

The diaries and letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith relating to the Nez Percé mission, 1838-1842. With introductions and editorial notes by Clifford Merrill Drury.

Spalding, Henry Harmon, 1803-1874.
Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark Co., 1958.

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THE WHITMAN HOME AT WAILLATPU, AT THE TIME OF THE MASSACRE

A copy of a painting of the mission as it may have appeared on November 29, 1847. The picture, in the author's possession, was painted by Rowena Lung Alcorn, from the floor plan drawn by Narcissa Whitman in a letter to her mother, May 2, 1840. One of the Whitman's adopted children called it a "large white house." Mrs. Whitman had the wood trim painted green. The room at the right was being added at the time of the massacre. The Indian tepees and the covered wagon symbolize the fact that the mission was caught between contending forces — old Indian ways versus the white-man's civilization. Mrs. Whitman was shot when standing behind the door leading into the story-and-a-half unit, by an Indian standing on the steps of the last door to the right of the single-story unit.



The Diaries and Letters of
HENRY H. SPALDING
and
ASA BOWEN SMITH
relating to the
NEZ PERCE MISSION
1838-1842

With Introductions and Editorial Notes by

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California Professor of Church History
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THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
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1958

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To
my son
PHILIP EDWARD DRURY

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Acknowledgments

Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.
John, vi, 12. King James Version of the Bible

The following work embodies the results of over twenty-four years research in the history of the Oregon Mission of the American Board. The source material, either quoted *in toto* or consulted in the course of the preparation of this work, has been located by the author in libraries in cities as widely separated as Honolulu, Hawaii, and Boston, Massachusetts. Many individuals, libraries, organizations, and institutions have cooperated through the years to make this volume possible. To all who have assisted, the author wishes to express his sincere appreciation.

The larger part of the source materials used has come from the following eight libraries or historical depositories:

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — the Smith Diary and all of the letters from the members of the Oregon Mission to the Board, including those here given in full from A. B. Smith. The archives of the Board are now on deposit in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California — the original letter of Asa B. Smith to Elkanah Walker, May 3, 1841.

National Archives, Washington, D.C.— the original inventories of the Lapwai and Waiilatpu Missions compiled by Henry H. Spalding.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania — the original record book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon.

San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California — A. B. Smith's letter to Miss Kate McBeth, March 10, 1882.

Washington State College, Pullman, Washington — Mrs. A. B. Smith's letter to Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker, December 18, 1839.

Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington — the Spalding Diary.

Yale University — the Smith letters to Elkanah Walker. All of the Smith letters to members of the Mission used in this work are to be found in the Coe Collection of Yale University unless noted to the contrary.

Thus the main source material has come from four libraries or

depositories on the Atlantic Coast — Harvard, Yale, National Archives, and the Presbyterian Historical Society; and four on the Pacific Coast — Washington State College, Whitman College, San Francisco Theological Seminary, and Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Pictures and additional information used in the footnotes have come from a wide variety of sources. Due acknowledgment will be given in the captions of the pictures and in the footnotes.

The libraries and depositories have granted permission to use the materials quoted. The author wishes to express his appreciation also to Mr. Horace Hart Spalding of Spokane, Washington, for permission to publish his grandfather's *Diary*.

The author is mindful of the large group of people no longer living who have directly and indirectly helped to make this work possible. In days and years long past, some had the historical sense to preserve these documents and to see that they were placed in recognized depositories and libraries. Others have rendered service in giving the documents the proper care, and in seeing that they were duly catalogued. And still others have made possible the modern methods of providing photostats and microfilms which have contributed so much to the ease with which copies of these scattered documents were brought together for intensive study. Although the author realizes that it is impossible to thank this great unseen company whose labors have entered into this work, nevertheless he feels in his heart a sense of indebtedness and of gratitude.

Introduction

The history of the Whitman-Spalding Mission in Old Oregon has been but partly told. The author's trilogy, which appeared during the years 1936-40 and is now out of print, dealt with the three main stations. *Henry Harmon Spalding, Pioneer of Old Oregon*, told the story not only of Spalding but also of his mission at Lapwai; *Marcus Whitman, M.D., Pioneer and Martyr*, combined the story of the Whitmans with that of their station at Waiilatpu; and *Elkanah and Mary Walker, Pioneers among the Spokanes*, presented their biographies with an account of their mission at Tshimakain where they were associated with the Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells.

But there was a fourth station in the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the account of which has not yet been given to the public. This station was located at Kamiah on the Clearwater River, about sixty miles overland from Lapwai, where the Rev. Asa Bowen Smith and his wife, Sarah, settled in the summer of 1839 and remained until April 1841. Smith selected Kamiah because it was in the very heart of the Nez Perce country. There the purest form of the language was spoken, and Smith, who became the best linguist of the Mission, wanted the advantage of that location in order to master the language. Kamiah was also favored in having a larger number of natives remain there through the year than was the case at any of the other three stations. This was because of the abundance and proximity of game, fish, and roots.

The hitherto unpublished Diary of Asa B. Smith extends from April 23, 1838, to December 5, 1840. This document is now a part of the archives of the American Board on deposit in Houghton Library at Harvard University. Supplementing the diary are a number of letters written by Asa and Sarah Smith. The diary and the letters together give a wealth of new information not only upon the customs, traditions, and manner of life of the Nez Percés, but also upon the difficulties which the pioneer missionaries faced in their isolated stations. Smith was a keen observer. By nature he was much more of a scholar than a frontiersman. He conducted the first census of the Nez Percés. He wrote a dictionary and a grammar of the language, which documents are also a part of the archives of the American Board. He investigated and reported on the religious beliefs of the natives. No

other missionaries of all the Protestants who worked in Old Oregon lived in such isolation as did the Smiths during their two-year residence at Kamiah. For these reasons his observations are of primary importance as we seek to understand the Nez Perce life of those days.

Moreover, there is a second important reason why this Diary, with its accompanying letters, should be published, and that is the light it throws upon the unfortunate controversy which disturbed the life of the Oregon Mission of the American Board during those four critical years, 1838-1842. By a most interesting coincidence, Henry H. Spalding kept a diary which he began on November 26, 1838, which continued to March 1843. Thus the Smith and the Spalding Diaries run parallel for about two years, 1839 and 1840. In all probability neither knew that the other was also keeping a diary.

Although the author had access to the Spalding Diary when writing his *Henry Harmon Spalding*, this is the first time that the Diary has been published in full. Even as the Smith Diary throws light upon the customs and traditions of the Nez Percés, so does the Spalding. On several occasions Spalding took long itinerating trips with the natives and recorded in detail many of his observations.

Diaries in general may be divided into two groups — those written for others to read and those written for the personal reference of the writer. Smith wrote his diary for the information of the Board and thus he was always conscious of someone looking over his shoulder as he wrote. In due time the diary was sent to Boston. This accounts for its presence now in the archives of the Board. Spalding wrote for himself, never dreaming that any one of a later generation would scrutinize so carefully all that he penned. He wrote more intimately than Smith, thus revealing his thoughts, feelings, and hopes. Since these two diaries cover the years when the Oregon Mission of the American Board was torn apart by dissensions, they give us a bifocal view of the troubled situation.

There in Old Oregon some fundamental problems of missionary techniques came to a focus. How could the missionaries best evangelize the uncivilized Indians? Should they try to settle the nomadic natives and induce them to become farmers rather than remain as hunters? Or should the missionaries follow the wanderings of the Indians? Should instruction be given in the English or in the native tongue? Could the mission be self-supporting and still give the missionaries opportunity to fulfill their primary objectives? Missionary work for the American Indians was then still so new that no accepted set of principles, based upon years of experience, had been established.

It so happened that Spalding and Smith took opposite views on questions of far-reaching implications. Within a year after their arrival on the field in 1836, both Whitman and Spalding had come to the conclusion that they had a primary responsibility in settling the

Indians. This was, therefore, the policy followed before the arrival of the reenforcement of 1838 of which Smith was a member. Later Whitman was inclined to move rather slowly in that direction. Spalding, however, was enthusiastic and consistent in his endeavors to induce the natives to settle and become farmers and raise cattle, hogs, and sheep.

By nature Smith was of a choleric disposition. His letters to the Secretary of the American Board in Boston began to carry criticisms of his colleagues when he was but half-way across the plains on the trip to Oregon in the summer of 1838. He became so much a *persona non grata* that none of the other eleven members of the Mission wished to live with him. Nor did Smith wish to live with any of them. This was the main reason why Smith, in the spring of 1839, felt it was necessary to seek out a separate location.

Smith became hypercritical of Spalding. Unfortunately for himself, Spalding was guilty of exaggeration in his reports to the Board about the prospects of his work. Smith was quick to detect these over-optimistic reports and hold them up for ridicule. Smith's outlook on life in general was undoubtedly affected by the fact that his wife was an invalid. Whitman, the only medical member of the Mission, was strangely silent in his letters regarding any diagnosis of her ailment. Perhaps Mrs. Smith's problem was basically mental. She was remembered by the Nez Perces of Kamiah as "the weeping one."¹

The primitive conditions under which the missionaries were obliged to live were trying upon the most Christian dispositions. Spalding and Whitman were unprepared for the size of the reenforcement which arrived in August, 1838. They expected Gray to return with some associates but suddenly to have four couples and a single man, for whom accommodations had to be found, was both a surprise and a problem. The rude cabins which Whitman and Spalding had erected for themselves had to receive their new colleagues. Several couples had to live in a house intended for one. Mrs. Whitman, writing to her sister Jane on May 17, 1839, asked: ". . . how do you think I have lived with such folks right in my kitchen for the whole winter?" Even the most pious missionary found that the continued presence of even a beloved colleague under such crowded conditions often became irritating. Missionaries are people with strong convictions, otherwise they would not be missionaries. Hence, it was easy under the strain of abnormal living conditions for trivialities to be magnified.

These diaries and letters here published show how some of these differences originated and how they grew. Innocent remarks were passed from one to another with embellishments. Little mole-hills of misunderstandings grew into mountains of distrust. The very necessity of getting sufficient food brought its problems. The death of a milch

¹ McBeth, *The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark*, 60.

cow at Kamiah became a calamity for the Smiths. This whole background should be held in sympathetic remembrance when we review the unhappy story of the bickerings which disturbed the life of the Oregon Mission of the American Board during those four critical years, 1838-1842.

In a wider perspective, we find in these dissensions the background of that fateful order of the Board, dated February 15, 1842, which dismissed Spalding, closed the Waiilatpu and Lapwai stations, and ordered the Whitmans to move to Tshimakain. The same order "advised" William H. Gray to return home "and also the Rev. Asa B. Smith, on account of the illness of his wife." The receipt of this order in the fall of 1842 was the primary reason why Dr. Whitman mounted his horse on October 3rd and started his famous ride to Boston. These diaries and letters give added confirmation to the author's thesis, set forth in his Spalding and Whitman biographies, that Whitman's main reason for going east was not to save Oregon for the United States but rather to save the Mission.

Two other documents are given in the appendices because of the further light they throw upon the history of the Mission. One is a copy of the letter to Spalding sent by the Rev. David Greene, Secretary of the American Board, dated in February 1842, explaining the action of the Board in dismissing him from the Mission. The second is a copy of the inventory of the Lapwai Mission compiled by Spalding following the Whitman massacre. This latter document speaks eloquently of Spalding's indefatigable labors in making his mission self-supporting. The inventory shows that Spalding had developed his station into a demonstration center to show the natives how they could make a living from the soil. The inventory also shows how Mrs. Spalding was teaching the women and girls how to spin, weave, and sew. With his mills and shops, Spalding taught the natives how to grind wheat into flour, cut logs into lumber, and transform old guns into hoes. Both of the Spaldings taught in the school. Thus this inventory with its revealing details becomes another witness to Spalding's insistence that the Nez Percés had to be settled before they could be Christianized.

List of Persons Mentioned in the Text

Since more than one hundred different people are mentioned at least once in either or both of the diaries here published, a brief introduction to the individuals concerned will be helpful. For easier identification, the list is divided into three sections: (1) Protestant missionaries; (2) Mountain men, Hudson's Bay Company's employees, and others; and (3) Indians. A few names which appear but once in the text and are sufficiently identified when mentioned are not included in this list. Year dates of birth and death are given when known.

I. PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES

In this group are Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Independent missionaries to Old Oregon (which then included what is now Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and those parts of Wyoming and Montana which lie west of the Continental Divide), the Sandwich Islands, and to the Sioux. The thirteen officially connected with the Oregon Mission of the American Board are indicated with an asterisk (*).

BINGHAM, HIRAM; 1789-1869. Founder of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Pastor of the principal church for natives in Honolulu.

CASTLE, SAMUEL NORTHERUP; 1808-1894. Assistant Superintendent of Secular Affairs, Sandwich Islands Mission.

CHAMBERLAIN, LEVI; 1792-1849. Superintendent of Secular Affairs, Sandwich Islands Mission.

CHUTE, DR. A Methodist medical missionary to the Indians. Stationed at Westport, Missouri.

CLARK, HARVEY; Congregational minister who, with his wife, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. P. B. Littlejohn, migrated to Oregon in the summer of 1840 with the intention of carrying on missionary work on an independent and self-supporting basis. The Clarks spent a part of the winter of 1840-41 with the Smiths at Kamiah. They moved to the Willamette Valley in 1841.

•**EELLS, CUSHING; 1810-1893.** Congregational minister, member of the reenforcement of the American Board's Oregon Mission of 1838. Settled with the Walkers at Tshimakain. After the Whitman massacre, the Eells settled in the Willamette Valley. Became the founder of Whitman College.

- ***EELLS, MYRA FAIRBANKS**; 1805-1878.
Children: Edwin, b. July 27, 1841, and Myron, b. Oct. 7, 1843.
- ***GRAY, WILLIAM HENRY**; 1810-1889. Joined the Oregon Mission of the American Board as a mechanic but was later listed as Assistant Missionary. Went out with the Whitmans and Spaldings in 1836; returned for reenforcements in 1837; was married and with three other newly-wedded couples – the Eells, the Walkers, and the Smiths – returned to Oregon in 1838. Becoming dissatisfied because he was not permitted to establish his own station, Gray left the mission in September, 1842, and settled near Astoria.
- ***GRAY, MARY AUGUSTA DIX**; 1810-1881. Children:
John Henry Dix, b. Mar. 20, 1839. Edwin Hall, b. Feb. 14, 1847.
Caroline, b. Oct. 16, 1840. Truman Powers, b. Dec. 24, 1848.
Mary Sophia, b. March 12, 1842. Albert Williams, b. June 28, 1850.
Sarah Fidelia, b. Nov. 25, 1843. James Taylor, b. Aug. 12, 1852.
William Polk, b. July 26, 1845.
- GREEN, JONATHAN SMITH**; 1796-1878. Congregational minister, member of the Sandwich Islands Mission of the American Board. Made an exploring trip along the Pacific Coast for his Board in the summer of 1829. First Protestant minister to enter San Francisco Bay.
- GREENE, DAVID**; 1832-1866. One of the Secretaries for Correspondence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with his office in Boston, Massachusetts.
- GRIFFIN, JOHN SMITH**; ?-1899. Congregational minister, graduated from Oberlin Theological Seminary, 1838. With his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Asahel Munger, Griffin went to Oregon in 1839 as an independent missionary. The Griffins spent the winter of 1839-40 with the Spaldings at Lapwai. Their attempt to establish a mission on the Snake River failed. Went to the Willamette Valley in the fall of 1840.
- GRIFFIN, DESIRE C.**; 1805-1884. Assisted Mrs. Spalding in the school at Lapwai, 1839-40.
- HALL, EDWIN OSCAR**; 1810-1883. Printer and Secular Agent of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Took the mission press to Oregon, arriving at Walla Walla on April 29, 1839. Returned to the Islands in the spring of 1840. Mrs. Hall, though an invalid, accompanied her husband.
Children: Caroline Alice, b. at Waiilatpu, Nov. 5, 1839.
- LEE, DANIEL**; 1806-1895. Elder in the Methodist Church, nephew of Jason Lee. Crossed the country with his uncle in 1834. They were the first Protestant missionaries to cross the Rockies. Lived with Mr. and Mrs. H. K. W. Perkins at The Dalles.
- LEE, JASON**; 1803-1845. Methodist minister and founder of the Oregon Mission of the Methodist Church in 1834. Returned overland to the States in 1838. Took out a reenforcement of

fifty people on the *Lausanne*, which arrived at Fort Vancouver on June 1, 1840. Lee went East again, leaving in November, 1843. While at Honolulu, en route home, he learned that he had been superseded as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission by the Rev. George Gary.

LESLIE, DAVID, Methodist minister, member of the Oregon Mission of his church. Arrived in Oregon by sea September 7, 1837. Leading figure of the second reenforcement.

LITTLEJOHN, PHILO B. Crossed the country with his wife, Adeline Sadler, in 1840. (See note under Clark, Harvey.) A son, Leverett, was drowned in the mill race at Lapwai on March 29, 1843. Assisted both the Whitmans and the Spaldings up to 1843.

MUNGER, ASAHIEL; ?-1841. Independent missionary to Oregon, who with his wife and the Griffins crossed the country in 1839. Spent the winter of 1839-40 with the Whitmans. Not being able to establish an independent station, the Mungers stayed with the Whitmans until 1841. By this time Munger was showing signs of mental derangement. An effort was made to send the Mungers back to the States that summer but this failed. The Mungers went to the Willamette Valley in the fall of 1841. While mentally unbalanced, Munger burnt himself so badly as to result in his death in December, 1841. The Mungers had a daughter, born at Waiilatpu, June 25, 1840.

PARKER, SAMUEL; 1779-1855. New School Presbyterian minister, later Congregational, who made an exploratory trip to Oregon in 1835 under the auspices of the American Board. Dr. Whitman accompanied him as far as the Rendezvous. Parker returned by sea, arriving in Connecticut May 18, 1837. Wrote *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, published at Ithaca, 1838. This book appeared in five American and one English editions.

PERKINS, H.K.W. Methodist minister, member of the Oregon Mission, arriving May 23, 1837.

RODGER, ANDREW; 1818 or 1819-1847. Excommunicated from the Associated Presbyterian Church because he did not confine his singing to the approved version of the Psalter. Migrated to Oregon in 1845; became a school teacher at the Whitman Mission; joined the First Church of Oregon, February 27, 1846; and was the first candidate for the Protestant ministry on the Pacific Coast. Killed in the Whitman massacre, November 29, 1847.

***ROGERS, CORNELIUS**; 1815-1843. Member of the reenforcement of the American Board to its Oregon Mission of 1838. Became fluent in the Nez Perce language but withdrew from the Mission in 1841 because of the internal dissension. Settled in the Willamette Valley. Married Miss Satira Leslie, September 1841. On February 1, 1843, Rogers, his wife, little child, and several others were drowned when their boat was swept over Willamette Falls.

- SMITH, ALVIN T. Crossed the country to Oregon in 1840. (See Clark, Harvey.) The Smiths spent the winter of 1840-41 with the Spaldings at Lapwai. Went to Willamette in the fall of 1841.
- *SMITH, ASA BOWEN; 1809-1886. His biographical sketch is presented in this book.
- *SMITH, SARAH GILBERT WHITE; 1813-1855.
- *SPALDING, HENRY HARMON; 1803-1874. New School Presbyterian minister who went out to Oregon with his wife and the Whitmans in 1836. Settled at Lapwai. See his biographical sketch in this book.
- *SPALDING, ELIZA HART; 1807-1851. Children:

Eliza, b. Nov. 15, 1837.	Martha Jane, b. Mar. 20, 1845.
Henry Hart, b. Nov. 24, 1839.	Amelia Lorene, b. Dec. 12, 1846.
- *WALKER, ELKANAH BARTLETT; 1805-1877. Congregational minister and member of the reenforcement of 1838. He and his wife and the Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells settled at Tshimakain, near Spokane. After the Whitman massacre, the Walkers settled at Forest Grove, Oregon.
- *WALKER, MARY RICHARDSON; 1811-1897. Children:

Cyrus Hamlin, b. Dec. 7, 1838.	Jeremiah, b. Mar. 7, 1846.
Abigail Boutwell, b. May 24, 1840.	John Richardson, b. Dec. 21, 1847.
Marcus Whitman, b. March 16, 1842.	Levi Chamberlain, b. Feb. 4, 1850.
Joseph Elkanah, b. Feb. 10, 1844.	Samuel Thompson, b. May 2, 1852.
- *WHITMAN, MARCUS, M.D.; 1802-1847. Presbyterian elder. Appointed missionary by American Board in 1835; made a trip to the Rockies that summer with Parker; went to Oregon with his wife, the Spaldings, and W. H. Gray in 1836. Settled at Waiilatpu. Killed in massacre of November 29, 1847.
- *WHITMAN, NARCISS PRENTICE; 1808-1847. Killed with her husband in the massacre.
 Children: Alice Clarissa, b. March 14, 1837; drowned in stream near Whitman home, June 23, 1839.
- WILLIAMSON, THOMAS S.; 1800-1879. Presbyterian missionary to Sioux. Stationed at Lac qui Parle. Associated with him and his wife were the Rev. and Mrs. Stephen R. Riggs. They corresponded with members of the Oregon Mission.
- WILLSON, W.H. Carpenter, member of first reenforcement to the Methodist Mission in Oregon, arriving 1837.

II. MOUNTAIN MEN, HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S EMPLOYEES, AND OTHERS

- BARCLAY, FORBES, M.D.; 1812-. Surgeon of Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver, from 1839 to 1850. Then settled at Oregon City.

