the two white women in the summer of 1836, and (2) the successful piloting of the 1843 emigration across the Snake River desert and the Blue Mountains to the Columbia

River. The emigrations of 1844 and later years did not take the risks taken by that of 1843. The 1843 emigration had no precedent to give them assurance of success except the knowledge that three wagons had been taken over the Blue Mountains in 1840 and Whitman's conviction that what had once been done could be done again. The strength of America's position at the diplomatic bargaining table when the boundary issue was finally settled in 1846 with Great Britain, was due to the success of American immigration. That part of Old Oregon up to the 49° parallel was won by the United States largely because of the numerical strength of the American colony in that territory, even though most of the immigrants had settled south of the Columbia River.

### REACTION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

When George Simpson had visited Fort Vancouver in the summer of 1841, he studied the idea of moving the headquarters of the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort Vancouver to some point on Vancouver Island. Several reasons dictated the move, one being the proximity of Fort Vancouver to the Americans in the Willamette Valley, whom Simpson profoundly distrusted. On March 1, 1842, McLoughlin was directed to establish a new depot at the southern end of Vancouver Island. A site was selected and the construction of a new post was begun in 1843 at what is now Victoria, British Columbia. The arrival of the 1843 immigration caused the Company to accelerate its plan of transferring its fur trade from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria. By 1845 Fort Vancouver had become little more than a mercantile establishment serving the needs of all Oregon settlers who might apply.

The Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London took note of the increased American activities in Oregon and their correspondence with McLoughlin reflects their alarm. In a letter dated September 27, 1843, to McLoughlin, we may read: "We notice the arrival of Dr. White in the Columbia District with a fresh party of emigrants, and we entirely approve of the course you pursued towards that person. No authority emanating from the Government of the United States is to be recognized west of the Rocky Mountains until the boundary question shall have been settled." This was a reasonable stand to take as long as the Treaty of Joint Occupation remained in effect. "There is little doubt," the letter continues, "that this man is an instrument in

the hands of that party in the United States who have been for sometime past urging the Government of that country to take military possession of the Oregon Territory.”

The writer of this letter may have known of the large emigration of that year when he wrote: “To their misrepresentations respecting the fertility of the soil and other natural advantages of the valley of the Walamet may be attributed the great influx of Americans to that quarter of late, it being their policy to give the American interests an apparent superiority over the British and *thus to strengthen the claim of the United States to the disputed territory.*”<sup>65</sup> This was precisely the position which had been taken by Marcus Whitman.

On June 21, 1843, before he had heard of the successful American emigration of that year, Simpson wrote to McLoughlin from Red River. Regarding the diplomatic negotiations involving the Oregon border, Simpson optimistically commented: “I am very much of the opinion that the negotiations in regard to it will be brought to a close in the course of this year. The impression on my mind, from all that has reached me, is that the Columbia River from its outlet to its source in the mountains by the Southern branch or Lewis & Clark’s route will become the boundary.”<sup>66</sup> Simpson evidently knew that Lord Ashburton had been in Washington in the preceding summer and optimistically assumed that the British diplomat would insist upon the location of the border at the Columbia River, which had long been advocated by officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

The full effect of the successful emigration of 1843 was not felt until 1845, as it took time for the news to get back to the States. The emigration of 1844 numbered only about 1,500 people, whereas that of 1845 totaled nearer three thousand. With the immigrants pouring into Oregon by the thousands, James Douglas, one of the Chief Factors at Fort Vancouver, in a letter to Simpson dated March 5, 1845, pointed out the consequences of continued delay in settling the boundary question: “I am sorry to hear that the settlement of the Boundary question is likely to drag on, from year to year, without being settled, *as the Americans will soon leave nothing to settle.* The people of the West are crowding into the country by sea and land as fast as they can come. Every vessel from the Sandwich Islands brings some addition to their number, and about 1,500 persons arrived last autumn overland from St. Louis, bringing with them nearly