- BLACK, MR.** Mentioned by Spalding, November 12, 1839. Unidentified. Probably a mountain man.
- BLACK, SAMUEL.** A Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in charge of a post in Canada.
- BLAIR, A.M.** Arrived at Lapwai on October 4, 1839. Remained in Spalding's employ until April 2, 1840. Helped build the saw-mill.
- BRIDGER, JAMES; 1804-1881.** Famous mountain man. Married to a native. A daughter, Mary Ann, was placed in the Whitmans' care in the summer of 1841.
- COMPO, CHARLES.** Mountain man. Guide for Samuel Parker when he visited Oregon in 1835. Entered the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Joined the First Church of Oregon as a convert from Roman Catholicism on August 18, 1838. Married a Nez Perce woman and settled on a farm near Waiilatpu in the spring of 1838. Later moved to the Willamette. Compo spoke the Nez Perce and the Flathead tongues, so was often used by Spalding as an interpreter.
- CONNER, JAMES.** Mountain man who assisted Spalding at Lapwai 1839-40. Joined the First Church of Oregon on November 17, 1839; excommunicated February 4, 1843.
- CRAIG, WILLIAM; 1800-1869.** Mountain man, married to a Nez Perce woman. Arrived at Lapwai on November 29, 1839 and caused much trouble for Spalding.
- DEMERS, ABBÉ MODESTE.** Roman Catholic missionary who, with Abbé François Norbet Blanchet, arrived at Fort Walla Walla the first part of November 1838.
- DOUGLAS, JAMES.** For sixteen years an associate of Dr. McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver and the Doctor's successor as Chief Factor.
- DORION, BAPTISTE.** Son of Pierre Dorion, who was with Lewis and Clark, and a Nez Perce woman. Often used as an interpreter by the whites.
- EBBERTS, GEORGE.** Mountain man. Was in Spalding's employ at Lapwai during the winter of 1838-39.
- ERMATINGER, FRANK.** A jovial Englishman in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Was often in charge of the Company's pack trains during the period 1838-42.
- FARNHAM, THOMAS J.; 1804-1848.** Migrated to Oregon in the summer of 1839. Farnham returned to the States where he published his *Travels Across the Great Western Prairies*, 1841.
- GEIGER, WILLIAM.** Arrived at Waiilatpu in July, 1839. Geiger was hired to take care of the Whitman station during the absence of Dr. Whitman, 1842-43. Was the teacher of the school for white children at Waiilatpu during the winter of 1846-47.
- JACK.** A Hawaiian who worked for A. B. Smith at Kamiah during the winter of 1839-40.
- JOHNSON, LT. ROBERT E.** Member of the party from the Wilkes

Expedition, which visited Tshimakain and Lapwai in the early summer of 1841.

KONE, WILLIAM W. Methodist minister, member of the reenforcement which went out on the *Lausanne* in 1839-40. Stationed at Astoria.

LAIR, MOSES. A French Canadian who arrived at the Lapwai station on May 27, 1841, whom Spalding employed. Spalding, on September 30, 1841, called him "very faithful."

LARISON, JOHN. Mountain man who went with Craig to Lapwai in the fall of 1839. Worked for Spalding for a time. Was at Lapwai in October, 1841.

MAKI, JOSEPH. A native Hawaiian, member of Mr. Bingham's church in Honolulu. He and his wife, Maria, arrived at Waiilatpu to help the Whitmans in June, 1838. They became charter members of the First Church of Oregon. Joseph died on August 8, 1840. Maria returned to the Islands with the Smiths in 1841.

MCDONALD, ARCHIBALD. In charge of the Hudson's Bay fort at Colville,¹ 1836-43. His first wife was the daughter of a Chinook chief; his second wife, Jane Klyne, was a half-breed. The McDonalds were friendly to the missionaries.

MCKAY, THOMAS. Son of Alexander McKay, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and an Ojibway woman. Following the death of his father, Thomas' mother married Dr. McLaughlin. Thomas worked for A. B. Smith in the winter of 1839-40.

MCKINLAY, ARCHIBALD. Scotch Presbyterian who succeeded Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla, remaining there from 1841 to 1847. Friend of the missionaries.

MCLEOD, JOHN. An employee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

McLOUGHLIN, JOHN. M.D.; 1784-1857. Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Vancouver, 1824-45. Ruled as the uncrowned king of Old Oregon. Settled at Oregon City after his resignation from the Company.

OGDEN, PETER SKENE; P-1854. Second in rank at Fort Vancouver.

PAMBRUN, PIERRE C. French Canadian in charge of Fort Walla Walla up to the time of his death, May 15, 1840. His daughter, Maria, was engaged briefly in 1840 to Cornelius Rogers.

TOLMIE, WILLIAM FRAZIER, M.D. Doctor at Fort Vancouver for several years after 1836.

WHITE, ELIJAH, M.D.; 1806-1879. First doctor to be connected with the Oregon Methodist Mission; member of the reenforcement of 1837; dismissed from the Mission in 1840. White went back to the States and returned in the fall of 1842 as the first Government Indian Agent to Oregon. Visited the mission stations of Waiilatpu and Lapwai in the fall of 1842. Instituted laws for the natives. Returned East in 1845. Later settled in San Francisco, where he died.

WILKES, LT. CHARLES; 1798-1877. American naval officer and

¹ Colville was the original spelling, but is now accepted as Colville. The original spelling appears unchanged in some documents in this volume.

explorer. In command of the U.S. Naval Squadron sent to explore the Pacific, 1838-42. Visited the Pacific Coast in 1841.
WILLIAMS, RICHARD. Mountain man and blacksmith who was employed by Spalding at Lapwai during the winter of 1838-9. Married a Nez Perce woman.

III. INDIANS

(Note: Most if not all of the Nez Perces given white men's names received them from Spalding. Although it was his custom to bestow biblical names upon his converts, and sometimes names of relatives or friends, yet he also designated certain individuals by these biblical and other cognomens even when they were not baptized. Many of these names have been passed down in the Nez Perce tribe as family names. Undoubtedly the white men's names were easier to pronounce and to remember than the long and unfamiliar native names. All references to dates in the following list are to Spalding's Diary. Only two women are here listed, Asenoth and Tamar.)

APOLLOS. An inquirer, December 24, 1838.

ASENOTH. Wife of Joseph.

ATPASHWAKAIKET. A prominent Nez Perce who wished to become head chief. Was anti-white. See Smith's Diary, October 13, 1840.

AUGUSTUS. Hunts bear for Spalding, May 14, 1840.

BARTHOLOMEW. Joined mission church, June 23, 1844.

BLUE CAP. See Oct. 14, 1840. May be the same person as Husenmalikan.

EAGLE. Faithful friend of Spalding. See Oct. 21, 1840. Served as messenger between mission stations.

EDWIN. Sometimes accompanied Spalding on trips. See June 17, 1839.

ELLICE or ELLIS. From Kamiah. Spent about four years as a youth in the Episcopal Mission school at Red River (Winnipeg, Canada). Elected first Head Chief of the Nez Perces in December, 1843. Was killed in the buffalo country in 1848. Was rather non-cooperative with the missionaries. See February 28, 1839.

FIVE CROWS. See Hezekiah.

FOOL, THE. A Spokane Indian who lived near what is now Chewelah, Washington. This was a favorite camping place for travelers on their way to Fort Colville. See September 9, 1841.

GARRY, SPOKANE; 1811-1892. A prominent Spokane Indian who attended the Red River Mission school from 1825 to 1829 and from 1830 to 1831. In 1829 he read from the Bible to the people of his tribe and to others in the vicinity of what is now Spokane. Lawyer of Kamiah heard him. This was one of the chief reasons why the Nez Perces sent a delegation to St. Louis in the summer of 1831. They also wanted the Bible. Garry failed to

- render much help to the missionaries at Tshimakain. Spalding called on him September 6, 1841.
- GEORGE.** One of the Nez Percés from Lapwai frequently mentioned by Spalding as a companion on his trips.
- GREEN CAP.** A native of Kamiah.
- HEZEKIAH (FIVE CROWS).** Prominent Cayuse chief who joined the church on June 16, 1843. See December 1, 1841.
- HUSENMALIKAN (Ims-tom-wia-kim or Utes-sen-ma-le-kin or Inm-tam-lai-akan or Blue Cap).** Nez Perce chief at Kamiah who ordered the Smiths to move. See October 14, 1840.
- IN-SIN-MA-LA-KIN.** One of the Kamiah Indians who threatened Smith in his home at Kamiah. See Smith's Diary, October 13, 1840.
- ISAAC.** Probably one of the Lapwai Nez Percés.
- JACOB.** A Nez Perce who was most faithful in serving Spalding. A valley between Lapwai and Kamiah was called Jacob's Valley. See July 12, 1839.
- JAMES.** A prominent Nez Perce chief who lived at Lapwai. Mentioned many times by Spalding. Was frequently the leader of the opposition to Spalding. Sometimes called Old James. See October 9, 1840.
- JASON.** Spalding writes on April 16, 1842, of making a plow for this native of Lapwai. Sometimes accompanied Spalding on trips.
- JOE, JOEL.** Each mentioned but once by Spalding with no further identification.
- JOHN.** Probably John Ais, one of the two Indian lads whom Whitman took East with him in 1835 and who returned with the Mission party of 1836. See April 11, 1839.
- JOSEPH (Old Joseph).** Prominent Nez Perce chief whose band lived in the Wallowa Valley. Spent several winters at Lapwai under Spalding's instruction. Was baptized with Timothy on November 17, 1839, and received into the membership of the church.
- LAWYER (Ish-hol-hol-hoats-toats).** Prominent chief who lived at Kamiah. Met both parties of missionaries, 1836 and 1838, at the Rendezvous. Became the best teacher of the Nez Perce language the missionaries could find. Although friendly to the missionaries, he did not join the church until November 12, 1871. He was the first elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Kamiah.
- LEVI.** Brother of Timothy. Joined First Church May 14, 1843. Killed in the buffalo country the following summer.
- LUKE.** Always associated with Timothy—"Timothy & Luke." See December 26, 1840.
- MARK.** Goes with Spalding on trip. Once killed a bear for him. See May 14, 1840.
- MASTAPS.** Sometimes sent as a messenger between mission stations; assisted Spalding at Lapwai. See December 25, 1840.
- MEIWAY.** Critical of the white men; once helped abuse Pam-

- brun. See March 13, 1839. Once leader of the party opposing Spalding; later appeared to be more friendly.
- MUNGO. Probably Mevway Mungo, half-Hawaiian and half-Indian, who was used by the missionaries at Tshimakain as a messenger and assistant.
- NOAH. Spalding mentioned him in entry for February 10, 1842.
- PAKATAS or PACKATAS. Native of Kamiah. Messenger for Smith.
- PETER. Used as messenger. See November 16, 1839.
- RED BEAR. One of the lesser chieftains at Kamiah. Associated with Ellis in the war party which visited Lapwai. See February 28, 1839.
- RED WOLF. Lived with his band between Lapwai and Waiilatpu. Friendly to Spalding.
- RICHARD. Son of Chief Rotten Belly; was taken East with Whitman in 1835. Returned with the Whitman-Spalding party in 1836. For a short time in 1848 was Head Chief of Nez Perces. Sometimes used as a messenger between Waiilatpu and Lapwai.
- ROTTEN BELLY (or Tack-en-su-a-tis). Nez Perce chief, at first very eager to have missionaries, but later cool to them.
- SAMPSON. One hired by Spalding to make adobe bricks. See October 23, 1839.
- SHORT HAIR. Accompanied Spalding on trips. See April 24, 1839. Used as messenger.
- SILAS, SIMON, and SQUINT EYE. Each mentioned by Spalding but once. No further identification.
- STEPHEN. Used as messenger and assistant at Lapwai.
- TACK-EN-SU-A-TIS. See Rotten Belly.
- TAMAR. Wife of Timothy.
- THOMAS. Mentioned but once. See April 8, 1839.
- THREE FEATHERS (Metot Waptus). A lesser chief, friend of Ellis. See February 22, 1843.
- TIMOTHY. One of the most faithful of Nez Perces to Spalding; was baptized with Joseph and joined the church November 17, 1839. Most friendly to white men. Lived at Alpowa on trail between Lapwai and Waiilatpu.
- YELLOW BEAR, YELLOW BIRD, and ZACHARIAH. Each mentioned but once. No further identification given.

Asa Bowen Smith



SARAH WHITE SMITH

Portraits of about 1838. From original miniatures owned by a niece of Asa and Sarah Smith, Miss Alice Julia White, at the time of their publication in the *Missionary Album* in 1937.



ASA BOWEN SMITH

Portraits of about 1838. From original miniatures owned by a niece of Asa and Sarah Smith, Miss Alice Julia White, at the time of their publication in the *Missionary Album* in 1937.

Early Life of Asa Bowen Smith

On July 16, 1809, the Asa Smiths of Williamstown, Vermont, became the parents of a baby boy whom they named Asa Bowen. Some thirty years later he was destined to play the role of chief critic in the Oregon Mission of the American Board of which he became a member. The main target of his criticisms was a fellow-missionary who was some six years older than he and who had arrived in Old Oregon two years earlier — the Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding.

The senior Asa Smith had been a pioneer settler at Williamstown. Not having had the advantages of an education and having himself been brought up inured to toil, the father expected the same of his son. But somehow there had been planted in the mind of Asa Bowen, while still a lad, an insatiable desire for an education. He took advantage of such limited opportunities of schooling as the pioneer village afforded and then found a kindly tutor in the person of the local lawyer, who encouraged him to prepare himself for college. A family tradition tells of how Asa Bowen carried a Latin book with him to the sugar camp one season, with the view of combining work and study. The experiment was not deemed satisfactory by his father.

On August 31, 1830, having passed his twenty-first birthday, Asa Bowen Smith enrolled at the University of Vermont at Burlington, as a beneficiary of the American Education Society. He took with him from his home a chest of provisions and practiced economy by preparing his own meals. During the first winter vacation, he taught school in Washington, an adjoining town, which was reputed to have been a "pretty godless place." There he learned to dance! And in the following spring when he returned to his home, he wanted to teach his sisters the art! His mother was both shocked and grieved. By the Puritan standards then accepted in Protestant New England, social dancing and Christianity were incompatible.

During the summer of 1831, the local Congregational Church sponsored a series of revival meetings, then called protracted meetings. Among those who experienced a spiritual regeneration was Asa Bowen Smith, then twenty-two years old. His whole life became reorientated. Filled with missionary zeal, he induced his two brothers and three sisters to become Christians. He became an enthusiastic temperance advocate and persuaded his father to take the temperance pledge.

During the same summer, the young man was stricken with typhus and for a time was near death. His recovery, which he believed came as an answer to prayer, deepened his religious convictions.

Smith returned to the University of Vermont for his second year but was induced by some friends in nearby Middlebury College to transfer to that institution. This he did in the fall of 1832, and was graduated in August, 1834, with the B.A. degree.

The next two years, 1834-36, were spent as a student in Andover Theological Seminary. Smith then transferred to Yale Divinity School at New Haven, Connecticut, from which he was graduated with the class of 1837. Along with his theological studies, he was able to attend a course of medical lectures at Yale. Smith also preached most of the Sundays during his senior year in Seminary in a Congregational church at Woodbridge, not far from New Haven. An indication of his effectiveness as a pastor is seen in the fact that forty new members were welcomed into the church at a Sunday communion held in July 1837.

Evidently while still in Seminary, Smith became interested in foreign missions. This was still a comparatively new development in the life of the American Protestant churches. The pioneer foreign missionary board, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was organized in 1810. This became an interdenominational project with the Presbyterians, and two smaller denominations, taking an active part with the Congregationalists. In 1837 the Presbyterian Church was split into the Old and New School branches. The former established its own Board of Foreign Missions while the New School continued to cooperate with the American Board for another thirty years or so. Since Smith was a Congregationalist, it was natural that he should turn to the American Board when he began to think of being a foreign missionary. The official organ of the Board was the *Missionary Herald* of which he was an avid reader.

In the meantime Smith had become engaged to Miss Sarah Gilbert White, a daughter of Deacon Alfred White, of West Brookfield, Massachusetts. Sarah was born September 14, 1813. She had a sister, Adeline, older by four years, who had been sent out to Singapore as a missionary, by the American Board in 1834. Shortly after her arrival in Singapore, Adeline was married to Ira Tracy, the pioneer missionary of the Board to that place. Undoubtedly both Ira and Adeline Tracy urged the claims of the Far East upon the young minister and his betrothed, Sarah White. The sisters could then get to see each other occasionally. To the north of Singapore was Siam, without any resident Protestant missionary. Asa Bowen Smith could be the pioneer evangelist of the Cross to open up that "heathen" land to the light of the Gospel. The idea appealed to him. He offered his services to the American Board and was tentatively accepted. With the expectation of being sent to Siam, Smith was ordained to the Congregational

ministry in his home church at Williamstown, Vermont, on November 1, 1837.

Other events, however, were taking place which changed the course of Smith's life. In 1836 Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman, the Rev. and Mrs. Henry Harmon Spalding, and Mr. William Henry Gray, all Presbyterians, were sent out to the Oregon country by the American Board. The Whitmans settled at Waiilatpu, near the present city of Walla Walla, Washington, and the Spaldings selected Lapwai, near what is now Lewiston, Idaho. These were the first white American homes to be established in the Pacific Northwest. The missionaries received such a favorable reception from the natives that Gray returned East in 1837 for reenforcements. He reached St. Louis in the early part of September and on September 15th wrote to the Rev. David Greene, Secretary of the Board, from that place. By an interesting coincidence, the members of the Board were at that time holding their annual session at Newark, New Jersey, and among other rules then adopted was the following: "It shall not be deemed proper for any missionary, or assistant missionary, to visit the United States, except by invitation, or permission first received from the Prudential Committee." This accounts for the cool reception which Gray received from the Board when he reported his return.

In the meantime, however, the Board had received enthusiastic reports of its Oregon Mission from Dr. Whitman and the Rev. H. H. Spalding. On September 20, 1836, Spalding had written a long letter describing their travel experiences, the enthusiastic reception given by the natives, the cordial attitude of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the promising outlook for the future. The editor of the *Missionary Herald* used about 6,000 words of this letter in the issue of October 1837. Another optimistic letter from Spalding, dated February 17, 1837, was given about five pages of the December, 1837, issue of the *Herald*. Judging from Spalding's reports, the whole Nez Perces nation was on the verge of becoming Christian. Even though the Board frowned upon the unauthorized return of W. H. Gray for reenforcements, it felt that the situation was such that special heed should be given to his plea. So it was decided that a party of reenforcements would return with Gray in 1838 to Oregon.

Smith had undoubtedly read the reports from Oregon in the current issues of the *Herald* as they were received by him. But when, some time during the winter of 1837-38, the Board informed him that it was unable to send him to open up a new field in Siam but instead would consider appointing him to Oregon, these reports by Spalding took on a new interest. The matter came to a crisis in March, when immediate decisions had to be made. Smith knew that a change of destination would be a disappointment to Sarah. Moreover, there was the state of her health to be considered. One could go to Siam by sea. Going to

Oregon would be different. In the latter case one, even a woman, would have to ride most of the way horseback and endure all manner of privations while crossing the plains and the mountains. However, the fact that Mrs. Marcus Whitman and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding had made the trip in 1836 was reassuring. Asa hastened to call on Sarah. On March 10, 1838, he wrote to the Rev. David Greene from West Brookfield, saying:

MY DEAR SIR, I arrived here yesterday & have proposed the subject of going to the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains & find that so far as respect the field of labor, Miss White & the whole family are much pleased. The idea of laboring among these Indians is very pleasant, & the only objection in the minds of any is the hardship of the journey.

We have but little time to think of the subject, but thus far it seems favorable. We hope that Miss White may be able to bear the journey & that it will result favorably in respect to her health.

But we have some fears with regard to this point. Could we go by sea, we should not hesitate at all. As I must write something this morning, I will say that probably we shall go. The Board therefore may act on the probability that we shall go, & I will consult further on the subject, & write again by the next mail. Please to write me as soon as you receive this & give me any information that you may think necessary.

In much haste,

Yours truly,
A. B. SMITH²

By this time Smith was aware that the outgoing party would include Gray's bride and two other newly-wedded couples. Gray met Mary Augusta Dix at a Presbyterian church gathering at Ithaca, New York, on Monday evening, February 19, 1838. They became engaged the next day; were married on Sunday, the 25th; and left for Oregon on the 26th. Gray and his wife preceded the other members of the reenforcement to the western frontier. The other two couples were the Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah Walker and the Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells, who were married on the same day, March 5th. The Walkers were married at Mary Richardson's home, Baldwin, Maine, and the Eells at Myra Fairbank's home at Holden, Massachusetts.

The Walkers had gone first to Boston following their marriage, arriving there on Thursday, March 8th. In company with two of the secretaries of the Board, the Rev. William J. Armstrong and the Rev. David Greene, they sailed for New York on March 15th. There at New York on the 18th they met the Rev. and Mrs. Cushing Eells, with whom they later lived some nine years at the lonely mission station at Tshimakain near the present city of Spokane, Washington.

² All letters from the missionaries to Secretary David Greene or to the American Board are in the archives of the Board on deposit in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Thus when Smith wrote to Greene from West Brookfield on March 10th, he was aware that if he and his bride intended to accompany the other three couples that summer to Oregon, they would have to move quickly. Sarah's delicate health was a serious factor to be considered. Could she stand the long and tedious journey overland? On March 12th, Smith wrote to Greene saying:

Should the Board decide to send us to that mission, we feel willing to undertake it, & would do it cheerfully, tho' we feel that it is a great undertaking to make so long a journey on horseback. Our calculation is to put ourselves in readiness & be in New York before the next sabbath, if the decision is that we should take that course. We wish to be there before the brethren leave so as to know what is necessary for us to purchase for the journey & go on with them.

Sarah Gilbert White and Asa Bowen Smith were married on Thursday, March 15th and left at once for New York. On Monday, March 19th, the three couples were together for the first time. Mrs. Walker that evening wrote in her diary regarding Mrs. Smith: "She's a little dear."

The next day, Tuesday, March 20, 1838, they embarked by ship for Philadelphia. Their long overland trip, which would take more than five months to complete, was begun.

Journey to Oregon

PHILADELPHIA TO WESTPORT

The overland journey made by the reenforcement which the American Board sent out to Oregon in 1838 is one of the most remarkable in the long annals of western travel. This is because the party included four brides — Mrs. William H. Gray, Mrs. A. B. Smith, Mrs. Elkanah Walker, and Mrs. Cushing Eells — and also because we have such a wealth of contemporary source material from which we can reconstruct an account of their day-by-day experiences.

First honors for pioneering the road for women to Oregon go to Mrs. Marcus Whitman and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding, who crossed the continent with their husbands in 1836. That was, as Mrs. Whitman once described it, "an unheard of journey." Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding rode through South Pass, on the Continental Divide, on July 4, 1836, seven years before the first great Oregon immigration of 1843 with its one hundred wagons rolled through that same gateway. In that seven-year period five parties which included women went to Oregon, in every instance the women concerned riding horseback most of the way from the western frontier of Missouri, because they had no wagons.