200 wagons and upwards of 1,000 head of cattle. They are branching out into every direction, and settling wherever fancy leads them.”<sup>67</sup>

Some students of Northwest history have claimed that since only a few Americans settled north of the Columbia River before 1846, the presence of so many in the Willamette Valley could not have had much influence on the willingness of the British Government to abandon its claim to the disputed territory north of the River when the boundary was fixed at the 49° parallel that year. However, a letter from Douglas dated October 8, 1845, to Sir George F. Seymour of H.M.S. *Collingwood*, gives a different picture. After urging the Admiral to send a vessel to the Columbia “for the support of British influence and the protection of British interests and property in the Columbia River,” Douglas explained: “The reasons for this opinion are principally founded on the great and increasing American population who are settling without any regard to the claims of Great Britain in every part of the Territory, *North and South of the Columbia River*. These people not being under the control of any government, and having no generally acknowledged code of laws, and being animated with a spirit exceedingly hostile to Great Britain may, as they have already done, attempt to intrude upon the improvements and invade the property of the British subjects settled in the country.”<sup>68</sup>

How different would have been the history of the Pacific Northwest had Great Britain, instead of the United States, been able to send thousands of her citizens to that territory during those crucial years, 1843–45.

CHAPTER 19 FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Italics are the author's.
- <sup>2</sup> See Bibliography for data about these two works.
- <sup>3</sup> Eells, *Marcus Whitman, M.D.* (Pamphlet), p. 13.
- <sup>4</sup> *Sunday School Times*, Jan. 10, 1903.
- <sup>5</sup> Perrin Whitman interview, *Portland Oregonian*, Jan. 29, 1899.
- <sup>6</sup> Naples, New York, *Record*, Sept. 19, 1913.
- <sup>7</sup> *Centennial Celebration* booklet, p. 36, Rushville Congregational Church, 1902.
- <sup>8</sup> Information by kindness of Miss Caroline Housel of Naples.
- <sup>9</sup> James Clark Strong, *Biographical Sketch*, Los Gatos, Calif., 1910, p. 4.
- <sup>10</sup> From copy in possession of the late L. Alexander Mack, grandson of Parker.
- <sup>11</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):2: 33ff.; also Spokane, *Spokesman-Review*, Dec. 26, 1895.
- <sup>12</sup> Samuel Whitman's notebook (see Chapter Three, fn. 3) has this item: "July, 1868, Perrin B. Whitman came home—to see me, twenty five yrs. gon." Information by courtesy of Robert Moody of Rushville.
- <sup>13</sup> Original letter, Nov. 18, 1883, Coll. W.
- <sup>14</sup> William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, New York, 1950, p. 278.
- <sup>15</sup> Italics are the author's.
- <sup>16</sup> *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 7, 1895. It is not possible to reconstruct with accuracy the chronology of Whitman's journey westward. Judge Otis may have been mistaken when he claimed that he and Whitman spent four days in Buffalo.
- <sup>17</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):3:36. Dr. Hale was one of the first three dentists who practised in St. Louis for any length of time. He retired in 1864.
- <sup>18</sup> Only one copy of the original pamphlet is known to exist; it is in Coll. Y. Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Wash., brought out a reprint edition, 1971, 20 pp.
- <sup>19</sup> Italics are the author's. Most of the emigrants who made the overland journey to Oregon found that oxen, although slower, were more reliable than horses. See George Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, New York, 1845, p. 68.
- <sup>20</sup> Eells, *Marcus Whitman, M.D.* (Pamphlet), p. 31.
- <sup>21</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1875, pp. 42 ff.
- <sup>22</sup> Perrin Whitman, ms., Coll. Wn.
- <sup>23</sup> Theodore Talbot, *Journals*, Portland, 1931, p. 3, states that Fremont and members of his party left Cincinnati on May 4 and arrived in St. Louis on the 7<sup>th</sup>.
- <sup>24</sup> Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, New York, 1880, p. 101.
- <sup>25</sup> Wilkes, *History of Oregon*, p. 67.
- <sup>26</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1875, pp. 48 ff.
- <sup>27</sup> Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:895 ff., gives an incomplete list of the male members of the 1843 emigration and also quotes various authorities as to the number of individuals, wagons, and animals in this party.
- <sup>28</sup> Talbot, *Journals*, p. 9.