The first of these five parties which included women was the mission party of 1838. Then came two parties of independent missionaries with their wives, in 1839 and 1840. In the former were Mrs. Asahel Munger and Mrs. J. S. Griffin; in the latter were Mrs. A. T. Smith, Mrs. P. B. Littlejohn, and Mrs. Harvey Clark. The first non-missionary women to enter Oregon by the overland route arrived in the fall of 1841. They were among the twenty-four immigrants which included two families. This party found it necessary to abandon their wagons somewhere along the trail and continue the journey on horseback. In 1842 a party of over one hundred, including a few women, made the long trek to Oregon. They left their wagons at Fort Hall, near the present site of Pocatello, Idaho, and completed the journey on horses. By this time it was no longer a novelty for a woman to go overland to Oregon. When the great immigration of 1843 demonstrated the feasibility of taking wagons all the way through to Oregon, much of the danger and privations to which women travelers were of necessity exposed were re-

moved. They could ride in wagons with some degree of comfort. The success of the 1843 immigration was the magic key which unlocked the gateway of the Rockies to the restless throngs on the western frontier who were eagerly searching for new lands to settle.

The reenforcement of 1838 experienced all of the hardships, the dangers, and the privations which fell to the lot of the Whitmans and the Spaldings, who went out two years earlier. The conditions of travel were almost exactly the same. The fact that the number of women who went out in 1838 was double that of the pioneer party of 1836 undoubtedly made an impression upon that part of the nation's population which was beginning to have a deepening interest in Oregon.

And finally the journey of the reenforcement of 1838 was remarkable because we know so much about it. Actually we know little about the day-by-day experiences of the Whitmans and the Spaldings in their overland travels of 1836. Mrs. Whitman did not begin her diary until she was about ready to leave the Rendezvous on July 18th. Neither of their husbands kept diaries on the journey nor did W. H. Gray. Mrs. Spalding was only one who did and she failed to make daily entries. Moreover, her Diary is more devoted to religious meditations than to daily happenings. A different situation existed, however, with the reenforcement of 1838, when five out of the nine left behind an account of their everyday experiences in their Diaries. When their letters are added to this rich source material, we find we have a more detailed account of their travel experiences than is available for any other of the early migrating parties.

The American Board was the first missionary agency to send women across the Continental Divide. The first Protestant missionaries to cross the Rockies were Methodists—the Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel, who went out in 1834. There were no women in their party. At the end of his journey, Lee wrote back to his Board recommending that all reenforcements, and especially women, be sent by sea. The hardships and dangers of overland travel, he thought, were too much for women.³

When it became known that Whitman and Spalding intended to take their wives with them across the Rockies in 1836, several advised against it. During the latter part of February, while on his way to St. Louis, Spalding had the opportunity to meet the famous painter of Indians, George Catlin, at Pittsburgh. Catlin had been on an expedition to the far west in 1832 and could, therefore, speak out of first-hand knowledge. We have Catlin's advice in Spalding's letter written at Marietta, Ohio, under date of March 2, 1836.

He says he would not attempt to take a white female into that country for the whole of Am; for two reasons. The first, the enthusiastic desire to see a white woman every where prevailing

³ Ghent, *Road to Oregon*, 41.

among the distant tribes, may terminate in unrestrained passion consequently in her ruin and the ruin of the establishment. . . . 2nd, the fatigues of the journey, he thinks, will destroy them. 1400 miles from the mouth of the Platte, on pack horses, rivers to swim, and every night to spend in the open air, hot suns and storms. The buffalo meat we can live on doubtless. But this like the other objections you see is supposed. No female has yet made the trip.

After arriving on the field, Spalding wrote back to the Board: "Never send another woman over these mountains, if you have any regard for human life." Perhaps the one best qualified to judge the relative merits of traveling to Oregon by land or by sea was the Rev. Samuel Parker who went out to the Rendezvous with Whitman in 1835 and then continued on with the Indians while Whitman returned for reinforcements. The Rendezvous was the meeting place in the Rockies where the hunters and trappers met the caravan from the States with supplies. The first of a series of sixteen mountain fairs was held in 1825 and the last in 1840. The site was changed from year to year. The Rendezvous, for travelers en route from Missouri to Oregon, usually marked the halfway point.

Parker was supposed to have met Whitman at the Rendezvous in 1836 but his heart failed him as he contemplated the long and perilous trip overland. He decided to return by sea. After suffering the many inconveniences and hardships of a five-month voyage on a sailing vessel around Cape Horn, Parker came to the conclusion that the overland voyage was to be preferred as the lesser of two evils. In a letter to Walker dated February 19, 1837, Parker stated: "A lady can go with far more comfort by land than by sea."

With the sole exception of A. B. Smith, the letters of the members of the reenforcement of 1838 and those of the Board do not indicate that there was ever any question but that the overland way was to be preferred. Smith in his letter to Greene, of March 10th, written a few days before his marriage and previously quoted, said: "Could we go by sea, we should not hesitate at all." The very fact that Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding had made the journey in 1836 seemed to be conclusive proof that women could make the journey again. If Spalding's negative reaction was then known to the Board, it was not publicized.

The five diaries written by members of the reenforcement of 1838 covering all or part of the westward journey include the following:

1. The Diary of Mrs. Cushing Eells, which was written for her parents. This gives daily entries for the period March 5 - September 2. This diary was published in the 1889 issue of the *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association*.
2. The Diary of Mrs. Elkanah Walker, which was written for herself and is replete with personal and sometimes caustic com-

ments on the actions and attitudes of her companions. Herein we find the first indications of the clashes of personality within this group which later were to disrupt the life of the Mission. No one of the Mission was more faithful in keeping a diary than Mrs. Walker. This part of her diary, covering her trip to Oregon, was published in a Montana magazine, *Frontier*, March 1931. Also most of it was included in Ruth Karr McKee's book, *Mary Richardson Walker, Her Book*.

3. The Diary of Elkanah Walker for March 7-May 15, 1838, was evidently kept for his own satisfaction and has never been published. The entries are brief. The manuscript is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

4. W. H. Gray kept a brief account of the trip from Independence, Missouri, to Fort Laramie, including the dates April 21-May 29, for a report he made of the trip to the American Board. His account, kept in diary form, was somewhat of a daily log of mileage covered, nature of the country, etc. This was published in the July 1938 issue of the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

5. The hitherto unpublished diary of A. B. Smith, beginning April 23, 1838, with almost daily entries to September 4th. Since Smith sent his diary to the Board, it is evident that he originally wrote it with the idea of having others read it.

This series of five diaries can be supplemented by letters written by the men to the Board from the Rendezvous, where they arrived on June 21, and also from Dr. Whitman's station at Waiilatpu, which was reached the latter part of August. In addition are the reminiscences of Cushing Eells and W. H. Gray in particular. From such scattered sources come the jig-saw pieces which, when fitted together, give us a series of pictures of the actors and many of the scenes of that remarkable journey.

The three couples — the Smiths, the Walkers, and the Eells — left New York at 5:00 p.m. on the afternoon of March 20th. They were obliged to go by water for about thirty miles, after which they landed and boarded a train. Travel was slow, for they did not arrive in Philadelphia until one or two o'clock the next morning. In all probability this was the first time any one of the six had ridden in what Mrs. Eells called "the railroad cars." After a few hours of dreary waiting, the party boarded another train at seven o'clock that morning for Chambersburg, about 150 miles distant. The train averaged less than ten miles an hour. It stopped at Lancaster to permit the passengers to go to a hotel or restaurant for lunch. Beyond Harrisburg, they came to a place where there was an unfinished tunnel. All of the passengers had to disembark, walk a distance, and then board another train waiting for them. They did not arrive at Chambersburg until after midnight. Mrs. Eells noted in her Diary that she was "much fatigued."

Having reached the end of the railroad, the missionaries then had

to continue their journey by stage to Pittsburgh, where they could board a steamer for St. Louis. They left Chambersburg at 10:00 o'clock in the morning of March 22nd with the expectation of reaching Pittsburgh by Saturday afternoon, the 24th. The crossing of the Tuscorora Mountains provided some thrills, as the stage was pulled four miles up a narrow winding road. It pushed upon the horses in a descent of equal length on the other side. Mrs. Walker later wrote in her Diary: "I suffered more from timidity than I ever did before." And Mrs. Walker was not a timid woman. The stage did not stop for lunch but the passengers had tea when there was a change of horses. The driver stopped for supper, after which they continued on their way. On, on, it went, all through the night. Up over the high ridges and down again into the valleys. "Felt less fear in the dark," Mrs. Walker later confided to her Diary, "than by day." The driver stopped but once during the night for a change of horses. There was little sleep for the passengers in the jolting, rough-riding coach.

They reached Bedford about eight o'clock Friday morning where an hour was allowed for breakfast. Pittsburgh was still nearly one hundred miles distant, with the main range of the Allegheny Mountains lying in between. Sabbath was but two days away. All of the contemporary documents regarding this journey refer to Sunday as the Sabbath. The question of traveling on the Sabbath was discussed on that Friday morning. Could the stage possibly reach Pittsburgh by late Saturday night? The missionaries were unanimous in their conviction that they should not travel on the Sabbath. But there were other passengers who did not have so strict a conscience on the subject, especially a certain gentleman and his wife who claimed to be Methodists. They had a right to insist that the stage keep going even into the Sabbath. The missionaries agreed that every effort be made to get to Pittsburgh before midnight Saturday. Four nights had already passed since they left New York, and only a part of one night had been spent in a hotel. And yet they pushed on.

Another fatiguing day was spent in the coach. Hour after hour the stage rolled on its slow monotonous way with but one stop during the day for a change of horses. The day passed and night came. Although, as Mrs. Walker wrote in her Diary, they were "much fatigued," the party decided to spend the second night in the coach. Mrs. Eells in her diary gives us a glimpse into the trying experiences of their travel:

Rode all night, change horses once. Took breakfast at what is called an inn, but not much like the taverns in New England. Our only alternative now is to ride. My feet are badly swollen; think it is inconsequence of losing my sleep; think it doubtful whether we arrive in Pittsburgh to-day, owing to the unsettled state of the roads. Crossed the Alleghany Mountains last night. Nine o'clock, pack ourselves into the stage again, much refreshed by breakfast and rest; ride till night; not within thirty miles of Pitts-

burgh where we have letters of introduction and expected to spend the Sabbath.

The coach covered forty-two miles on Saturday and reached Greensburg. All of the passengers, and especially the women, felt exhausted. And yet the Methodist gentleman and his wife wanted to continue on to Pittsburgh even though this meant traveling on the Sabbath. There was a financial aspect involved for the missionaries, as Mrs. Eells explained in her diary:

Now the question is, shall we ride on and thus encroach on the duties of the Sabbath, or shall we stop and spend the Sabbath here. If we stop, we must pay a large bill for accommodations; if we go, our expense will be free. Every meal we have eaten since we left New York has cost half a dollar. If we stop, it will cost at least five dollars. We talk about it awhile; all decided we must stop but one man and wife, who have the same excuse for going and stopping that the missionaries have. He is offended.

For the first time since Tuesday, when they got some sleep in a hotel at Chambersburg, the passengers had a chance to get some rest. "Never," wrote Mrs. Eells, "were we so thankful for rest as now. . . My feet are so swollen that I can scarcely walk." The missionaries paid the expenses of the offended gentleman and his wife for the extra day.

On Sunday morning, March 25th, the missionaries were up in time to attend the local Presbyterian church, of which the Rev. Robert Henry was pastor. The minister gave the missionaries a cordial welcome and invited them to tea in the afternoon. Mrs. Walker noted: "All our company except Mrs. S." accepted. That evening the missionaries attended church again at which time both Walker and Smith spoke.

Pittsburgh was reached at 3:00 p.m. on Monday, March 26th. Mrs. Walker called it: "A dirty looking place." They called on the Rev. D. D. Riddle, pastor of the leading Presbyterian church of the city, who assisted in securing accommodations aboard the *Norfolk* which was due to leave for St. Louis on the following morning. Fare, including state rooms and board, was \$25.00 each. The missionary party went aboard that afternoon but accepted an invitation for an early morning breakfast at the Riddle home. Since the sailing hour was 10:00 a.m., there was time that morning for a social hour after breakfast. Some people interested in missions for the Indians were invited to join in a "season of prayer." Some last minute letters were written and posted. And they were off to the ship.

The rivers of the Mississippi Valley were the highways of the West and of these the Ohio was one of the most traveled. The missionaries exchanged the stagecoach for the riverboat with relief. Mrs. Eells noted in her Diary: "Half past ten, rapidly passing down the Ohio; easy and quick riding compared with riding in the stage. We have

each of us a handsome berth and the boat well furnished with everything for our comfort." The steamer tied up that night at Wheeling, about sixty miles from Pittsburgh by land but much longer by river.

The restful life aboard the riverboat gave the missionaries opportunity to catch up on their sleep and to write letters. On Tuesday March 27th, Smith wrote to Greene giving a report of their experiences. Commenting on the stage trip from Chambersburg to Pittsburgh, Smith declared that this was the most difficult part of journey — "for we had to ride night and day & the roads were extremely bad, & sometimes we were delayed on account of the multitude travelling on the road." He explained their inability to get to Pittsburgh and added: "We honored the Sabbath in Greensburgh & I trust excited some interest there in behalf of the cause — we showed them at least that we regarded the Sabbath." He reported that the ladies had endured the fatigues of the trip much better than had been expected. "My own health & the health of my wife," he wrote, "is better I think than when we started."

Marietta was passed shortly before twelve o'clock noon on Wednesday and that night the boat reached Maysville, Kentucky. They arrived at Cincinnati on Thursday afternoon and reported to Dr. George L. Weed, a former missionary to the Indians, who was the agent of the American Board in Cincinnati. He had a letter from William H. Gray, who had gone on ahead to St. Louis to make preparations for the overland trip. Gray advised them to tarry a few days in Cincinnati, as the caravan would not be ready to leave as soon as he had expected. The Weeds opened their home to the Walkers; the Eells were entertained by a Mrs. Bird, a widow; while the Smiths "went to Dr. Pecks."

On Friday Dr. Weed introduced Cornelius Rogers, an unmarried man in his twenty-third year, to the party. Rogers manifested such a keen interest in the mission that before the party left for St. Louis on Tuesday, April 3rd, he had decided to join them. Undoubtedly Rogers was well known to Dr. Weed and had received his approval. The suddenness with which such a major decision was made is a vivid commentary upon missionary administrative methods of those days. Evidently upon the sole responsibility of Dr. Weed, the American Board acquired another missionary. Thus the reenforcement of 1838, not counting W. H. Gray who was a member of the original party of 1836, grew to eight and brought the total personnel of the Oregon Mission of the American Board up to thirteen. It was never any larger.

The Diaries of the two women — Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Eells — tell of the call the missionaries made on Saturday afternoon on Dr. and Mrs. Lyman Beecher. Their daughter Catherine was also present. Dr. Beecher was President of Lane Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian institution which had been founded in 1827 and of which Dr. Beecher

was one of the first faculty members. The first theological class began its work in the fall of 1833, in which class Henry Harmon Spalding was enrolled. Two of Spalding's schoolmates were Henry Ward and Charles Beecher, sons of Lyman. Spalding spent two years at Lane. He was ordained in August, 1835, preparatory to going to the Osage Indians as a missionary of the American Board. In February of the next year he and his wife were induced to change their destination and go with the Whitmans to Oregon.

While with Dr. Beecher, the matter of traveling on the Sabbath was discussed. Undoubtedly they told Dr. Beecher of how on their way to Pittsburgh they had spent Sunday at Greensburgh, even when it incurred extra expense. And undoubtedly some one looking ahead told of their plan to cross the plains with the fur company's caravan, which never stopped for a Sunday rest. Perhaps the question put to Dr. Beecher was worded as follows: "What would you do, Dr. Beecher, in such circumstances? We need the protection of the caravan especially while passing through hostile Indian country. And yet the Bible commands us to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy."

"Well," replied Dr. Beecher with his characteristic forthrightness, "if I were crossing the Atlantic, I certainly would not jump overboard when Saturday night came."⁴

While at Cincinnati, perhaps on the dock ready for shipment, Eells saw an article which he had never seen before. He could not imagine what its use might be and hesitated to display his ignorance by asking questions. At Independence, Missouri, from which point the mission party launched its journey across the prairies, Eells was introduced to a pile of those same articles and shown how to use them. They were packsaddles; and in the nine years before him, Eells and his fellow-missionaries became as familiar with them as with any item of household furniture. Associated with packsaddles were the apishamore, (or appishmores) the Indian name of a saddle-blanket made from buffalo calf skins. Also associated with the packsaddles were the parfleches, or a box or envelope-shaped container made of rawhide. The Western Indians used the parfleche as a trunk or container for personal effects.

Some of the missionaries attended four services on Sunday, April 1st. Such was the experience of Mrs. Walker who mentioned a lecture in the college chapel at 9:00 a.m.; a sermon at 11:00; a communion service in the afternoon; and a lecture by Dr. Beecher against infidelity in the evening. Eells was ill and remained in his room.

On Monday another letter arrived from Gray urging them to hasten to St. Louis as soon as possible, as the caravan was to leave sooner than expected. Without the protection of the caravan with its supplies for the trappers in the mountains, it would not be safe to cross the

⁴ Eells, *Father Eells*, 39.

plains, where thieving or hostile Indians roamed. A steamboat was leaving Cincinnati that day but the party could not take it, as Eells was so sick he could not sit up. Passage was engaged on another boat leaving on Wednesday, the 4th.

In the meantime the Grays had left St. Louis for Independence. Writing aboard the *Belle of Missouri* on April 4th, Mrs. Gray addressed a letter to her "Sisters" whom she had not as yet met. She wrote:

We are happy in learning by a line received from Doct. Weed that you all arrived in Cincinnati in good health and Spirits, and are hastening to join us at Independence. We have indeed been almost impatient to commence our acquaintance with those whom we not only expect to be our companions in privations and dangers, but sharers with us in the blessed privilege of teaching the benighted heathen the knowledge of a Saviour and the habits of civilized and refined society. Be of good courage, my sisters, and may the Lord strengthen and sustain you.

My husband has a very lame arm, occasioned by vaccination — is quite unwell and therefore wishes me to say to you that he has neglected or forgotten to purchase any spices to take with us on our journey across the mountains, and if you think it necessary, wishes you to procure some at St. Louis — he thinks it will be well to have a small quantity of nutmeg, cinnamon, and cloves — he also wishes you (your husbands I mean) to buy about 40 lbs of crackers which he likewise forgot. Do not fail of bringing the crackers — try and procure such as will keep a good while.⁵

Mrs. Gray urged them to hasten as fast as possible and advised them to take the first boat that would ascend the Missouri River after their arrival at St. Louis. She added: "You will be obliged to travel one Sabbath, start when you will." Grim necessity was waging war on tender consciences and grim necessity would win.

The three couples and Rogers went aboard the *Knickerbocker* on Wednesday, April 4th. On April 5th the steamboat stopped at Louisville, Kentucky, where a certain gentleman by the name of John Sutter, from Switzerland, came aboard. He continued with the missionaries to Independence and was one of the party that made the overland trip to Oregon that year. Mrs. Walker makes mention of him several times in her diary.

Mrs. Eells' entry for Sunday, April 8th, throws light upon her feelings and those of her companions at the necessity of traveling on that day.

Sabbath: obliged to travel most of the day sorely against our wishes and principles. Kept our stateroom most of the day. Tried to get some good from books, but cannot feel reconciled to our manner of spending the Sabbath. Have witnessed enough to-day to convince us of the deficiency and wants of the Great West.

⁵ Original in Coe Collection, Yale University.

They reached St. Louis in the early hours of Monday morning. Some friends took them out to dinner and helped them complete their purchases. Passage for Independence, the last outpost of civilization, was secured on a steamboat leaving St. Louis that evening. Here for the first time the New Englanders came in close contact with slavery. Mrs. Eells mentions the fact that their chambermaid was a slave owned by the captain and that she could not read or write. On the trip up the Missouri Mrs. Eells noted that: "People on the boat talk about buying and selling slaves with as much freedom as farmers talk of selling cattle, in the New England states."

The trip up the Missouri had its thrills. A fire broke out in one of the staterooms on Wednesday, April 11th. This was quickly extinguished. There was a race with another vessel, the *Howard*, which was also steaming up the river. Once during the race the two vessels bumped sides, somewhat to the consternation of the missionary women. Mrs. Walker wrote that night: "Feel some dark forebodings in contemplating this journey through the wilderness."

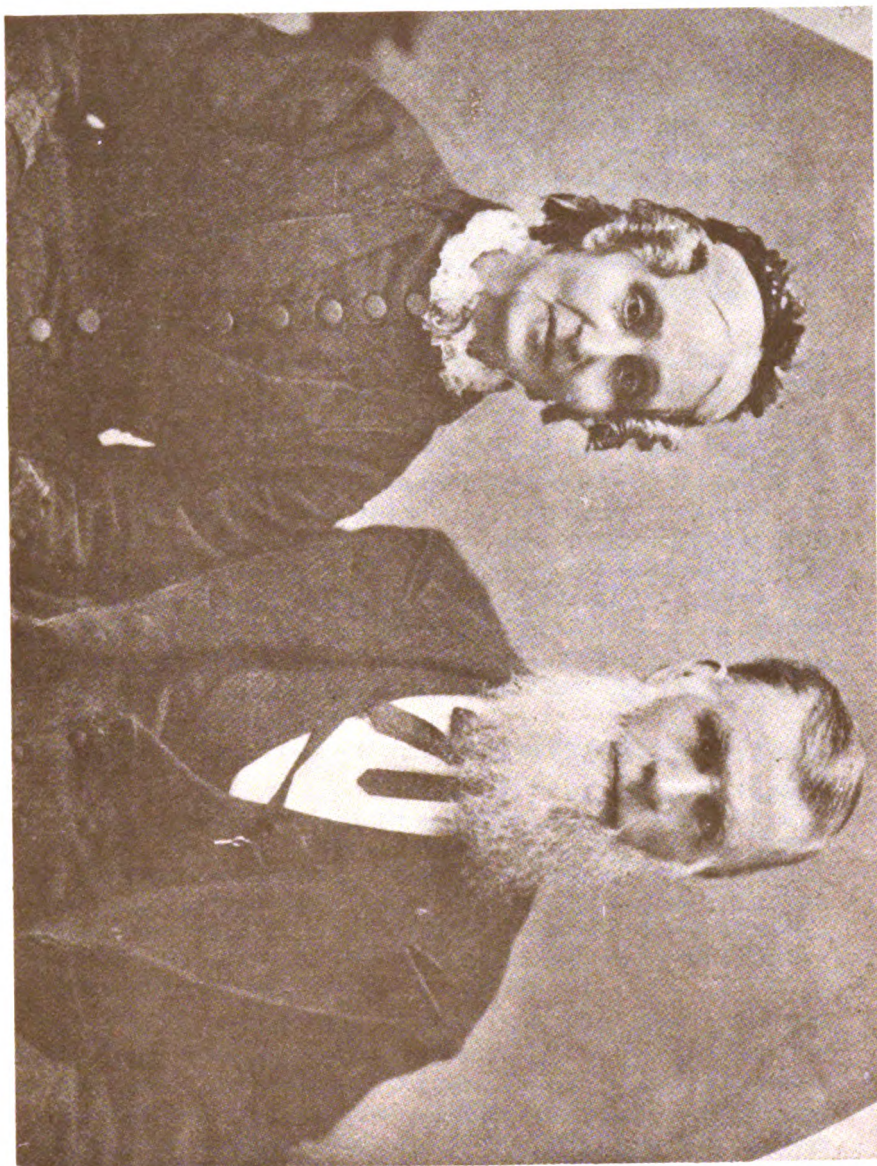
On Thursday, April 12th, the Captain of the *Knickerbocker* decided to shift his passengers and freight to the *Howard* and return to St. Louis. Of this Walker wrote in his diary:

Our contending Capts. entered into a new mode of warfare & came to a decision that we should go on board the Howard to go up to Independence. This bargain was made without even consulting the passengers or without knowing whether we should have any accommodations or not & we made a most miserable change. Could not obtain state rooms. We could not obtain but one for three families. We stowed our Ladies away in this & made the best shift for ourselves we could. . . . The deck passengers are in a most miserable condition, crowded together, surrounded with filth.

Mrs. Walker wrote of the crying children and the noisy mothers. On the morning of the next day, she added: "The poor children on deck cried all night." Throughout Friday, the steamer worked its way slowly up against the current. The Captain pulled in to the bank at every opportunity to pick up cargo or, as needed, to get wood, until the missionaries began to worry as to whether or not they would reach Independence in time to join the caravan. Sunday came with cherished memories for the mission party, but it was just another work day for the Captain and his crew. Walker wrote that day:

If ever I felt to unite with the Psalmist in his holy aspirations for the house of God it was on this day. Never did I long so ardently for the privilege of a New England Sabbath.

At noon one of the paddlewheels broke. This necessitated a delay of from four to five hours to make repairs. "Never before," wrote Mrs. Eells, "did I hear so much profanity and see so much wickedness on



MARY A. GRAY AND WILLIAM H. GRAY
From *The Souvenir of Western Women*, by M. O. Douthitt.

the Sabbath." The boat stopped at the landing for Liberty, Missouri. Here the passengers had an opportunity to go ashore. The missionaries were appalled at the vice and wickedness they observed in this frontier community. Walker commented in his diary:

Here I must confess that the most high handed wickedness I ever witnessed was seen here & this was remarked by most of the passengers. Boys quite small beastly drunk, & the most horrid imprecations were passing. It would seem the imagination of the very devil himself, of which he could be ashamed to be known that he was so wicked, were continually being poured forth. I was rejoiced when we left this very seat & I might with all propriety call it the very contemplation of the lower regions. I was rejoiced feeling assured that we could not possibly be in a more debased place on the face of the earth.

Most of the women passengers disembarked at Liberty, thus freeing the women's cabin on the boat for the exclusive use of the mission party. The steamer reached the landing for Independence about six o'clock that Sunday evening. The town itself was about four miles from the landing. Rogers secured a horse and hurried to the village to find Gray. The women were given temporary shelter in a small log house in which three separate families were living, while the men busied themselves in getting the baggage off the boat. About 9:00 o'clock Rogers returned with Gray and four horses. For the first time Gray met the three couples with whom he was to be so closely associated in the three or four years to come. That evening after the party reached Independence and met Mrs. Gray, the reenforcement was together for the first time.

Mrs. Eells has the following vivid account of their trip to the village:

. . . no alternative but we must go to the village to-night; accordingly, we ladies mounted our strange horses and went to the village. I confess I was a little bit frightened, it being dark and not at all accustomed to riding, and besides, no lady had ever been on my animal's back before. We went up a steep hill and through deep mud, Mr. Eells walking by the side of me, sunk in mud and water over the tops of his boots, but we reached Independence in good spirits, about ten o'clock.

Walker in his account tells of the grand entry they made into Independence "amid the roar of dogs of all sizes & descriptions." The best accommodations that Gray had been able to get were two rooms in a boarding house. The couples paired off. The Grays, the Eells, and Rogers took one room; the Walkers and the Smiths the other. In both rooms the women were given the beds while the men slept on the floor. Gone for the duration of the journey, with the few exceptions of nights spent in forts along the way, was the privacy of separate places of rest for any of the bridal couples. The pairing off of the four couples

that night at Independence was followed on the westward journey in the use of two tents. The inconvenience of crowded quarters suffered in the rooming house was but a shadow of things to come.

While making the arrangements for the night, Gray took offense at something Smith did — also a portent of things to come. Mrs. Walker noted the incident and wrote the next day: "Mr. Gray did not like Mr. Smiths' movements, and considering it was the first time, we came very near having unpleasant feelings." It is interesting to observe how the members of the mission party always referred to each other in their letters and diaries with the formal title "Mr." or "Mrs." They might call each other "brother" or "sister" but never by the informality of their first names. Such a custom seemed to have been reserved almost exclusively for the members of a family circle.

The mission party spent most of the week at Independence getting ready for their long trek across the plains and the mountains. The women spent most of Monday making tents out of some light duck cloth. Two tents large enough to accommodate two couples each were sewn and a smaller one for Rogers. The tents were not completed until Thursday. In the meantime the men began assembling their live stock and equipment. Eells rode to Liberty, fifteen miles distant, on Monday to see about purchasing horses and sheep. He succeeded in getting a good riding horse, but when he found that sheep were selling from \$8.00 to \$10.00 a head, he thought the price too high and did not buy any. Altogether the men, during these last few days before starting their overland journey, bought twenty-five head of horses, twelve cattle including two fresh milch cows, and a light one-horse wagon. Their stock of provisions included "one hundred and sixty pounds of flour, fifty-seven pounds of rice, twenty or twenty-five pounds of sugar, a little pepper and salt."⁶ Gray, who remembered the difficulties encountered on his trip west with the Whitmans and the Spaldings in 1836, insisted that they keep their baggage to a minimum. Each person was allowed a small trunk for clothes. Only the barest necessities were taken — the tents, bedding, a few cooking utensils, and some food supplies. Upon the advice of experienced plainsmen each man carried a hunting knife and a gun. Smith was unhappy about the gun. Writing to Greene from the Rendezvous, he confessed: "It has been a trial to me to carry weapons of war."

Word quickly passed through the frontier community about the arrival of a party of missionaries bound for Oregon. Several callers came among whom was Dr. Chute, a Methodist medical missionary stationed at nearby Westport who was working especially with the Pawnee Indians of the plains. On Wednesday the missionaries were honored with a visit from the Hon. Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of Missouri, whom Mrs. Walker described as being "a benevolent, public

⁶ Eells, *Father Eells*, 59.

spirited man." During his visit, he ventured to prophesy that the day was coming when a railroad would cross the plains and the mountains to Oregon. Smith thought such an idea was fantastic.

During the few days spent at Independence, the women practiced riding. This was wise because they followed the custom of the times and used sidesaddles. It was then thought to be most unbecoming for a woman to ride astride. The horses they would be riding were not accustomed to sidesaddles, and had to be "broken in." On Friday, April 20th, the missionaries assembled their belongings and their livestock and started for Westport, twelve miles distant, where they expected to join the caravan of the American Fur Company. Walker has given us this description of the beginning of their overland journey:

. . . when all mounted on horses we left the place. Our ladies mounted on ponies taking the lead & [I] mounted on a black horse with a white hat, with leather belt about me, with a rifle laying before, with a powder flask hung to my side, with bullet mold attached to it, leading another horse & three mules following in the train, followed close in the rear.

The missionaries did not leave Independence until about 2:00 p.m. There were difficulties along the way. The livestock was unaccustomed to travel and took some prodding to keep them moving. Rogers was driving the horse hitched to the light wagon but the horse proved to be balky, perhaps because it had never been hitched to a wagon before. After going but three or four miles, Rogers asked Walker to exchange horses. This was done. But Walker's horse turned out to be a worse choice than the previous animal, so the exchange was made back again. The road was so bad, following a recent rain, that the wagon broke down and had to be left about three miles outside of Westport. The missionaries did not reach their destination until about 8:00 p.m. It took them six hours to go twelve miles.

Dr. Chute had found such quarters as he could for the party. Walker described what he secured: "I had the good fortune to obtain a bed on the counter in a store, composed of rolls of cloth." Mrs. Gray and Mrs. Walker were entertained in the home of the Rev. Isaac McCoy, formerly a missionary to the Indians but then a Government Indian Agent. All were very tired. Mrs. Eells wrote: "Suppose this is but the beginning of hardships."

On Saturday the men hired a mountain man by the name of Stevens to go with them to assist in caring for the animals and in packing. He remained with the party until it reached the Whitman station at Waiilatpu. A few days later a young man by the name of Paul Richardson was hired to go along as their hunter. Since the missionaries were taking only enough food with them to last until they

reached the buffalo country, it was necessary that they have some one to provide them with meat for the rest of the way.

The women took advantage of the Saturday to get their washing done. Of this Mrs. Walker wrote:

We, Mrs. Gray and myself busy washing and ironing. Mrs. S. and E. chose to hire theirs done. So Mrs. McCoy and her niece, Mrs. Gray and myself did it for them. I had a severe cold, though I was about sick I walked on to the village and back, then washed and ironed till nine in the evening, without sitting down to rest. So I think I am not right sick yet.

The long caravan of the American Fur Company under command of Captain Andrew Drips, consisting of about two hundred horses and mules, seventeen carts and wagons, and about sixty men, left on Sunday, April 22nd, for the Rendezvous. Rather than travel on Sunday, the missionaries decided to remain in Westport until Monday. They felt confident that they could catch up in a few days. On Sunday they attended the little mission church, where a Methodist missionary preached in the morning and Eells in the evening. "This is probably the last Sabbath this side of the Rocky mountains," wrote Mrs. Eells, "where we can have public worship." And Mrs. Walker noted: "I dread very much the thought of the journey before us." She undoubtedly gave expression to the latest feelings in the heart of each of her companions. But there was no turning back.

WESTPORT TO FORT LARAMIE

Asa B. Smith's Diary begins with an entry for April 23, 1848, the day the mission party left Westport, Missouri, for Fort Laramie. The trail followed by the missionaries lay on the south bank of the Kansas River for about one hundred miles almost due west of Westport, now Kansas City. Dr. Chute went along as guide, remaining with the party for two days. He was able to return later for several visits. The mission party caught up with the main caravan of the Fur Company on Saturday, April 28th, just before it crossed the Kansas River above the junction with the Little Blue. This was in the vicinity of what is now Manhattan, Kansas. The footnotes include pertinent quotations from the diaries kept by other members of the party.

JOURNAL ACROSS THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

by A. B. SMITH

APRIL 23d 1838. Started this morning from Westport & soon found ourselves in the prairies. Little spots of woodland now to be seen here & there, but most of the land was entirely destitute of trees — some covered with small shrubs, but most of it seemed like a meadow covered with grass. Often as far as the eye could reach nothing was to be seen but the beautiful grass land, rising in gentle undulations.

Saw on the way several birds ⁷ perched on the back of a horse, which were sitting as quietly as if they were on the fence. Came to one fine spring of water where we quenched our thirst. Saw four Indian boys, one entirely naked, the others only with a shirt. Came to a place for encampment, turned out our horses, prepared our supper & took lodging in our tents. Travelled 13 miles.

24th. Rose this morning as soon as light. Caught our horses & mules, breakfasted & set out on our way. Rode till noon.⁸ Stopped for dinner. This consisted of ham broiled on a stick & bread, each man broiled for himself.

Saddled our horses again & started & rode till about 5 & encamped near a little spot of woodland where there was water. Hobbled our horses & mules & turned them out for the night. Cooked our supper & retired to our tents. The tents we find quite comfortable & feel thankful that we can have as good accommodations as these.

The country through which we have travelled today is an extensive prairie, much less wood than that which we passed through yesterday. The land as far as the eye could reach presents the appearance of a great meadow—the soil fertile & well adapted to produce abundant crops if cultivated. Travelled 23 miles.⁹

25th. Travelled 18 miles through the prairies.¹⁰ The country through which we passed more uneven than that wh. we passed yesterday, & more woodland. Had one small river to cross just before we encamped wh. we forded without any difficulty. The day has been cold & windy so that we needed overcoats.

26th. The country through wh. we passed today more uneven than

⁷ The cowbird, common in the Middle West, is found around cattle in the fields. It is the only bird of that area which neither makes a nest of its own nor cares for its young. The female deposits its eggs in the nests of smaller birds.

⁸ Gray's Diary: "The term Noon means when we stop to bait and get our dinner sometimes 9 a.m., 2 p.m., or 3 O'Clock as may be or wherever we make two camps a day, one is noon let it be what hour it may." See page 13 for references to the location of the five diaries kept by members of the party from which quotations will be taken.

⁹ That day Mrs. Walker found herself so weary that she could hardly sit up. In the evening she rested on her bed stretched out on the ground, and wrote a letter to her parents from which the following is taken: "We are travelling on the dry sea. For days and weeks we shall see nothing but the big buffaloo pasture. The buffaloo however have deserted this end of the pasture. I have a great deal I wish to write. But I am so tired. We have two tents about eight feet by twelve. Have a curtain to separate the families. All on the camp ground is still. Mr. and Mrs. Smith are sleeping loudly in the other part of this tent. Mr. Walker lies by my side telling me I have written enough." Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, 79.

¹⁰ Mrs. Walker wrote for this day: "Rode twenty-one miles without alighting." For the most part the diaries agree in general as to the mileage made—here is a small discrepancy of three miles. Mrs. Eells stated that they rode seven hours. In other words, while on the march they were able to average about three miles an hour. Twenty miles a day was a good record. Twenty-five miles a day was above average and thirty unusual.

that through wh. we have passed previously. Very warm & pleasant today. Travelled 24 miles.¹¹

27th. The country through which we passed more uneven than any we have passed before. Passed several small streams, some of which we were obliged to follow up some distance in order to find a place to cross. Found limestone on the summit of some of the hills wh. had the appearance of having been acted upon by water. This has been common all the way we have travelled on the prairie. This gives us some reason for supposing that the whole country has at some time been covered over by water. Travelled near 20 miles. Encamped on the bank of a small stream. Lost 3 horses last night.¹² Supposed to have been stolen.

SAT. 28. Set out this morning & found the Fur company about 10 o'clock encamped on the Kansas river & encamped with them & wait for them to take in their goods & go on with them.¹³ Found some Indians encamped with them, who looked wretched. They had leggins & blankets thrown over their shoulders. Their ears were pierced in several places & beads were strung in. Their hair was cut off except a small tuft on the top of the head which was left long. Travelled 5 miles.

Since we have been on the prairie there has been a very strong wind generally from the s.w. The air on the prairies is very dry so that when we wash we can scarcely get a towel into our hands before the water is evaporated. It would seem to people in New England a very hazardous thing to sleep on the ground with no shelter but a tent, but here there is no danger at all, for the ground is dry & the air also. The dryness of the air is unpleasant because it creates a thirst & a large quantity of drink is necessary. The climate seems to be very healthy & there is so much motion in the air that there is no danger of stagnation.

¹¹ Mrs. Walker wrote: "Last night were disturbed by the howling of the wolves. Baked some biscuit. The first cooking I have done since I was married. . . Have travelled twelve miles this afternoon." Mrs. Eells: "Thankful for a resting place, I am too tired to help get or eat supper."

¹² Gray: "At this encampment three of our horses were taken by the Kansas Indians. They also came about our camp the night previous." The missionaries were still behind the main caravan and evidently were not posting sufficient guards at night. For this day Mrs. Walker noted: "Mr. S. takes it hard if he has to be separated from his wife." Mrs. Eells wrote of her husband going back to look for the horses without success. "Husband so tired that the ground makes him a soft bed."

¹³ Mrs. Eells: "Arose at four, proceed to business as fast as possible. Expect to overtake the company to-day. Move about six, overtake the company about nine o'clock. Hope to travel a little more secure from the Indians." Mrs. Walker: "We cook up a little more than usual and I thought Mr. Smith acted hoggish." Mrs. Eells also wrote: "Mr. Eells is so tired that a bed of stones would feel soft." Arrangements were made with Captain Drips for the men of the mission party to take their turns standing guard at night along with the men of the Fur Company.

SAB. 29th. This has been such a Sab. as I have never witnessed before. We were under the necessity of crossing the Kansas River & this was a hard job. The baggage was carried across on a boat¹⁴ & the animals swam. We all were thoroughly fatigued & have scarcely rested today at all. Oh! when shall we again enjoy the keeping of the Sabbath.¹⁵ It is a severe trial thus to be obliged to labor & travel on the Sab. But this we must do or the company will leave us & we shall be in danger. Found several Kansas Indians on the bank when we crossed. They look savage.

After crossing the Kansas River on Sunday, April 29th, the caravan followed the Blue River for about 205 miles. On Sunday, May 13th, the caravan left the Blue River and crossed a small divide to the south bank of the Platte. This river was followed to the forks, and then along the south bank of the North Platte. The South Platte was crossed on May 20th, perhaps in the vicinity of Ogallala, Nebraska. The caravan passed over to the south bank of the North Platte, which was followed in a northwesterly direction through the picturesque Scottsbluff country to Fort Laramie, which was reached on May 30th. The full distance from Westport up to Laramie, according to Smith's figures, was about 590 miles. This means that the missionaries averaged about 15½ miles a day during their thirty-eight days of travel.

MON. 30. Set out in the morning with the company, following them in the rear.¹⁶ The whole company made a very long line. Stopped

¹⁴ The American Fur Company sent a boat up the Kansas River to aid in the crossing. This was the largest stream to be crossed en route to the Rendezvous. Mrs. Eells: "Noon. Have just crossed the Kansas river in a flatboat. Indians all along on the banks of the river. They came from the village on purpose to see us, and take what they could pilfer; some are richly ornamented and painted." The white women, the first that many of the Indians had ever seen, were objects of great curiosity.

¹⁵ The necessity of travelling on Sunday was a sore trial to the missionaries. For this day Mrs. Eells wrote: "No Sabbath to us but in name." Repeatedly such entries are found on Sunday throughout the trip. Dr. Chute rejoined the party on this day and in the evening they had opportunity for a short worship service.

¹⁶ Mrs. Eells gives the best description of the order of march. "The wagons are all covered with black or dark oil cloth. They move first, one directly after the other, then the packed animals and cattle. Sometimes we ladies ride behind the whole, sometimes between the hindermost wagon and the mules, as circumstances may be. It is not safe for any to be far in the rear, because they are always exposed to be robbed of their horses and, if not killed by wild Indians, themselves left to wander on foot.

"The company generally travel on a fast walk, seldom faster. When we are fairly on our way we have much the appearance of a large funeral procession in the States. Suppose the company reaches half a mile — every man must know and do his own work.

"Mr. Eells takes four animals, two to pack and each a horse to ride. These he is to catch morning, noon and night. At night they must be picketed, that is, fastened into the ground by a long cord. Mr. Gray takes three animals, two for

at noon on the bank of the Kansas River & soon it began to rain. We had a fine shower & started & went on again & encamped on the bank of a small creek. Travelled 16 miles. Had the company of the Kansas Indians some of the way & it was rather troublesome. We were glad to get rid of them. Bo't some corn of them — a mule, &c.

MAY 1st. Last night we had a heavy shower & the rain came through our tent cloth so that our clothes were somewhat wet. Not withstanding we slept well & felt refreshed this morning. Travelled 12 miles & encamped & soon it began to rain, which was not very pleasant in the tent.

WEDNESDAY 2d — Last night it rained much of the night. It was a heavy thunder shower. Dr. Chute came from the Kansas village & passed the night with us.¹⁷ He slept with us in our tent. The rain beat through thoroughly & we were in danger of being thoroughly drenched. We spread down our blankets & put one down after another till all were covered up in blankets. This preserved us from getting much wet. Had a very good day for travelling when the ground became dry. Travelled 14 miles.

TH. 3d. Had a pleasant day & made about 14 miles & encamped early in the p.m.¹⁸ Some of the company found a swarm of wild bees

himself and Mrs. Gray to ride, and one to go in the wagon, which he has charge of. Mr. Rogers takes three, two to pack and one to ride. Mr. Walker takes three, one to pack and two for himself and wife to ride. Mr. Stevens takes four, three to pack and one to ride. . . . The spare animals we had have all been stolen.

“At night the wagons are set so that they form a ring, within which all the horses and mules are brought in and picketed. At half past three they are let loose to feed outside of the ring until six o'clock, usually, when they are to be harnessed and packed for traveling, which takes half or three-quarters of an hour. Before we start every man must put on his belt, powder flask, knife, etc., and then take his gun on his horse before him. Messrs. Walker and Smith drive the cattle; Messrs. Stevens, Rogers and Eells the mules and Mr. Gray the wagon team. . . .”

¹⁷ Dr. Chute visited the missionary party again on May 1st bringing word that he was unable to locate their missing horses among the Indians. Since only a minimum of animals had been purchased at the beginning of their trip, the loss of three was serious. Mrs. Eells and Smith both mention the purchase of a mule on April 30th. On May 1 Walker wrote: “Were joined this evening by Dr. Chute who had the goodness to let us have his horse to supply the place of one we lost.” In a letter dated Oct. 15, 1842, Spalding wrote to Greene mentioning the fact that the reenforcement paid \$40.00 “which is four times what it should have been by the rules of economy.” But under the circumstances there was no other choice. This gave the missionaries only fifteen horses and mules for packing in addition to the nine reserved for riding.

¹⁸ Mrs. Eells: “Moved at seven, rode three and one-half hours, fourteen miles. A pleasant day. Finding that we could get both wood and water ourselves, Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Walker and myself thought it a good time to wash. We dressed in our night dresses for washing, built a fire almost in the center of the creek on some stones, warmed some water, commenced washing in the kettles, as we had nothing else to supply the place of washtubs. We would have got on well had the water been soft, but that being so hard, it took all our strength and a great portion of

& a portion of the honey was sent to us. It was very fine, equal to the honey of domestic bees.