- <sup>29</sup> Original Waldo ms., Coll. B. Partly reprinted in Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:405.
- <sup>30</sup> Reprinted in *National Intelligencer*, June 6, 1843, and in *Washington Globe*, June 8, 1848.
- <sup>31</sup> *Iowa Gazette*, July 8, 1843. Jesse Applegate was a member of the 1843 emigration.
- <sup>32</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1876, with article by Applegate, "A Day with the Cow Column."
- <sup>33</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):2:34.
- <sup>34</sup> See ante, fn. 82, and *O.H.Q.*, I (1900):381 ff.
- <sup>35</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1880, p. 22.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 63.
- <sup>37</sup> *O.H.Q.*, IV (1903):282.
- <sup>38</sup> Peter Burnett, *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, New York, 1880, p. 112.
- <sup>39</sup> Quoted by Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 215.
- <sup>40</sup> There is some question as to the identity of this creek. The late Dale Morgan of Bancroft Library, Berkeley, in a letter to me dated June 2, 1970, wrote: "It is evidently the stream called Squaw Butte Creek in several of the journals of 1843... and the present La Prele Creek, 17 miles east of 'Big Deer Creek'... Apparently the Oregon emigrants of 1843 somewhat overestimated the distance from Fort Laramie." Hulbert, *O.P.*, VII:322, identifies the creek as being "just west of Deer Creek."
- <sup>41</sup> *O.H.Q.*, V (1904):76.
- <sup>42</sup> Grant remained in charge of Fort Hall from 1842 until 1851. The Company abandoned the post in 1855.
- <sup>43</sup> *O.H.Q.*, VII (1906):342.
- <sup>44</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1875, p. 48.
- <sup>45</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):2:31.
- <sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 83. Italics are the author's.
- <sup>47</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1875, p. 48.
- <sup>48</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):2:35.
- <sup>49</sup> Eells, *Reply to Bourne*, p. 112.
- <sup>50</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):2:34 quoting Perrin Whitman in 1898: "He [i.e. Dr. Whitman] showed me some of the pieces [of the wagon] at Boise seven years after he had brought it out ...It had just laid there by an old adobe building until it had rotted and sunk into the ground."
- <sup>51</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, 1875, p. 48.
- <sup>52</sup> Drury, *F.W.W.*, II:259.
- <sup>53</sup> Myron Eells in later years was to become one of the foremost champions of the Whitman-Saved-Oregon story. See Appendix 4.
- <sup>54</sup> *T.O.P.A.*, p. 26. See also account of H. H. Bancroft's interview with Parrish on June 15, 1878. Coll. B.
- <sup>55</sup> White's original report is in Old Indian Files, National Archives. Miss Allen omitted this from her book, *Ten Years in Oregon*.
- <sup>56</sup> *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):1:34.

<sup>57</sup> Burnett, *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*, p. 127.

<sup>58</sup> Waldo ms., Coll. B.

<sup>59</sup> Edward Henry Lenox, *Overland to Oregon*, Oakland, Calif., 1904, p. 54.

<sup>60</sup> McClane ms., Coll. B.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter Sixteen, "Motives for Whitman's Ride."

<sup>62</sup> Italics are the author's. See Foreword to this work.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter Eighteen, "Synopsis of Whitman's Bill," and Appendix 7.

<sup>64</sup> Italics are the author's.

<sup>65</sup> HBC Arch., B/223/c. Italics are the author's.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* Italics are the author's.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* Italics are the author's.