4th. Set out early & rode 21 miles before stopping & then encamped for the night.¹⁹ We travelled over a tract of elevated country & it was very cold and windy. Found ourselves very much fatigued when we arrived at camp. Had the pleasure last night of standing on guard from 11 to 2 & have felt somewhat sleepy today.

SAT. 5th. Had some venison for breakfast which our hunter took yesterday after we encamped. Found it very palatable after living on fat bacon. Travelled about 14 miles & encamped. Our hunter brought in a very fine wild turkey. Windy today but not so cold as yesterday. Felt quite unwell, having taken cold but there is no release in this warfare.²⁰

SAB. 6th. This has been no sab. to us, for we were obliged to travel with the company, & it has been a day of hard labor, harder than usual, for we have travelled about 24 miles. It has been cold & windy.²¹ I fear we shall lose all our piety before we get across the mountains unless we can spend the Sab. in a different manner. I long to be where I can enjoy the Sab. in a suitable manner.

MON. 7. Travelled about 20 miles in the wind & found it rather unpleasant.

8th. Travelled about 16 miles. The country was quite uneven & our course was very circuitous. There were many patches of woodland which rendered it quite pleasant.

soap, besides, our clothes would not look well, which spoiled our anticipated merriment, but we found that we could heat water, boil and rinse in the same kettle." Mrs. Smith did not join in the laundry project.

On the same day Mrs. Walker wrote: "Our company do nothing but jaw all day. I never saw such a cross company before." Personality differences were beginning to assert themselves.

¹⁹ Mrs. Eells commented: "Ride seven hours – twenty-one miles without getting off of our horses." And Mrs. Walker stated: "The wind blowing so hard we can scarcely sit on our horses." The caravan did not stop for a mid-day meal. They had some fresh venison this day when Richardson brought in a deer he had killed. The next day Richardson brought in a wild turkey.

²⁰ The rigors of travel were beginning to register upon the nerves of the members of the missionary party. No one reveals this more clearly than Mrs. Walker who this day wrote: "Mr. Smith undertook to help Mr. W. correct me for dictating to Mr. Gray. I think the reproof quite unmerited. Feel so tired with Mr. W. I know not how to do." Mrs. Walker even referred to her husband as "Mr. W." in the privacy of her Diary.

²¹ Mrs. Walker comments on the cold. "Last night a frost. Ice in the pail. Mr. W. rather sick. Travelled about twenty-four miles. Not a very pleasant keeping of the Sabbath. Very cold, almost like winter." In the following comment there may be a reference to Smith: "Some of our company expressed regret that they have undertaken the journey. I suspect more from aversion to toil than real dread of sin." That night they camped on the open prairie where there was little water and no wood. It was very windy. In the absence of wood, dried buffalo dung was used as fuel.

9th. Passed over a portion of high level prairie and did not halt till we stopped for the night about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 p.m. Travelled about 21 miles. The day has been quite pleasant but we became very much fatigued & hungry before we stopped.²²

10. Set out about 6 a.m. & travelled 10 miles & stopped for dinner which consisted of pork & corn eaten upon the ground. Travelled about 10 more & encamped. All day we have followed up the Blue River. Had wild duck for supper. Our appetite is good & provision short & most of it fat meat. Could we take a meal at our father's table it would do our souls good.²³

11. Rode about 25 miles & encamped again on the Blue River.

12th. Set out about 7 a.m. & rode 14 miles & stopped at noon. Soon it began to rain & we rode in the rain about 14 miles farther making 28 miles, which is the longest days journey we have made.²⁴

13th. SAB. No rest from labor today. Set out about 7 & left the Blue River & did not stop till we reached the Platte river about 3 p.m. 25 miles. Thus our sabbath was spent, & it makes awful havoc of ones piety. Saw an antelope today near the road when we passed & soon it was dispatched by some of the company.

14th. Travelled about 25 miles up the Platte River & encamped on its banks again. We had a very strong wind which rendered it very unpleasant & fatiguing traveling.

15th. Set out early in the morning & travelled about 25 miles on the bank of the Platte. The Platte is a shallow river with a sandy bottom & full of small islands. Our hunter brought in this evening an antelope & a wild goose, so that we are still supplied with fresh meat.

²² As the company moved further west, the country became more barren. For the first time the caravan travelled throughout the day without once finding water. Mrs. Eells wrote: "The scenery is so grand, together with a pleasant sun and burning prairie, that for a moment we almost forgot the land of our birth."

²³ Smith does not refer to an incident that disturbed the peace of the mission party but Mrs. Eells, Mrs. Walker, and Walker all refer to it. It appears that a little calf had been so badly bitten by wolves that Walker and Smith, without consulting Eells and Gray, decided to kill the calf and eat the veal. Gray was offended. Mrs. Walker wrote: "The other family [i.e. the two couples, Eells and Gray who occupied the other tent] was displeased because the calf was killed, refused to eat it." In all probability Gray looked upon himself as being the head of the mission party and felt he should have been consulted.

Mrs. Walker, while not pleased with Gray's attitude, was at the same time displeased by Smith. She wrote: "I think S. is stubborn." The unpleasantness carried over into the next day when all assembled in the Eells-Gray tent and, according to Mrs. Walker, "a treaty of peace was negotiated." Walker also mentioned the reconciliation and then with a touch of humor wrote: "Weather pleasant & that was the only thing that was so."

²⁴ Mrs. Eells: "It rains so that, notwithstanding we have a good fire, we cannot dry our clothes at all. Obligated to sleep in our blankets wet as when taken from our horses; our bed and bedding consists of a buffalo robe, a piece of oilcloth, our blankets and saddles, our tents our houses, our sheets our partitions between us and Mr. Gray's, when it rains they are spread over the tent."

16th. Rainy this morning & we do not strike our tents, but remain on the ground. This gives us an opportunity of resting a little & this we need very much. Our labor is extremely hard. We have to rise at 4 in the morning & let our horses loose from the pickets, then get our breakfast & get ready to start. We are usually on the way about 7, stop about 2 hours at noon & encamp usually about 5, sometimes at 4. At night the horses are brought within the ring & picketed. This takes the whole of the time from morning till night, so that there is no time scarcely to rest, or to devote to reading. Often I have no time to read the bible from morning till night. At night I find myself so fatigued usually that I do not feel able to stir, but I get rested some in the morning. My health is good notwithstanding. Set out at 11 & travelled till 4 p.m. Made about 16 miles. Encamped on the bank of the Platte close to the water. Found some Pawnees of whom we obtained some dried buffalo meat.²⁵ This we found quite good & ate plentifully of it.

17. Last night we had much rain & became somewhat wet.²⁶ Rained in the morning so that we did not start till about 10. Travelled about 15 miles & encamped.

18th. Travelled about 27 miles along the bank of the Platte. At noon a company of Pawnees crossed the River & stopped with us. A quantity of presents were made them by the company & they let us pursue our journey peaceably. They are noble looking Indians. They have no clothing except a little around the middle. They had some curiosity to see our ladies & one of them stooped down & looked under Mrs. S's umbrella as she was sitting on the ground & shook hands with her. They stood & gazed at her till our horses were saddled & we were on our way.

19th. Made about 25 miles up the River. Today buffalo were taken & we have abundance of meat.²⁷ Our hunter killed 5 & brought in parts of them. Tonight we had a full meal of buffalo meat.

20th. **SAB.** Travelled as usual, for there is no rest here. Crossed the south fork of the Platte River about noon by fording. The River was about $\frac{1}{2}$ [?] a mile wide.²⁸ A large company of buffalo crossed the River while we were on the bank. They reached from one bank to the other. Travelled about 18 miles.

²⁵ This was the first buffalo meat the party had secured. Mrs. Eells wrote: "Mr. Gray sells his tinder box for a piece of dried buffalo meat."

²⁶ Mrs. Walker: "Last night we were scarcely expecting rain, made no preparation. In the night it stormed tremendously. Our tent scarcely protected us at all. Our bed was utterly flooded and almost everything wet." She commented that Smith was "short as pie crust."

²⁷ Mrs. Eells reported that a buffalo had been killed the day before. From this point onward through the buffalo country the party lived principally on fresh buffalo meat. Mrs. Walker wrote: "Mr. R. our hunter killed five. Only brought in what he could of them on his horse. Pity to waste so much." The next day Mrs. Walker wrote: "Saw the hills covered with buffalo. A large herd, perhaps nine hundred. After noon saw one thousand perhaps."

²⁸ Mrs. Eells: "Forded the river in twenty minutes; the bottom full of quicksands."

21st. Travelled about 20 miles up the south fork & encamped on the bank.²⁹ We find but little wood & our fuel is usually buffalo dung.

22. Set out about 9 a.m. & travelled about 20 miles & encamped again on the south fork. The afternoon was very cold & windy.

23. Had a very cold night, so that water froze in our dishes to the thickness of half an inch. Cold was severe in the morning & some flakes of snow fell. Travelled 25 miles. Crossed from the south to the north fork. Saw many buffalo on the way. As we approached the north fork, we found deep ravines & high bluffs through which we wound our way till we came to the river. Here we found a pleasant place for an encampment & plenty of wood, much of it cedar.³⁰ On the Platte we find very serious annoyances from black gnats whose bite is very poisonous. Our skin is now smarting under the effects of these insects.

24th. Followed up the north fork of the Platte & made about 23 miles. Had many ravines to pass & the road much of the way very sandy, so that we were not able to travel so fast as usual. The bluffs along the bank were in many places grand. Found no water in any of the ravines, but an appearance of there having been much water at certain seasons of the year so that channels of several feet depth were cut by these torrents.

25th. Travelled 25 miles along the bank of the same stream. Scenery along the bank much the same as yesterday. Passed one bluff remarkable for its appearance. It was nearly perpendicular above the ground on which it stood & seemed nearly square. It had the appearance of the work of art rather than of nature. Much troubled with the black gnats & our faces quite sore in consequence of their bites.

26 SAT. Travelled near 30 miles & encamped near a remarkable bluff called the chimney. This bluff is more singular in its appearance than any we have seen. Its form is pyramidal & at the top it shoots up perpendicularly to the height of several [hundred] feet, which gives it the appearance of a chimney; hence its name. From its appearance,

²⁹ Mrs. Walker throws more light upon the feuds that were developing. "Mrs. Smith very much out with Dr. Gray, in a fret all the time. Mr. W. seems to feel quite as I do toward them. Hope we shall be enabled to treat them right, that they will see their error and reform. Fear I am not as plain with them as I ought to be." During the winter, 1837-38, Gray had spent sixteen weeks at the medical school, Fairfield, New York, and evidently found the title of "Doctor" much to his liking. After the arrival of the reenforcement at Waiilatpu, Dr. Whitman quickly corrected the use of this title by Gray.

³⁰ Gray: "One camp of 25 miles, came onto the N.F. at the mouth of Ash Creek. At this encampment we found timber, ash and cedar. It was five miles below this encampment that the Sioux made their attack upon me in passing down last fall." In the summer of 1837 Gray, on his eastward trip, had pushed ahead without waiting for the protection of the returning caravan. He was attacked by the Sioux at Ash Hollow on August 7th. Several of the Nez Percés with him were killed and his horses were stolen. Later this incident caused some difficulties with the Nez Percés who demanded a settlement from the missionaries.

it did not seem to be composed of rock, but hardened earth or clay. How the earth around should have been washed away as seemed evident from its appearance & left these shapes is very singular.³¹

27th. **SAB.** No not today. Followed the river in the morning; but in the afternoon struck off from the river among the bluffs & encamped on the bank of a very deep ravine in which we found a very little running water. Travelled 25 miles.³²

28th. Set out in the morning & stopped at noon on Horse Creek which empties into the Platte. Encamped at night near the Platte. Travelled 22 miles. Weather very warm & in the afternoon had a thunder shower. But little rain fell.

29th. Followed up the river about 21 miles & encamped again on its bank. Passed a small fort in the afternoon, & in the evening we had a call from some of the men who were stationed there. One brought his wife, a Spanish lady, & in a manner in which I never saw a lady ride before. He was on horseback & his wife in his arms before him. This seemed quite affectionate. Had a call from a squaw who was the wife of another individual at the fort. She was dressed in mountain sheep skin, trimmed with beads, in great style. It was a very costly dress.

30th. Travelled 5 miles this morning & reached Laramy's fort, where we expect to rest a little before we go any farther. This is the 38th day since we set out from Westport & have travelled every day. Our animals as well as ourselves are much fatigued & need rest. For several days past, we have lived entirely on meat. Today we allowed ourselves a little hard bread with our dinner. We find it rather trying to be deprived of vegetable food, but most of us seem to bear it without material injury tho' some of our company suffer much in consequence of not having different food. The fort where we now are is on Laramy's fork, a branch of the Platte, which we forded without difficulty. Soon after we arrived here it commenced raining & now I have a little leisure to sit down in my tent & rest.³³

³¹ All commented on seeing Chimney Rock, one of the outstanding landmarks on the Oregon Trail. Mrs. Walker wrote: "Passed what is called Durls chimney and other bluffs, ruins of castles and cities."

³² Mrs. Eells: "Sabbath; arise at half past three to work as hard as our strength will permit. . . . We left the Platte at noon and rode on a broad plain between the most splendid bluffs until we came to where they appeared to meet, where we encamped. The scenery grand." Mrs. Walker wrote: "The bluffs resemble statuary, castles, forts, temples, etc. As if nature tired of waiting the advances of civilization had erected her own temples." Regarding the cross-currents of animosities, she added: "Mr. W. and Gray agree pretty well now. Mr. S. and Walker apart. We have a strange company of missionaries. Scarcely one who is not intolerable on some account."

³³ Fort Laramie, sometimes called Fort William, was located near the mouth of Laramie Creek on the North Platte at the foot of the Black Hills. Founded in 1834, this became one of the most important posts of the American Fur Company.

FROM LARAMIE TO THE RENDEZVOUS

The caravan remained at Fort Laramie for two days before continuing on the last lap of the journey to the Rendezvous. The missionaries left their small wagon at the Fort and four of their cattle. The feet of these four cattle had become so sore that they could not travel further. Two more horses were purchased. The journey to the Rendezvous took about three weeks, from June 2nd to the 21st. The route followed more or less closely the North Fork of the Platte until June 8th, when a crossing was made. The caravan then went along the north bank until it reached the Sweetwater on the 13th, which was then followed. The party arrived at Independence Rock on the 14th. Four days march west of Independence Rock, the caravan turned to the right and crossed the divide into the valley of the Big Horn River. The Rendezvous of 1838 was held at the junction of the Popo Agie and Wind Rivers near what is now Riverton, Wyoming. The total distance, according to Smith's Diary, was 294 miles.

31st. Did not move camp, but remained to rest our animals &c. Did but little except cook & eat.³⁴ Cut our buffalo meat up fine like sausage meat & cooked it, which answered well for a change. All the variety we have is in the different manner of cooking.

JUNE 1st. Did not move camp, but remained still on the ground & rested what we could. The day hung rather heavily & we began to feel like moving again. Had a call from some of the squaws, the wives of the men at the fort. Most of them had children. Fontanelle's wife was over & his son, a bright lad of about 12 years came with her. It is much in fashion for these mountaineers to have wives.

2nd. Set out this morning & travelled about 15 miles & encamped for the night. Our route today has been among the Black Hills, between Lorimier's fork & North Fork. Had hill & dale & the scenery has been much more interesting than heretofore. We begin to see mountains with their peaks covered with snow. Our company is somewhat increased by the addition of some from the Fort. Fontanelle & his son are with us. Thunder shower this afternoon & the rain is now falling over our heads.

3d. SAB. Travelled about 25 miles. Our route was very crooked & over hills & through vallies. The scenery was grand & the day passed off more pleasantly than when on the level prairie. But it was not a sab. of rest. Oh when shall we again enjoy sabbaths?

³⁴ The women took advantage of the interlude at the Fort to wash, sew, and make repairs. Mrs. Walker wrote on June 1: "Ripped and dyed my old pongee." She described the Fort as follows: "The fort is constructed of heavy timbers set in the ground. We rode into it. Inside were several big buildings, most of them without glass. The half breed children look as likely as any."

4th. Travelled about 25 miles over the Black Hills. Some of the time we were on very high ground & had a very fine prospect. We ascended one hill after another & then descended into a valley. Sometimes we had deep ravines to cross & occasionally a small stream of water. In the afternoon the route was very circuitous & on to top of the hills & the vallies beneath us were very deep. Encamped on a fine creek, where we found plenty of wood.⁸⁵

5th. Travelled today about 14 miles among the hills & found the roughest travelling we have had. The scenery in many places was grand. Many of the hills were composed in part of red sandstone. They were very steep & rugged. Found this morning on our way large quantities of what we supposed to be gypsum.

6th. Travelled today over the hills & passed through deep ravines, when it seemed almost dangerous to ride. We must have travelled more than 20 miles. It was a very hard days work. Found some excellent springs of water among these hills. Struck the North Fork of the Platte at evening & encamped.

7th. Travelled about 12 miles. Had many deep ravines to pass which rendered the travelling very slow.

8th. Travelled about 20 miles & reached the place when we cross the Platte. The river is now very high & the water is constantly rising on account of the melting snow from the mountains. I should judge that quite as much water flows along here in this fork as does in the whole river where we first touched it. The soil is so sandy that much of the water is lost in the sand.

9th. The day spent in making boats to cross the river. These are made of buffalo hides stretched over a frame.⁸⁶

10th. **SAB.** Rained much of the day. The company crossed the river with some of their articles, but we were permitted to remain in our tents. Slept much of the time, for there is an almost unconquerable desire to sleep in this region. It is owing doubtless in part to living as we do exclusively on animal food. This is the first Sabbath since we set out that we have been permitted to rest. It is good to have the day to rest, but we long to enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary. I find already the evil effect of being deprived of the privileges of the Sab.

⁸⁵ Mrs. Walker: "Mrs. Smith and Eells being unwilling to give away milk, we divide and give away part of ours. Think we will enjoy what we have left as well as they." Here is evidence that the missionaries were driving at least one fresh milch cow with them. On the 7th, Mrs. Walker wrote: "In the evening gave Mrs. Smith a piece of my mind about milk, mothers, etc." Evidently Mrs. Walker's heart had been touched with compassion at the need of some Indian or half-breed babe.

⁸⁶ Mrs. Walker: "Mr. Smith in the tent all day with his wife, kept up a constant whispering much to my annoyance. Mr. W. busy here and there. Scarcely in the tent at all. I like my husband and like to have him with me but like to see a man attend to his business."

It brings leanness & barrenness of soul. In a few weeks more we hope to be where we may enjoy the Sabbath according to our wishes.⁸⁷

11th. Very rainy this morning. It is the third day in succession that it has rained. The ground where we encamped was very low & the soil composed of clay, so that we had mud enough about our tents & some water within. It was a very cold rain storm & exceedingly unpleasant. It ceased raining about noon & we put our baggage into the company's boat & went to the other side of the river. We were the last that went over. The current was very swift & our boat went down the stream some distance before it reached the opposite side. Encamped for the night on the opposite side of the river & now very thankful that we were on better ground & that the rain had ceased. A cold rain storm is not very comfortable on the prairies with nothing but a tent for protection & no fire except a fire out in the rain.⁸⁸ But thus far the Lord has preserved us & we are all enjoying comfortable health. We find we are not so strong since we have lived exclusively on buffalo meat as we were before. We suffer some in consequence of our diet. The buffalo meat produces very frequent diarrheas which debilitate the system & for the time renders an individual very uncomfortable.

12th. Left our encampment this morning before 7 & travelled till half past one & encamped for the night on the bank of a creek which empties into the Platte. Our progress was slow on account of the mud occasioned by the fall of so much rain. Had two creeks to cross before we reached our encampment, which were quite rapid. Saw for the first time some of the Rocky Mountains.⁸⁹ The one we saw is called Wind River Mountain. It was covered completely with snow. Saw snow near to us on the mountains near the bank of the Platte. While it rained on the low ground, snow was falling on the mountains near us. No wood near our encampment, none nearer than two miles. The

⁸⁷ The company began ferrying its goods and carts across the river. The missionaries did not cross until Monday. Thus they had an opportunity to rest on a Sunday. Mrs. Walker was not well. She was in the first months of pregnancy. On June 5th she noted in her Diary: "Was bled toward night." On the 8th she wrote: "Think the bleeding did me good though it reduced my strength more than I expected."

⁸⁸ Both Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker also comment on the cold rain which made all so miserably uncomfortable. Mrs. Eells wrote: "Our husbands obliged to be out in the wet and cold — say their hands are so cold they can hardly use them. . . . Messrs. Gray, Eells and Rogers drive the horses and cattle over; wade in the river up to their armpits but can not get [them] across, and only succeed in getting the horses so far that they will swim over — send the boat back to take them [the cattle?] over."

In the forenoon Mrs. Walker sat upon her baggage in her tent, utterly dejected. She wrote that night: "In the forenoon I cried to think how comfortable father's hogs were."

⁸⁹ The route followed by the caravan lay between what is now called the Rattlesnake Range to the north and the Green Mountains to the south. One of the peaks of the latter rose to over 6,000 feet.

sedge was all we had for fuel. This answers a very good purpose. When we obtain the dry stalks. This grows in abundance in this region. We find it from one to three feet in height. It grows very bushy & is exceedingly bitter. Another small shrub, called Grease Wood, is quite common. The leaves of this are acid to the taste, the wood is very hard. I have not seen any so high as 4 feet. Travelled about 12 miles.

13th. Travelled about 15 miles & encamped among the hills where there was a very small rill arising from springs near by. The country over which we passed was very rough and broken.

14. Travelled 25 miles & reached Rock Independence.⁴⁰ The country over which we passed more level & the travelling less difficult. Passed several small salt ponds. Reached the Sweet Water & encamped on its bank close to the Rock. This rock rises from the prairie independent from any other rock & covers several acres of ground. Its height must be more than 50 feet, perhaps 75. The rock is granite. This abounds on the Sweet Water. Granite mountains rise to considerable height on either side of the Sweet Water & makes quite picturesque scenery. The Sweet Water is a branch of the Platte. Saw snow capped mountains very near to us. The air is cool in consequence of being in the vicinity of snow.

15th. Passed up the Sweet Water about 16 miles & encamped on its bank. The scenery today has been sublime. Soon after leaving Rock Independence, we came to rapids in the river, where the river has cut a channel through the granite rock & stands up on each side near 100 feet perpendicularly.⁴¹ Forded the river soon after we started. The mountains on each side of the river are granite rock & present a grand appearance.

SAT. 16th. Travelled about 20 miles up the Sweet Water. Scenery very beautiful. The rocks rose in mountains back from the river & the stream flowed in beautiful meanderings through the valley. The Sweet Water is the most beautiful river we have passed. Its waters are not muddy like those of the Platte, but quite clear.

SAB. 17th. Travelled about 18 miles & encamped again on the bank of the Sweet Water. The day was quite warm & pleasant, but it was no sab. of rest to us. I fear we shall soon forget the sab. ourselves &

⁴⁰ Independence Rock was the great register of the Oregon Trail where hundreds carved their names upon its granite surface. Mrs. Walker wrote on the 15th: "This morning there being no dew went to the top of the rock. It is, I should judge more than 100 ft. high and a half mile in circumference, elliptical in form." Her estimate is too high, Smith was closer to the true height. However, let us remember that Mary actually climbed the rock, Smith did not.

⁴¹ Devil's Gate, sometimes called Split-Rock, is a rift through a granite ridge through which the Sweetwater River flows. The sides are nearly 400 feet high, less than 300 feet wide at the top. Mrs. Walker estimated the height to be "perhaps 200 ft." Both Smith and Mrs. Walker, if they viewed the rock from the trail, were some distance away and could easily under estimate the height.

become almost heathen, if we should live long as we have without a sab.⁴²

MON. 18th. Moved camp but once today & travelled about 12 miles. Encamped for the last time on the Sweet Water. Tomorrow we cross it & in two days expect to reach the rendezvous. Have felt quite unwell for two days past. The buffalo diet does not agree with me.

TUES. 19th. Travelled about 18 miles over a very rough region of country. Left the Sweet Water & crossed over to a creek which empties into the Yellowstone [Big Horn] River. The scenery was most splendid. The ground was very elevated & broken. When we reached the height of land between the Sweet Water & the Yellowstone, the prospect was fine. A deep valley of considerable extent spread out before us, filled with numerous hills here & there & very rough & broken in the place near where we were. The descent to this valley was very steep, much of the way approaching near to perpendicular. At a distance on one side of this valley the Wind River Mountains stretched along for a great distance, with their tops covered with snow.⁴³ We entered this valley & at length after a tedious ride reached the creek on which we encamped. The country is very barren, much of it producing scarcely anything but the bitter sedge, which we find in abundance.

WED. 20th. Travelled about 15 miles following down the creek on which we encamped & encamped again on the same stream. Had many deep ravines to cross which rendered the travelling slow.

THURSDAY 21st. Travelled about 12 miles & reached a river which is called Popiasia [Popo Agie] on which we encamped. The place of rendezvous is to be on the opposite bank, but the river is now too high to be forded.

AT THE RENDEZVOUS

The missionaries remained at the Rendezvous from June 23rd to July 12th, about three weeks. This gave them an opportunity to rest, to do some reading, and to write letters. The Rendezvous of 1838 was a colorful assembly of trappers, mountain men, Indians, the personnel of the caravan, and the missionary party. Among the best known of the trappers or mountain men who were present were Joseph R. Walker, Joseph Meek, Robert Newell, and Jim Bridger. A small group of seventeen, including the members of the mission party, assembled for a Sunday service on June 24th when Walker preached. The next Sunday the audience grew to over fifty. In contrast to this courteous

⁴² Mrs. Eells, writing the next day: "Last night, two Indian girls brought us some gooseberries, of which we made sauce. To-day they came again. We gave them some needles and a few pieces of calico, upon which they sewed very prettily."

⁴³ Undoubtedly the party could see Granite Peak, rising to over 10,000 feet, at the southern end of the Wind River range.

and restrained interest in religion was the wild carousing which characterized the celebration of July 4th. As part of the freight carried out from Westport, were barrels of whiskey curved so as to be the more easily carried on the backs of pack animals. The carousing, which lasted for three days, was typical of frontier Fourth of July celebrations of that generation.

Among the Indians present were members of the Flathead and Nez Perce tribes, long known to be friendly to the whites. Many of the mountain men had married native women which accounted for what Smith called "a multitude of half breed children."

FRI. 22. Today we are happy to rest from our travelling, but it is rather tedious to remain in our tents without any chair. Obligated to sit or lie down upon the ground. It is hard to get accustomed to this kind of life. I feel anxious to have a house to live in & some of the conveniences of civilized life, but this I cannot expect for months to come & then but little.⁴⁴

SAT. 23d. Forded the Popiasia & encamped near the place of rendezvous on the bank of the Big Horn near its junction with the Popiasia. Here we find a good supply of timber and grass for the horses. This is to be our home for perhaps 3 or 4 weeks.

SAB. 24th. Today we have had two sermons read.⁴⁵ In the morning a few of the company attended. The men who come into the mountains are such as care for none of these things. We have however been treated by them with much kindness & attention. I find them generous hearted men who are ready to render assistance when needed. They are much like the sailors in this respect. The Lord has been very merciful to us, bringing us along thus far on our journey. We have now travelled about 1,100 miles since we left Westport.

⁴⁴ Mrs. Walker: "Mr. and Mrs. S. were gone several hours, so husband came and made me a pleasant visit. . . Mr. S. is going to construct him a lodge, so we shall have the tent to ourselves." One of the hardships of the journey was the lack of privacy.

On this day Mrs. Eells commented on the high prices prevailing at the Rendezvous: "Coffee, sugar and tea, two dollars per pint; blankets from fifteen to sixteen dollars each; pipe, one dollar; tobacco from five to six dollars per lb; a shirt, five dollars." Compare these with the cost of a horse, which in those days in the States sold for about \$20.00.

⁴⁵ Mrs. Walker: "Mr. S. has gone to living by himself. It will be pleasant not to hear so much fault finding." She gives a brief description of the Sunday's service when her husband preached and the small audience sat "in the open air in the shade of the beautiful grove." Mrs. Eells mentions the text Walker used — π Peter 3:7 "But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." Surrounded by so much ungodliness and spiritual apathy, Walker evidently felt that a sermon on the terrors of the final judgment was in order. Mrs. Walker also wrote: "We all put on our Sunday dresses and acted as much like Sabbath at home as we could. I think I am rather happy." Eells spoke in the evening.

MON. 25th. Built a pen for our horses to secure them nights so as not to have a guard. This we built with trees & brush, something like what is called slash fence at the east.

TUESDAY, 26th. Had a long ride after the cattle.⁴⁶ They went away yesterday & we set out this morning after them & did not return with them till about 2 p.m. It was a long & tedious ride & I found myself very much fatigued.

SAT. 30th. Time begins to drag heavily here. Do little but lounge about. No ambition to undertake any thing. If I begin to read, I am so sleepy I can do nothing. This is owing to our diet. Go to the camp frequently. Have distributed several bibles & testaments among the men. They were rec'd very kindly.

JULY 1. SAB. Preached this morning from the text "God is love."⁴⁷ Had several men from the camp to hear me. They listened with attention but there is little hope of benefitting them. This has seemed something like the sab. & I feel that it has been a blessing to me. It is ruinous to live without sabbaths as we have.

MON. 2nd. Guarded the horses all day. This we do in turn each one day.

TUESDAY. 3d. Considerable carousing in camp today. It seemed to be a preparation for the 4 of July. The company have a plenty of alcohol & it is used quite freely here at the rendezvous.⁴⁸

WED. 4th. This has been a high day here. The day was celebrated much as in the States by the baser sorts. The alcohol has been freely used & many were thoroughly drunk.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ A curious incident took place this day. In the morning the missionaries discovered that their cattle were gone. Walker, Smith, and Stevens set out to follow their tracks and bring them back. Mrs. Eells wrote: "About one o'clock, Messrs. W., S. and S. return with the cattle — find them on the trail towards Walla Walla, at least twelve miles, walking on as regularly as though they were driven." Even the cattle had come to accept the daily travel as something to be expected.

Mrs. Walker gives a penetrating glimpse into their lives when she wrote: "Mrs. S. has seemed to cry most of the time, but I have not once since she left. Think I have not refrained as long before since we left Westport."

⁴⁷ As on the previous Sunday, two services were held. Smith spoke in the morning and Walker in the evening.

⁴⁸ Mrs. Eells: "Four Indian women called to see us last evening. . . . An old Indian comes and seats himself at the door of our tent but we can not understand him at all. He then goes to Mr. Walker's tent and tries to talk, but can not be understood."

⁴⁹ Mrs. Eells: "No church bells, no beating of drums or roaring of cannons to remind one of our blood-bought liberty. How different one year ago. Then I attended a meeting for Sabbath school children. Here there is no Sabbath, even; no schools to learn the first rudiments of reading. Captains Drips, Walker and Robbins take dinner with us." Mrs. Walker wrote: "Had baked pudding and greens for dinner." The observance of a national holiday brought back memories and made Mrs. Walker, at least, a bit homesick. "Could be quite content if I could hear from home, but not to see or hear, it seems hard." Mrs. Walker did not get her first letters from her home until September, 1839 — eighteen months after she had left.

THURS. 5th.⁵⁰ Today Bridger arrived with his company consisting of about 100 men, about 60 squaws & a multitude of half breed children. For it is the custom in this country for white men to take unto themselves wives from among the natives. Their arrival was attended with the firing of guns & noisy shouts. A party came & saluted us soon after their arrival with singing, accompanied by the Indian drum & dancing around a scalp, firing of guns, etc.⁵¹ They were mostly half breeds. They were all on horseback & managed their horses with great skill. This evening a company came on foot & entertained us with music & dancing.

FRI. 6th. This morning rec'd a visit from a company of half breeds, squaws & children, & were entertained by them with a scalp dance. This is a very common amusement among the Indians. The weather has been exceedingly warm for a few days past & we find it very uncomfortable remaining here. The insects are very troublesome.

SAT. 7th. Began to make preparations for setting out on our journey from this place.

SAB. 8th. This morning a Kayuse came to our camp & inquired for

⁵⁰ The missionaries were disturbed late on the night of the Fourth. Mrs. Walker wrote: "Last night disturbed by drunkards. A large company arrived. Some of them came to salute us. One man carried the scalp of a Blackfoot. The music consisted of tin horns, accompanied by the inarticulate sound of the voice. They hallooed, danced, fired and acted as strangely as they could."

Mrs. Eells gives more details: "Last night were troubled exceedingly by the noise of some drunken men. We were awakened by the barking of dogs, soon we heard a rush of drunken men coming directly towards our tent. Mr. Eells got up immediately and went to the door of the tent; in a moment, four men came swearing and blaspheming, inquiring for Mr. Gray and asked if Mr. Richardson was at home. Mr. Eells answered their inquiries and said little else. They said they wished to settle accounts with Mr. Gray, then they should be off. They said they did not come to do us harm; had they attempted it, the dog would have torn them to pieces.

"They then began singing; asked Mr. Eells to sing with them. He told them he did not know their tunes. . . They conversed a while with him and then made off with themselves, giving us no more trouble, only that we were constantly in fear lest they would return. All this while, Mrs. G. and myself were making preparations for our escape, while Mr. Gray was loading Mr. Eells' gun, his own being loaded."

⁵¹ Regarding the arrival of the Bridger party, Mrs. Eells wrote: "Capt. Bridger's company comes in about ten o'clock, with drums and firing — an apology for a scalp dance. After they had given Capt. Drip's company a shout, fifteen or twenty mountain men and Indians came to our tent with drumming, firing and dancing. If I might make the comparison, I should say that they looked like the emissaries of the Devil worshipping their own master. They had the scalp of a Blackfoot Indian, which they carried for a color, all rejoicing in the fate of the Blackfoots in consequence of the small-pox. The dog being frightened, took the trail across the river and howled so that we knew him and called him back. When he came he went to each tent to see if we were all safe, then appeared quiet.

"Thermometer, ninety degrees."

Mr. Gray. He was from Wallawalla with a party with Mr. Ermatinger⁵² of the Hudson's Bay Company at their head. Come on to meet us. This was good news to us. We learned that supplies were sent on for us, so that we shall soon be where we can have a little more vegetable food.⁵³

MONDAY 9th. Spent the day in writing letters to send back by the company & in preparation for our journey. Rev. Mr. Lee, one of the Methodist missionaries beyond the Mountains, is with us on his return to the States. He appears to be a very fine man & has given us much information respecting missionary labors among the Indians. It is good to meet a missionary brother here in the wilderness.

SMITH'S LETTER TO GREENE

Among the letters carried east by Jason Lee was the following from Smith to the Rev. David D. Greene, Secretary of the American Board. The letter is here given in its entirety.

RENDEZVOUS ON WIND RIVER
July 10th 1838

REV. D. GREENE
BOSTON, Ms.

MY DEAR SIR, As Brother Lee of the Methodist mission beyond the

⁵² See "List of Persons" for identification of Ermatinger and others mentioned in the text.

⁵³ With the party of fourteen from the Hudson's Bay Company was the Rev. Jason Lee, the Methodist missionary to Oregon, on his way back to the States for reinforcements. Mrs. Walker wrote: "They came to Green River, expecting to find the rendezvous, but on reaching there, they found no signs. The country was full of buffalo. But in an old trading house, they found a line, 'Come to Popeasia; plenty of whiskey and white women.' They accordingly came and on the 4th day found us." The sign had been left by Jim Bridger.

Lee had with him two Indian boys from the Willamette valley and the three sons of Tom McKay who were to attend school. Lee was carrying a letter from Whitman and Spalding to the American Board in which they stressed the primary necessity of civilizing the Indians before Christianizing them. Whitman, Spalding, and Lee all agreed on this point and in an hour of enthusiasm Spalding wrote to Greene on April 21, 1838, in which he made the following amazing request: "To occupy these fields immediately, we ask as the least possible number which God & our consciences will admit us to name, for 30 ordained missionaries, 30 farmers, 30 school teachers, 10 physicians, & 10 mechanics with their wives." This makes a total of 220 additional workers! Whitman signed the letter with Spalding. The request for supplies was on a similar grandiose style: "Several tons of iron and steel . . . 2,000 gun flints, fifty gross Indian awls. . ." etc. This letter was much discussed by the members of the Oregon Mission in the years to come.

The missionaries were heartened with letters from Whitman notifying whoever might be coming that fresh provisions would be sent to meet them at Fort Hall. The excitement of the arrival of the Hudson's Bay party and Jason Lee was so great that there was no religious service held on that Sunday.

mountains is here on his way to New England, I will improve this opportunity of writing you a few words, tho' you will hear from us by Mr. Gray, & learn that we have advanced thus far on our way in safety. The journey on the whole has been a very prosperous one. We have indeed been prospered far beyond our expectations & have abundant reasons to be thankful to our heavenly Father for his kindness to us. Our health has uniformly been good since we left the states. No one of the company has suffered at any time except from some slight indisposition which was soon relieved. It is true we have suffered some in consequence of our change of diet & before we reached the buffalo country we fared very short in consequence of not taking a sufficient supply. We have felt many times the need of other food & a piece of bread or a potato would have been the greatest luxury, but notwithstanding all our privations & the hardships of the journey the Lord has given us strength to endure, & our health has on the whole improved. Our ladies have endured the journey remarkably well & their health I think is decidedly improved. Mrs. S. has enjoyed very good health all the time since she left the settlements, tho' she was rather feeble when she left home.

We have been very kindly treated by the Fur company & feel ourselves very much indebted to them for the favors they have shown us. Capt. Stuart⁵⁴ & two of Gov. Clarke's⁵⁵ sons have been in company with us thus far. The father of these two young men is the one who explored with Lewis in this western region. We have found no pious men in the company but we have been treated by them in a kind & gentlemanly manner. I have given away several bibles & testaments since we have been here & in every case they have been rec'd very kindly. I think there is no difficulty in travelling with this company, if we will treat the men kindly & be familiar with them & give them the impression that we do not feel ourselves above them. They are possessed of a great deal of generous & noble feeling like the sailors, & resemble them very much in this respect.

We find many things pleasant & interesting in taking this journey but I apprehend you would not find it as delightful in all respects as you seemed to think it would be when I saw you in Boston. There are many things necessarily trying & perplexing. We have found it so especially. Being unaccustomed as we had been for a long time to labor, we found it extremely hard & fatiguing the first part of the way & we did not set out with so much help as we really needed. Much of the way we were so pressed that we scarcely had time to look into our

⁵⁴ The reference is to Captain William Drummond Stewart, an English nobleman who was travelling in the west for the love of adventure. He was with the caravan that went to the Rendezvous in 1836 along with the Whitmans and the Spaldings.

⁵⁵ Gov. William Clark, the explorer who visited the Oregon country with Meriwether Lewis in 1805-06 and who in 1838 was Superintendent in charge of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi. His office was in St. Louis.

bibles or pray & when our labors for the day were ended we were so fatigued that we were glad to throw ourselves down to sleep as soon as possible. In consequence of this, I fear that our piety has suffered much. I have been much in doubt whether this mode of travelling would be a proper preparation for missionary labor. It may prepare one to wield "carnal weapons" & use physical force, but I am afraid it will not prepare the missionary to use the "sword of the Spirit" in a skillful manner & make him wise to win souls to Christ. It is true I may feel different when I reach the field of my labors.

It has been a trial to me to carry weapons of war & to travel on the Sab. but I think less of it now than when I first started. It is certainly destructive to piety to live without a Sab. & how can we have any Sab. when we have the same labors to perform on that day which we do on others. I must say that I am not fully satisfied whether it is right to travel as we have on the Sab. to get to our field of labor. It is true the Lord has prospered us thus far tho' we have not observed his sabbath.

Thus there are some things in making this journey which are particularly trying. Tho' we have been greatly prospered, & a kind heavenly Father has supplied our wants, yet we have had our trials & some of them were of a kind which were altogether unanticipated. 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 recd 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. The manner in which he has treated us has often been witnessed by the men of the company & he is censured by them severely. It is nothing uncommon when I go out among the men to hear some one express their dislike of Mr. Gray. These things have been a severe trial to us, & perhaps I ought to have kept them within my own bosom for I know they will be trying to you. I have however ventured to mention this for it may be of some use to you hereafter.

Mr. G. is censured very much by the Company on account of the loss of the Indians last fall. Mr. Bridger told me a few days ago that he advised Mr. G. by all means to wait for the Company, which went in about 10 days from the Rendezvous after he left — told him he would certainly be defeated if he went on alone — the band of horses he had would be a temptation to any party of Indians to kill him, but notwithstanding all this he rashly started off & was defeated. All the men who were killed, Mr. Bridger told me, had left widows & orphans. If I have done wrong in writing thus, pardon me, for I thought you would wish to know these facts.

Tomorrow we expect to start for Wallawalla with the party who have come on to meet us with supplies. I trust we feel thankful that the Lord is there providing for our safety & for your wants.

Very affectionately yours,

A. B. SMITH

(Recd. Nov. 1. Ansd. March 22d, 1839. D.G.)

RENDEZVOUS TO FORT HALL

The journey from the Rendezvous to Whitman's station at Watilatpu was broken by a four-day stop at Fort Hall, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company near the present site of Pocatello, Idaho. The missionaries traveled with the small party of Hudson's Bay men and some friendly Nez Perces. The caravan was much smaller than that which they had been with and consequently they made faster time. According to Smith's figures, they traveled 327 miles from the Rendezvous to Fort Hall in two weeks, or an average of better than twenty-three miles a day. On two days they covered thirty miles, and once forty-five. This was hard riding. Once on the trip they stopped for a couple of days to dry meat. The two weeks' travel did not include these two days.

The route from the Rendezvous led back to the Sweetwater which was reached on the afternoon of July 14th. The party rode through South Pass of the Continental Divide on Sunday, July 15th. Soda Springs was reached on July 24th and Fort Hall on July 27th.

THURSDAY 12th. Set out from the Rendezvous & travelled about 20 miles before we stopped & then encamped on a small creek.⁵⁶ It was quite a fatiguing ride, after lying still so long. Parted with Bro. Lee this morning. He seems to be truly a good brother. Some half breeds were with him going to the States for an education. They came with us a few miles & then shook hands with us & bade us farewell. They are very fine boys.

FRIDAY 13th. Did not move till noon & then travelled about 16 miles & encamped on the same stream. This is the head branch of the Popiasia & as we approach the mountains, the water is beautifully clear like the streams of New England. We have passed today through a tract of rough country. The bluffs on the side of the stream were steep & rugged. The red sandstone is found in abundance. For some distance we passed along on the side of a very steep declivity, when but a little misstep would have launched us into the stream below. We wound our way along & at length descended to the stream where there was room enough to pass along the bottom. One of the mules as if unwilling to take the circuitous route, leaped down a ledge of rock about 5 feet in height, broke the crupper to the pack saddle & thru the pack upon his neck.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Eells states that there were about "twenty men to go over the mountains."

14th. Travelled very rapidly & made about 30 miles. The country was very rough as we were passing over the height of land from the Popiasia to the Sweet Water. Encamped on a little rill of good cold water.

SAB. 15th.⁵⁷ Travelled about 18 miles & encamped on a small creek. Encamped very early in the afternoon on account of falling in company with a party of Snake Indians who came to trade skins. They were very friendly & remained in our camp for several hours. Several squaws came with their children on their backs. Our ladies seemed to be quite a curiosity to them & they looked at them with considerable interest. They were dressed in buffalo skins. They were very anxious to obtain vermilion to paint themselves. This is common among all Indians. They paint sometimes the whole & sometimes a part of the face.

MON. 16th. Travelled about 45 miles.⁵⁸ Stopped at noon on the

⁵⁷ Mrs. Eells: "Travel five hours, twenty miles; encamp on branch of Colorado." And Mrs. Walker noted in her Diary: "Last night a large herd of buffalo passed so near we could hear them pant."

⁵⁸ This was the longest day's ride made on the entire trip to Oregon. Mrs. Walker wrote: "In the afternoon we rode thirty-five miles without stopping. . . . But when I came to get off my horse, I fainted." When we remember that the women rode side-saddle, our amazement at their stamina increases. Mrs. Walker's side-saddle is on exhibit in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

Mrs. Francis Fuller Victor in her *River of the West* relates an incident which is supposed to have taken place on this day when the mission party travelled from the Sandy to the Green River. This book appeared in 1870 and contains the reminiscences of Joe Meek, somewhat embellished. According to Mrs. Victor, Meek, his Nez Perce wife, and daughter Helen Mar, were at the 1838 Rendezvous. Meek's wife, having taken some offense toward her husband, decided to return to her people. So taking her child she left the Rendezvous to go with the missionaries. When Meek discovered her absence, he packed up his belongings, including his "alcohol kettle," and set out in pursuit. While en route to Green River, he had to cross a long stretch of desert. Mrs. Victor's account follows:

"The heat was excessive; and the absence of water made the journey across the arid plain between the Sandy and Green Rivers one of great suffering to the traveler and his animals, and the more so as the frequent reference to the alcohol kettle only increased the thirst-fever instead of allaying it. But Meek was not alone in his suffering. About half way across the scorching plain he discovered a solitary woman's figure, standing in the trail, and two riding horses near her, whose drooping heads expressed their dejection. On coming up with this strange group, Meek found the woman to be one of the missionary ladies, a Mrs. Smith, and her husband was lying on the ground, dying, as the poor sufferer believed himself, for water."

According to Mrs. Victor, Mrs. Smith made "a weeping appeal" for water, but since Meek had none, he offered alcohol instead. The account continues:

"Seeing that death really awaited the unlucky missionary unless something could be done to cause him to exert himself, Meek commenced at once, and with unction, to abuse the man for his unmanliness.

"You're a — pretty fellow to be lying on the ground here, lolling your tongue

river Sandy & travelled more than 30 miles in the afternoon & reached the Green River. This has been a very hard days ride & the ladies suffered much. We have now crossed the height of land [South Pass] in one place & this is the dividing ridge between the eastern & western waters [probably on July 15]. The Green river empties into the Gulf of California. We have yet another range to cross before reaching the waters of the Columbia.

TUES. 17. Crossed the Green River by fording. We crossed where there were islands & shallow water. It was so deep however that we could not keep our feet out of the water. Made about 12 miles & encamped on a small creek running into Green River.⁵⁹

WED. 18th. Travelled about 20 miles. Left Green River Valley & followed up a creek into the mountains to pass over the height of land which lies between that & Bear River.⁶⁰ Encamped in a beautiful basin surrounded by hills.

THURS. 19th. Crossed the height & followed down Smith's fork &

out of your mouth, and trying to die. Die, if you want to, you're of no account and will never be missed. Here's your wife, who you keep standing here in the hot sun; why don't she die? She's got more pluck than a white-livered chap like you."

To add a further incentive to arouse the languid Smith, Meek then told some tall stories about hostile Indians following him. Lifting the reluctant Mrs. Smith to her saddle, he forced her to accompany him. "You can follow us if you choose," Meek called back to Smith, "or you can stay where you are. Mrs. Smith can find plenty of better men than you." Before Meek had ridden out of sight, he looked back and saw Smith sitting up. That night Smith rode into camp to the great relief of his wife.

Neither Mrs. Eells or Mrs. Walker makes mention of such an incident, although as the caravan often stretched out for a considerable distance, and if the Smiths were at the end, the others might not have been aware of the situation. Smith simply comments that "This has been a very hard days ride & the ladies suffered much." Beneath the embellishments of Mrs. Victor's account, there was probably some incident in which Meek did encourage a despondent Smith to keep travelling.

On July 13th, Mrs. Walker mentioned the fact that their dog, King, was finding it difficult to keep up with the march because of his blistered feet. On this day of the long march, Mrs. Eells wrote that they were obliged to leave behind their dog and a yearling calf. The feet of both animals had given out and they could go no further.

⁵⁹ Mrs. Eells: "Find gooseberries so that we make a pie and some sauce." After leaving the buffalo country, east of the Continental Divide, the party subsisted on dried buffalo meat, some smaller wild game when available, berries, and later as they travelled along the Snake River, fish.

⁶⁰ Mrs. Eells: "We rode one and one-half hours on the side of a mountain, the angle of which we judged to be forty-five degrees, with a beautiful stream of water running below us, and no path but what we made ourselves; had our horses made one misstep, we must have been precipitated below to the depth of one hundred or one hundred and fifty feet into the water." Mrs. Walker makes a similar comment.

encamped on its bank. This has been the most interesting day's travel since we started. Some of the way we were travelling through a forest of spruce intermingled in some places with pine, fir, & poplar. Some of the heights were very steep.⁶¹ We wound our way along the side of the mountains. Much of the way we were passing along the banks of beautiful mountain streams. The water is the finest I ever drank. The air was quite cool for we were very near large banks of snow which lay upon the mountains. Caught a large trout this evening which would weigh more than a pound. Must have travelled more than 20 miles.

FRI. 20th. Crossed two very high steeps in going from Smith's Fork to another creek. Stopped at noon at the salt springs where we collected a quantity of salt for our own use. We found it lying in a crust on the bank of the river, from a quarter to half an inch in thickness. In the afternoon we passed down the creek along its exceeding steep banks where it seems to break through the mountain. We had to pass along frequently on the side of very steep precipices where there was but a very narrow path for our animals, sometimes it was rock & often we feared that our horses might make a misstep & plunge down the steep into the river. But through the goodness of God we were all carried through in safety. Travelled about 25 miles & encamped on a creek which empties into Bear River.⁶²

SAT. 21st. Found buffalo & concluded to stop here & prepare meat for our journey. Went out in the morning & brought in a mule load of meat. Immediately after I returned, we heard the noise of Indians & we drove upon our horses and prepared ourselves for whatever might take place. We found them to be a village of Bannocks & very friendly. They came to our camp to trade & we were about as much annoyed with their company as with the Snakes.

SAB. 22. Remained where we were & let our meat dry. Indians were in our camp most of the day. We got tired of their company & wish them out of the way. Had a sermon in the afternoon. Some of the Indians sat around the tent & were quite still. One of the squaws

⁶¹ Mrs. Waller: "I have suffered more from fear than anything else. I was so excited in descending one hill that when I reached the foot I fainted. I have felt that God only could make us go safely. Perhaps were my eyes opened I might see angels standing by the way to guard my feet from falling."

⁶² The hunters killed a bear along the trail and also a stray buffalo which had roamed west of the Continental Divide. This was the last fresh buffalo meat they had on the trip. The next day was spent in camp preparing the meat.

Mrs. Walker has more comments on the dangers of the trail. "We had some frightful places to pass. We passed along the steep sides of Mts. where at every step the loose earth slid from beneath the horses feet, and seemed to threaten to leave them without a footing. In passing one of the side hills, covered with slaty stone, that slid and crumpled beneath the horses feet, my horse came near sliding off."

busied herself with catching lice from her child's head and eating them.⁶³

MON. 23d. Travelled about 28 miles & encamped in the valley of Bear River on a small stream emptying into it. Struck over the hills in the morning & made Bear River just below Snake Lake a little after noon. Stopped at noon just before reaching the river on a small creek emptying into it. Here we were extremely annoyed by horse flies, both ourselves & animals. Found beautiful travelling after we entered the valley of Bear River & went on rapidly in the afternoon.⁶⁴

TUES. 24th. Travelled about 22 miles along the bank of Bear River & reached the Soda Springs. They are quite a curiosity. The water boils up in several places like water boiling & has the taste of Soda water artificially prepared.

WED. 25th. Travelled about 30 miles without stopping & found it very fatiguing. Had rain last night so that we did not leave till later than usual. Found the Soda water quite useful in making bread. Nothing is necessary with this water to make very light bread. Visited one more spring this morning wh. was the greatest curiosity of all. The water issued from a rock on the bank of the river, & spouted out at intervals of about half a minute with considerable force. A quantity of air was forced out wh. made a constant wheezing like a steam boat, so that it has been named the Steamboat.⁶⁵ Left Bear River about 4 miles from where we started & reached the waters of the Columbia, a branch called Portsmouth [Portneuf]. The region through which we passed was evidently volcanic. The rocks were scoriated & had the appearance of lava.

THURSDAY 26th. Travelled about 28 miles. Crossed over the heights from Portsmouth [Portneuf] to Ross Fork & encamped on it.⁶⁶

⁶³ Mrs. Eells: "The Indians are about our tent before we are up and stay about us all day; think they are the most filthy Indians we have seen — some of them have a buffalo robe on them, though many of them are as naked as when born." For their worship service that day, Walker read a sermon. Mrs. Walker wrote that the Indians "were much interested in the singing, kept very still during the sermon and in prayer time remained with their eyes fixed on the ground."

⁶⁴ Mrs. Eells: "Scenery awful [i.e., awesome]. Think the mountains would compare with the ocean in a storm, the mountain waves beating on the lonely vessel; we often say that this journey is like going to sea on dry land." Mrs. Walker wrote about the flies: "At noon the horse flies were so thick that men could scarcely pack or saddle . . . the flies seemed like a swarm of bees and plagued the horses exceedingly."

⁶⁵ Mrs. Walker: "In the morning baked soda biscuit and fried soda fritters; both were fine." Mrs. Eells: "Soon after leaving camp in the morning, we came to a soda spring, the orifice of which is six or eight inches in diameter. The water when boiling up, which is all the time, looks like artificial soda."

⁶⁶ Added to the other difficulties, Mrs. Walker developed a toothache. She wrote: "Yesterday we had a cold raw wind and I took cold in a tooth which ached incessantly so that I scarcely slept all night."

FRIDAY 27th. Had but about 13 miles to travel to reach Fort Hall. Set out as soon as it was light & reached the fort about 9 a.m. We were very kindly rec'd & treated with much attention. Took breakfast at the fort & had the privilege of sitting down to a table, which we have not enjoyed since we left the States. Our breakfast consisted of boiled ham & salted tongue with hard bread. The ham & flour come from Collville. Found here a company of 6 Nez Perces who had come to meet us from Mr. Spaulding. They brought intelligence of the death of Mrs. Lee, the wife of the Methodist missionary we met at the Rendezvous. This will be sad intelligence to him. An express will probably be sent on to overtake him with the intelligence. We shall thus have another opportunity of sending letters to our friends. We found the Nez Perces very glad to see us & seem very ready to tell us the names of things in their own language. I have already learned several words so that by them & signs I can make them understand very well. It rains this afternoon & we are very glad to stay in our tents & rest. We have now travelled 14 days since we left the Rendezvous & the distance is commonly estimated at 400 miles.⁶⁷ We have averaged 28½ miles per day & that over the most rugged part of our route. It is very rapid travelling & our animals have suffered in consequence of it.

SAB. 29th. The six Nez Perces came to our tent twice today & sang & I prayed with them & endeavored to convey some instruction to them. They would readily find the names of God, Jesus Christ &c. They seemed much interested & it was truly interesting to hear them

⁶⁷ Smith's figures here of 400 miles do not agree with the sum of his notes giving daily mileage for this distance of 327 miles. Mrs. Walker and a few others including Captain John Sutter rode to the Fort in advance of the main party. She wrote: "Lay down nearly all day but could not rest. Had my tooth pulled and then I felt much better."

Mrs. Eells: "Introduced to Mr. McKay, one of the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company; also to a number of Nez Perce Indians. They came here last night directly from Mr. Spaulding's, on an express to the Rev. Mr. Lee, with the painful news of the death of his wife and infant." Mrs. Lee, the first white woman to die in Oregon, passed away on June 28th in childbirth. The missionaries took advantage of the opportunity to send letters home with the express which was carrying the message to Jason Lee. One of Mrs. Walker's letters to her parents dated July 27 from Fort Hall is extant. From it the following is taken:

"Mr. Walker is expecting to settle with D. Whitman. Dr. Gray 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. . . . At Fort Hall we have found our supplies & 5 or 6 fresh animals but we shall now be deprived of our milk as the forage on Snake River is poor. And now is to commence what has been represented the most tedious part of our journey." She also commented on the pleasure that it was to sit on a stool and "eat at a table." Also "We have our tents pitched outside the fort but have a room inside where we stay when we choose . . . am going to wash in the room at the fort which in form, size & cleanliness resembles your hog sty."

sing the songs of Zion. They appeared very solemn during these exercises & it may be that the Spirit of God has already touched their hearts.⁶⁸

FORT HALL TO WAILLATPU

On Tuesday morning, July 31st, the mission party started on the last lap of its overland journey. Since Richardson returned east at Fort Hall, another man was needed to assist. The services of James Conner, a mountain man who had a Nez Perce wife, were secured. Arrangements were made for guides and an interpreter. Two men from the Fort caught up with the mission party five days later to serve in this capacity. Some of the cattle were left at Fort Hall because of the condition of their feet, but arrangements were made with the Hudson's Bay Company to have replacements turned over to the missionaries in the Columbia River valley.

Since the missionaries were travelling by themselves, they rested on Sundays. They followed the south bank of the Snake River, not crossing it as did the Whitman-Spalding party two years earlier. They camped opposite Fort Boise, crossing in boats to visit the Fort. There at Fort Boise the restless Grays left the others and pushed on ahead. While going over the Blue Mountains, Rogers was injured and had to be left behind for a short time. The Smiths remained with him. Thus the reenforcement did not reach the Whitman station as a unit. The Smiths and Rogers, the last to arrive, reached Wailatpu on August 30th.

According to Smith the distance from Fort Hall to Wailatpu was 498 miles, making a grand total of 1,709 miles from Westport. With the exception of the section from Westport to Fort Laramie, when the party had the light wagon in which some of the women rode some of the time, the entire trip was made on horseback. Not counting the five days spent at Fort Boise or the Sundays when the party rested, the Smiths averaged about twenty miles of travel daily on this part of the journey.

TUESDAY 31st. Left Fort Hall in the afternoon & crossed over Portsmouth about 10 miles & encamped. We were treated with great kindness at the Fort & have great reason to bless God for his kindness to us.

WED. AUG. 1st. Travelled 18 miles & encamped at the falls of Snake River. The musketoes were abundant, beyond description. The river rushes down the rocks at this place, not in a perpendicular sheet, but broken. The whole fall may be from 20 to 30 feet.

⁶⁸ Worship services that day were held in the Fort with Eells preaching and, according to Mrs. Eells, "some fifty or sixty hearers." The Grays moved into the Fort this day which left the tent for the exclusive use of the Eells.

THURS. 2d. Left the falls & travelled down the river about 15 miles & encamped. Found no bottom till we came to the place where we encamped. The banks of the river were much of the way precipitous, rising often in perpendicular columns of trap rock. The rock is all basaltic & shows evidently that this is a volcanic region.

FRI. 3d. Travelled about 12 miles & encamped on the Casia [Raft River]. Met a large party of Snake Indians who were on their way to buffalo. They were very friendly. The chief with a few of the men came on with us to our camp to receive presents as is customary among the Indians.⁶⁹ Thus far we have been preserved from hostile bands. The Lord has been round about us & preserved us from all harm. We have abundant reason to bless him for his great kindness to us.

SAT. 4th. Travelled about 32 miles & encamped on the Snake River to remain till Monday. The country through wh. we passed was covered with sedge & scarcely any thing else except when we came to water. At the springs where we nooned we found good grass. The country is extremely barren, sometimes sandy & sometimes covered with basaltic rock. These places are very rough & hard for the horses. Had quite a thunder shower after we started this morning.

SAB. 5th. Were not obliged to travel as we have been heretofore. Preached in the afternoon to the company.⁷⁰ Air quite cool & nights almost uncomfortable.

MONDAY 6th. Travelled about 35 miles & encamped on a small creek. Hard days ride.

TUESDAY 7th. Travelled about 25 miles before we stopped & encamped for the night by the main river. The banks of the river here are very high, more than 100 feet I should think. At the top it is perpendicular trap rock. We descended into the valley in a very steep

⁶⁹ The missionaries felt that it was well to give presents to visiting bands of Indians in order to keep their good will. Of this visit, Mrs. Eells wrote: "Soon we were met by a large party of Indians; one after another came up to our guides and shook hands, chatted awhile, then rode up on the hill, gave a war whoop. The women and children immediately ran into the ravines; the men came to meet us when they found we were friendly and the women and children came back. Most of them wished to shake hands with us; we supposed there were in all from seventy-five to one hundred. They were all covered with skins, their horses were fine; they had a large number besides what they were riding. The chief and five of his men turned and rode into camp; we gave them some dried bread and meat, some powder and balls with which they appeared exceedingly pleased. As they were about to leave, the chief sent his compliments and said he was destitute of a shirt. Mr. Eells gave him one he had worn; he put it on and appeared satisfied."

⁷⁰ Since the missionaries constituted the largest unit in the caravan, their wishes prevailed. Therefore they remained in camp on this Sunday and on the one following. Mrs. Eells wrote: "Observed a season in prayer, singing and social conversation. Afternoon, Mr. Smith reads a sermon. Two men come from the Fort who will guide and act as interpreters to Boise."

place & almost the only place where we could descend. On the opposite side of the river from where we camped a large fountain issued from the bank several feet above the river. The water burst forth foaming & roaring & formed a stream of considerable magnitude. It is probable that it is the bursting forth of some stream that sinks into the ground as is common in this volcanic ctry.

WED. 8th. Travelled about 14 miles & encamped on a creek about 4 miles above Salmon falls. Soon after arriving went with three others of the company to the falls. Here we found a company of Indians of the tribe called Diggers who visit this place at this season for salmon. Purchased large salmon from two to three feet in length for a fish hook apiece. These Indians are extremely poor, have but little clothing. We found them with nothing but the breech clout on them. They are called Diggers because they subsist considerably on roots except in the salmon season. It is said that many of them die of starvation in the winter. Yet there is nothing in the countenance of these Indians that indicates that they are inferior to other tribes of Indians. They look intelligent & would I presume become a fine people if they should become civilized.

THURS. 9th. Travelled about 27 miles & encamped on the bank of the river. Stopped a few minutes at the fishery. Some of the Indians had clothing. They were dressed in their best I presume for they knew we were coming. Left the river at the fishery & did not strike it again till we had travelled about 25 miles. Here we stopped & dined but as there was no grass, we moved on about two miles further & encamped, where we found grass. At noon an Indian swam across the river with salmon to trade. He had nothing on him but a little bunch of willow twigs tied on before him. The Indians are very careful to have so much of their persons covered. With this they seem very contented. This one made me think of Adam & Eve with their aprons of fig leaves. When we came to camp found nothing of Mr. & Mrs. Gray. They had gone on ahead out of sight & the company let them go for they did not wish to go any farther.⁷¹

FRI. 10th. Travelled about 12 miles & reached the place where Mr. & Mrs. G. were encamped on the bank of the river. They had eaten nothing since their dinner the day before. Thus they were punished for their anxiety to go faster than the company wished to go. Travelled about 10 miles farther & encamped for the night — making 22 miles.

⁷¹ Gray was restless with the progress of the company. At Fort Hall he had brought up the idea for discussion of having him and his wife go on ahead in order to let the Whitmans and Spaldings know of the coming reinforcement. This proposal was not accepted at that time. For this day Mrs. Eells wrote: "Mr. Gray and wife ride on ahead of camp, take a cross cut to where it is suppose the company will encamp; suppose it is about twelve miles. They do not take anything to eat, and have nothing but blankets and saddles for beds." The party did not overtake the Grays until noon the next day.

SAT. 11th. Travelled about 35 miles & encamped on the bank of the river. It was a warm day & we found ourselves much fatigued. Passed a company of Indians in the afternoon.

SAB. 12th. Remained where we were. The day has been extremely warm, so that we have been very uncomfortable.⁷² Several Indians came to our camp this morning & stayed till noon. Only one Sab. more we expect to be on the road. Two weeks from this we expect to spend the Sab with Dr. Whitman.

MON. 13th. Set out this morning at 5 o'clock & travelled between 9 & 10 hours before we stopped, not finding a suitable place to encamp. Travelled not less than 35 miles. Very fatiguing day both for ourselves & animals as they had nothing to eat till we encamped in the afternoon. Some of the animals gave out & were left behind.⁷³ Mr. Gray left us this morning & went on, expecting to get through the journey before us. Encamped on the Snake River.

TUES. 14th. Travelled 25 miles & did not reach the Fort as we expected. Had no one with us who was acquainted with the road on this side of the river. It is usual to cross & get on the other side, but the river was too high to ford.

WED. 15. Travelled about 25 miles & reached Fort Boise. Here we find it necessary to stop for our animals to rest, as they are very much fatigued. Were kindly rec'd at the Fort & many favors shown us. Obtained a plenty of milk & butter & some vegetables.⁷⁴ Have had no milk since we left Fort Hall as we left our cows there & [will] receive cows at the Columbia for them.

THURS. 16. Remain in camp today.⁷⁵

⁷² There were often great variations in temperature while crossing what is now southern Idaho. On August 7th, Mrs. Walker noted that during the previous night "water in a covered dipper froze quite hard." Yet on Sunday, the 12th, all complained of the heat. Mrs. Walker: "So warm we had no meeting."

⁷³ Mrs. Eells: "Left one old horse and one old mule because we could not drive them into camp." Mrs. Walker refers to the lack of forage for the animals: "The animals were very hungry."

⁷⁴ Mrs. Eells: "Feasted with milk, butter, turnips, pumpkins and salmon," and on the 16th she commented: "Milk and plenty of vegetables to eat; heat oppressive."

⁷⁵ Smith failed to make an entry for August 17-20. On August 17th Mrs. Eells wrote: "Some of the gentlemen at the Post send us a piece of sturgeon for breakfast; take a ride in the boat; Mr. Payton [Payette] and Capt. Sutter take tea with us. Our guide and interpreter go back to Fort Hall." Francis Payette was the Hudson's Bay factor in charge of Fort Boise. A city in Idaho was named after him. Mrs. Walker wrote that the women served for tea: "Pumpkin pie, sturgeon and turnips."

On Saturday, August 18th, Mrs. Eells commented: "A restless night; the dogs bark, the wolves prowl, the horses take fright and break loose, some of the men about the Fort have a spree, the wind blew our tent over, the Indians about are watching for an opportunity to take whatever they could get — all cause our sleep to be filled with anxiety and dreams."

MON. 20th. Remained at the Fort till this morning. Here we were very kindly treated by Mr. Payette who has the charge of the Fort. He supplied us with butter, Milk, pumpkins, turnips, green corn, melons &c. Set out this morning & travelled about 28 miles. Stopped at noon on a stream called the Molieur. Here we found hot springs. For several rods along the bank, the water issued so hot that it scalded. Hot springs are very common in this region, indicating that it is a volcanic region. Encamped in the evening at a small spring in the prairie.

TUES. 21st. Travelled about 20 miles. Struck the Snake River at noon & rested ourselves & animals & in the afternoon crossed over to the Burnt River & followed up it a short distance & encamped.

WED. 22nd. Travelled about 10 miles up the Burnt River along a very rough road & encamped at 10 o'clock on account of the sickness of a squaw that belonged to one of our men.

THURS. 23d. Last night three horses from our company were stolen, as we supposed by a small party of Diggers who were at our camp yesterday. They were tracked some distance from the camp & it was evident that they did not go away without men with them. Two of the horses belonged to one of our hired men. We managed to get along without them. Moved in the afternoon & travelled about 13 miles & encamped on a small creek running into Burnt River.

FRI. 24th. Travelled about 25 miles & reached the Lone Tree as it is called, a single Pine tree standing alone in the Prairie. Here we found a Kayuse sent on by Dr. Whitman to meet us & conduct us on our way. Mr. and Mrs. Gray who went on before us before we reached Boise, we learned had arrived in safety.⁷⁶

SAT. 25th. Set out this morning & travelled 15 miles before we stopped at noon. Crossed the Powder River & nooned on a branch of it. Found the grass nearly all burnt up. An immense tract of country has recently been burnt over. Probably the fire was set by some Indians. Went on in the afternoon about 12 miles. Here myself & Mrs. S. were obliged to stop behind the camp with one of our hired men whose squaw could go no farther. Encamped by a cool spring of water in a little grove of timber about 4 o'clock. Before sunset a little half breed was added to our company. The squaw was able to take

⁷⁶ The restless Grays had finally broken away from the main party on August 15th when the missionaries were encamped at Fort Boise. They made good time through to Waiilatpu for a returning messenger met the reduced party at the Lone Tree nine days later. The reenforcement then learned that Spalding had been holding "protracted meetings" for the Indians at Waiilatpu during most of August and was eager to return to his station at Lapwai. Mrs. Eells wrote that they were urged to make "all possible speed" and that Spalding would await their arrival.

care of her own child & soon was up and seemed well as usual. They mind but little about such things.⁷⁷

SAB. 26th. Set out this morning to overtake our company. Found them encamped about 5 miles from the place where we started. Here we spent the remainder of the day. It was in the borders of the Grand Round. Our squaw seemed as well as ever.

MONDAY, 27th. Set out this morning early, but were hindered by an accident which happened to one of our company. Mr. Rogers was thrown from his horse & so badly injured that he was unable to go on with the company. Remained behind with him & bled him & overtook the company in the afternoon on the creek about 10 miles from the place we started. Here we found it necessary to stop with Mr. R. & the company except one of the hired men went on.⁷⁸ Encamped in a beautiful place on the creek where the soil is fine for cultivation. This would be a good place to settle. Several natives came to see us.

TUESDAY, 28th. Set out in the afternoon & travelled about 12 miles & encamped on another creek which passes through the Grand Round. Two Indian boys remained with us.

WED. 29th. Set out in the morning & travelled about 10 miles & reached the foot of the mountain. Passed the village of the Kayuses⁷⁹

⁷⁷ The squaw was the Nez Perce wife of James Conner, a mountain man, who accompanied the missionaries after they left the Rendezvous. He later entered the employ of Spalding at Lapwai. Mrs. Walker wrote: "Conner's wife gave birth to a daughter. She followed camp about thirty miles." Mrs. Eells stated: "Mr. C. Mr. Smith and wife stop with her and do not get into camp." They caught up with the party the next day. The ability of the Indian women to take childbirth so casually was an amazement to the white women. The next day Mrs. Eells wrote: "Mrs. C. brings an infant daughter; suppose she rode twenty-five miles yesterday, fifteen to-day."

⁷⁸ Since Rogers was injured and could not keep up with the others, the Smiths agreed to tarry with him. The Conners also remained behind. The others pushed on and reached the Whitman station on Wednesday, August 29th. On that day Mrs. Eells recorded her impressions: "Met Mr. Spaulding and wife with Dr. W. and wife, anxiously awaiting our arrival. They all appear friendly and treat us with great hospitality. Dr. W's house is on the Walla Walla river, which flows into the Columbia river, and is about twenty-five miles east of Fort Walla Walla; it is built of adobe, (mud dried in the sun in the form of brick, only larger.) I can not describe its appearance as I can not compare it with anything I ever saw. There are doors and windows, but they are of the roughest kind; the boards being sawed by hand and put together by no carpenter, but by one who knew nothing about such work, as is evident from its appearance.

"There are a number of wheat, corn and potato fields about the house, besides a garden of melons and all kinds of vegetables common to a garden. There are no fences, there being no timber to make them of at this place.

"The furniture is very primitive. The bedsteads are boards nailed to the side of the house, sink fashion, then some blankets and husks make the bed; but it is good compared with traveling accommodations."

⁷⁹ The Kayuses or Cayuse was the name of a small tribe of Indians which spoke the Nez Perce language and lived in the vicinity of the Whitman station at Wailatpu.

on the way. They seemed quite glad to see us. At the foot of the mountain we met one of our hired men who had gone on with Mr. Gray. He had come with an Indian boy to meet us. In the afternoon travelled 20 miles & reached the top of the mountain. Our rout lay through a tract of heavy timber. Pine, spruce, & fir grow here in great abundance. We had to travel much of the way rather slow, on account of the trees that had fallen across the path & the thick timber. Encamped on the borders of a small prairie among the timber.

THURS. 30th. This morning myself & Mrs. S. took two fresh horses brought by those who came to meet us & set off before the rest with two Indian boys to guide us. For 6 or 7 miles travelled among the thick timber & then the timber became more scattered. At length we reached the plain at the foot of the mountain & in about 2 hours more we found ourselves at Dr. Whitman's house. We must have rode from 25 to 30 miles. We found Dr. W's house on the bank of a beautiful creek where the land is very good. Were very cordially rec'd by Dr. W. & Mr. Spaulding. They seemed to be much rejoiced that laborers had come to their help. It was indeed a time of rejoicing when we all met together. Dr. W. has a fine garden for this country, and it seemed good once more to get hold of some good potatoes & other vegetables. He had also a plenty of good melons which were indeed very grateful. Dr. W. has a good crop of wheat, corn & potatoes & is in a good condition to live. His house is rather a rough one, but one part of it of logs, which was built the first year, the part added to it of dobies or clay dried in the sun. He expects to build a better one before winter.

FRI. 31st. Spent the day in consulting about matters pertaining to the mission & making arrangements for our future labors. The Indians seemed very glad that we had come to settle with them. Last evening we had a talk with them. We told them our object in coming & they expressed their feelings respecting it. They said they were very thankful. Many of them attended worship with Dr. W. both night & morning. They seem quite devotional. They never eat till they have asked a blessing.

SAT. SEPT. 1st. Spent the day in further consultation. It was settled that I should remain with Dr. W. Mr. Gray with Mr. Spaulding and Mrs. Walker & Eells go to a new station near Colville.

SAB. 2nd. Had a very interesting day. Had a sermon preached, united with the little mission church,⁸⁰ & today celebrated the Lord's

⁸⁰ The First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, which was the first Protestant church to be organized on the Pacific Coast, was formed on August 18th, shortly before the arrival of the reenforcement. Later this became a point of criticism by Smith. Although called a Presbyterian Church, it was partly Congregational. Spalding was a New School Presbyterian minister and at that time this branch of Presbyterianism and the Congregational church were closely associated in a Plan of Union adopted in 1801. The Old School branch of the Presbyterian Church had rejected the Plan of Union in 1837.

The members of the reenforcement were much impressed with the success of

Supper. It was indeed an interesting season. Our own souls were truly refreshed.

MOND. 3d. Today is the monthly concert. Spent this together. Had an interesting time.

TUESDAY 4th. Mr. Spaulding & Gray left us for their field of labor. Went into the cornfield to oversee the natives in gathering the corn. They were mostly women & children. They husked & brought to the house about 50 bushels. They are paid for their work out of the corn they husk.

FRI. 5th. Spent most of the day in making a corn crib. Built it of logs like a log house.

the work of Whitman and Spalding and the evident cordiality of the natives. Mrs. Walker wrote on August 30th. "Before breakfast and supper the Indians were collected. In the morning one prayer was offered in English and one in Indian. It was truly effecting to witness what two years had accomplished among this people. The Missionaries addressed the people; then several of the chiefs replied. It was to us an interesting scene."

At Wailatpu

Smith's first letter to the Board following his arrival in Oregon breathes more optimism than he ever displayed again. He signed himself, as in the case of the letter dated July 10th written from the Rendezvous, "Very affectionately yours." Later his closing salutations became more formal. Spalding always spelled his name without the "u". Later the members of the 1838 reenforcement spelled it correctly. Wioletpoo is later spelled Wailatpu.

WIELETPOO Sept. 15th 1838

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, MS.

MY DEAR SIR, Through the kindness & tender mercy of our God we have been preserved through our long & tedious journey, & brought in health & safety to this place. Surely goodness & mercy have followed us every step of our way & we have abundant reason for gratitude to God for his great kindness to us.

On the 30th of Aug. all our company were at Dr. Whitmans. Here we found Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding waiting our arrival & our meeting together was a time of general rejoicing. They rejoiced that brethren & sisters had come out to their help, & we rejoiced that our journey was ended & that we were safely in the fields of our labor. A few days were spent together in prayer & consultation. It was agreed that Brs. Walker & Eells should establish a new station in the region of Colville; Br. Gray be located with Mr. Spaulding, & myself with Dr. Whitman. Brs. Walker & Eells left this place a few days since to explore & select a place for their station. Their wives in the meantime remain at this place.

My expectations respecting the climate of this region I think will be fully realized. From what I have already seen & learned from those on the ground, I think it must be one of the finest climates in the world. The land at this station is of good quality & produces fine crops, yet the amount of land fit for cultivation is not very great, being confined principally to the banks of the streams. The high land is too dry & barren.⁸¹ The soil of the low land is excellent, being a mixture

⁸¹ The missionaries did not appreciate the agricultural possibilities of the high ground. They would be amazed to see the rich wheat land that is now being cultivated throughout the Palouse country on these high dry hills.

of clay so that it contains moisture during the summer months when there is no rain & nothing seems to suffer from drought. Crops of every kind are good. Dr. W. has about 17 acres under cultivation. I never saw better wheat in any place than he has raised here. From 2½ acres it is thought there will be from 75 to 100 bushels. His crop of corn was good. It is all harvested & amounts to about 300 bushels. He has about 6 acres of potatoes, which he thinks will yield 1000 bushels. His garden is filled with an abundance of vegetables of various kinds. Thus you see at this station we have an abundance of the principal necessities of life, but we labor under a great disadvantage, for we have no mill nearer than 200 miles to grind our grain, & much time is consumed in pounding it in a mortar.⁸² We labor under the same disadvantage in many respects from the want of tools & other conveniences to save labor.

At this station wood is quite scarce & we think it important that we have stoves in order to save wood. All our building timber that is fit for the purpose has to be brought 20 miles from the mountains. The boards are sawed with the pit saw in the mountains & the boards brought to this place on horses with one end dragging on the ground. One horse will bring in 6 heavy boards in this way. There is a great abundance of excellent pine & spruce 20 or 30 miles distant on the mountains.

As a field for missionary labor, this seems to be one of peculiar interest. The people seem truly to be seeking after the truth. Yet it is very evident that their hearts are opposed to God & we find them extremely selfish. They seem to be very conscientious with regard to the observance of the sabbath & morning & evening prayers, but with most of them the character of the Pharisee is plain to be seen. They need to have their hearts searched by a plain presentation of gospel truth. When we become so well acquainted with the language that we can present the truth before their minds in a clear & forcible manner, if we labor in faith & with prayer, we have reason to expect that there will be a glorious work among this people. But let it be remembered that this is still a heathen people & it will require time & labor to elevate & enlighten their minds, change their habits, & remove their prejudices. Yet there is nothing discouraging, but we have great encouragement to labor for the salvation of this people.

Very affectionately yours,

A. B. SMITH

(Recd. May 29th, 1839)

The quadruple bridal tour was over. It was indeed one of the most

⁸² Smith at first accepted the conviction held by Whitman and Spalding that the Mission must erect a mill. In his letter to Greene, of April 29, 1839, Smith explains why he had changed his mind on this subject.

remarkable in the annals of western travel. The successful completion of the journey by the four missionary women, with the knowledge that they were preceded two years previously by two other women, prepared the way for the thousands who came a little later by covered wagons. The daring and stamina especially of the four women who endured the privations and hardships of the difficult journey, sometimes with tears, excite our admiration.

In a letter to Greene dated October 15, 1838, Walker commented on the reactions of the party to the overland route as follows:

While I am on the subject of the journey permit me to say a few things in regard to Missionaries crossing the Mountains. So far as my opinion goes, it would be against their so coming; & I believe that most of our company would, if they were to come to this country again, & could, would prefer to come by water.

Walker mentioned especially the objection of the missionaries to travelling on Sunday. He thought that perhaps the overland trip might be preferred if a company of missionaries was large enough to go independently and thus be able to rest on Sundays. "I cannot think that it is proper for any company to come in the manner we did," Walker concluded, "& I should make voyage by water before I am prepared to give advice for associates coming to this country to take the mountain route."

In November 1840 the Board sent two more couples to the Oregon Mission — the Rev. and Mrs. J. D. Paris and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Rice. They were sent by sea. However, when they reached the Sandwich Islands on May 21, 1841, they were detained there because of the discouraging reports of the condition of the Oregon Mission.

Although the account of the westward journey of the reenforcement of 1838 is marred by the incidents of petty bickerings and disagreements, it would be charitable to remember the background of inconveniences, discomforts, and fatigue. Under such adverse conditions even the most placid disposition could easily have become upset.

SMITH EXPLORES FOR A STATION

On Sunday, September 2nd, the thirteen members of the Mission gathered in a worship service. Walker was selected to preach and he took for his text the words found in John 15:8: "Herein is my Father glorified." Little imagination is needed to suggest some thoughts which Walker could have woven around that text. Each of those present had gone forth as a voluntary exile into what they called a "heathen" land. They had gone forth without the promise of a salary. The Board had merely assured them that it would pay travel and necessary living expenses. Nothing was said about educational grants for children, furlough allowances, or retirement benefits. The appointment was supposed to be for life. They went forth motivated with a passion for

souls, believing that it was possible to convert and civilize the savage. Their laurels would be redeemed lives.

The business meeting of the Mission, which began on Saturday, continued over through Monday. Spalding, who was eager to return to his station, left on Tuesday. Several important decisions with far-reaching implications were made in those two days devoted to business. Spalding was elected Moderator and Walker, clerk. Walker wrote to Greene on October 15th sending the following summary of the business transacted:

The resolutions passed at the meeting were the following

1. That we apply ourselves to the study of the native language & reduce it to writing.
2. That the press, Printer, type, paper & binding apparatus offered by the Sandwich Island Mission be accepted.
3. That a Prudential Committee be appointed whose business it shall be to superintend the Press, mills, blacksmith shop, sign drafts & to consist of Messrs. Spalding, Whitman & Walker.
4. That one new Station be commenced some where in the Flat Head language.
5. Messrs. Walker & Eells go to the New Station.
6. That Brother Gray for the present be transferred from the New Station to the Central Station. Mr. Gray was originally designated to the Flat Head language by the first company that came out.
7. That instruction be given in the native language so far as the immediate benefit of the native tribes demand; but for their permanent benefit we will introduce the English language as fast as expedient.
8. That brother Smith reside with Dr. Whitman.
9. That a corn & flour mill be erected at the central station as soon as our means will admit.
10. That a blacksmith shop be erected at the same place.
11. That committees be appointed to correspond with the Mission of the Board & those under direction of other denominations:
 - Mr. Eells – Africa
 - Mr. Walker – Western Asia
 - Mr. Smith – Southern Asia
 - Mr. Gray – Nestoria
 - Mr. Spalding – The Sandwich Islands & Red River
 - Dr. Whitman – Missions in the Indian Country
12. That one of our number go to Vancouver.
13. That Dr. Whitman go to Vancouver.
14. That we have a yearly meeting.
15. That our Methodist brethren be invited to meet with us by delegates or otherwise.

One of the most difficult questions settled at this two-day meeting was the distribution of the reenforcement. In Spalding's letter to Greene, of October 15, 1842, written after he had learned of his dismissal from the Mission, he 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." Whitman showed no eagerness to have him stay at Wailatpu, so Spalding accepted him as an associate at Lapwai.

Likewise there was some question as to just where Smith would settle. Eells and Walker made it clear that they did not want Smith associated with them in the Flathead or Spokane station. (Since the Spokanes spoke a dialect of the Flathead tongue, this station was sometimes referred to as the Flathead mission.) So by elimination Smith was assigned to Wailatpu.

The official report of the meeting sent by Walker to Greene made no mention of Rogers. From other sources it is learned that Rogers was received somewhat as a corresponding member of the Mission since he had not been officially appointed by the Board. He was voted a compensation of £25 per annum. The financial reports of the missionaries were often stated in English currency as they found it necessary to deal with the Hudson's Bay Company, an English concern. Rogers was asked to assist Whitman at Wailatpu.

Walker and Eells left on September 8th to explore the Spokane country for a possible location. They returned on October 15th and reported that they had selected a promising site about twenty-five miles northwest of Spokane Falls on the trail that led to Fort Colville at a place called Tshimakain or "the place of springs." They made a beginning on the erection of cabins before returning to Wailatpu.

Wailatpu was crowded during the winter of 1838-39 as the Walkers and the Eells were not able to leave for their station until March 5, 1839. The main part of the Whitman house measured 30 x 36 feet. In addition there was a "leantoo 12 feet between joints," as Mrs. Whitman described it in a letter she wrote to her mother on February 18, 1837. The Whitmans had a bedroom at one end of the house and at the other was another bedroom and a pantry. In between was the "kitchen" with a large fireplace. Mrs. Whitman boasted of "a twelve lighted window on each side" of the fireplace. The reference here is to the number of panes of glass in each window. If we consider the leanto as a separate bedroom, then the Whitman home had but three bedrooms to take care of four couples, the Whitman child, and Rogers. On December 7th, Mrs. Walker gave birth to a boy, Cyrus Hamlin. Thus, during the winter of 1838-39, eleven people — four couples, two children, and a single man — were crowded into a house originally built to accommodate a family of three.

During the winter, Smith became increasingly unhappy. The crowded condition in the Whitman home, the many inconveniences, the petty incidents which caused hurt feelings and sometimes tears for the women, all combined to give him a desire to have an independent station. So with some native guides, Smith set out on an exploring expedition which took him into the northern parts of what is now Walla Walla and Columbia counties of the state of Washington. Smith left Waiilatpu on Wednesday morning, December 5th, and returned on Saturday, the 8th. He kept daily entries in his Diary during this time, writing about 1,000 words. However, since most of this deals with a detailed description of the country traversed, only a few extracts will here be given.

DEC. 5th. . . . Set out this morning to visit the Tukannon River and examine the land.⁸³ About 12 miles from this place reached a beautiful valley called the Sutuksnima; so called from a root Sutuks which the Indians dig here. . . Here is evidently the richest land I have seen since I left the beautiful prairies. . . About 13 miles farther we reached the Toosha, a beautiful little river about the same size as the Walla Walla. . . There is an abundance of grass along this stream & it must be one of the finest grazing countries in the world. . . Animals feed out here all winter. Followed up the river about 5 miles & encamped for the night. . .

6th. . . . Followed up the Toosha about 10 miles & then struck over the high lands towards the Tukannon. . . The distance from the Toosha to the Tukannon must have been 15 miles & perhaps more. . . Found a road along the bank of the river. Followed down perhaps 8 miles & came to the forks. . . It must have been about 12 miles from the forks to the mouth of the river. . .

7th. This morning as we were making preparations to start, an Indian, one of the Paluses, came to our camp. He directed us to a road leading directly from the mouth of the Tukannon to the Toosha. . . On the south bank of the Tukannon we found a little bottom which seemed better than the opposite side. . . Here in several spots the Indians had planted corn, but it had not come to perfection. It was about 2 feet in height but the ears had never set. . .

8th. Reach home early in the afternoon. . .

⁸³ The Tucannon, a tributary of the Snake River, arises in the Blue Mountains. One of its branches is the Pataha often mentioned by the missionaries. Another stream mentioned by Smith is the Touchet, which empties into the Walla Walla, a tributary of the Columbia. The trail followed by Lewis and Clark in 1806 from Walla Walla to the Clearwater was a commonly travelled Indian road which went up part of the Touchet valley, over the divide to the Tucannon, and along the Pataha for a ways, and then across country to the Snake River. Smith followed this trail for a time when on his exploratory trip.

THE WINTER OF 1838-39

Smith was looking for a possible mission site which would combine fertile land with plenty of good timber and water. Of course, there must also be Indians. Nothing materialized from this exploratory trip except the realization that if he were to move from Waiilatpu, he should go up into the heart of the Nez Perce country. This conclusion was no doubt fostered by the advice of his Indian teacher, Lawyer.

Among the natives most friendly to the missionaries was Ish-hol-hoats-toats, (or, according to Gray, Hol-lol-sote-tote), who was nicknamed Lawyer by the mountain men because of his astuteness. Lawyer's mother is supposed to have been a Flathead woman and his father was Chief Twisted Hair, one of the chiefs of the upper Clear-water Valley who welcomed Lewis and Clark in the fall of 1805. Thus Lawyer grew up learning the native tongue of both his mother and his father. Through his contacts with white men, Lawyer had picked up some knowledge of English. There was no one better prepared and more willing to serve the missionaries at Waiilatpu as a teacher than was Lawyer. He spent the winter of 1838-39 at Waiilatpu. Since the Walkers and the Eells were planning to settle among the Spokanes, Lawyer gave them an introduction to that tongue, as the dialect the Spokanes spoke was akin to the Flathead language. At the same time, Lawyer began Smith's study of the Nez Perce tongue. Since Lawyer came from Kamiah, it seems probable that he impressed upon Smith the advantages which that place offered for a mission station. Kamiah possessed all of the natural resources needed and it was also the home of one of the largest bands of the Nez Percés. The more discontented Smith became with the confinements of Waiilatpu, the more attractive Kamiah appeared.

Smith writes only intermittently in his Diary during the next two years. Much of the material therein written is expanded in his letters to Greene. Along with the excessive criticism of some of his fellow-workers, especially of Spalding, Smith wrote at length about the customs and traditions of the Nez Percés. No traveler among the Nez Percés of this early day has given us such a rich detailed account of the daily lives of these Indians as has Asa B. Smith.

During January, 1839, Spalding held a "protracted meeting" for the Indians at Lapwai when as many as 2,000, according to his estimate, attended. The results were most encouraging. Since he was eager to get the mills, which had been authorized, erected, Spalding wrote to the brethren at Waiilatpu asking for help. Walker and Smith left on February 11th and made the 120-mile journey in two days. Thus with Rogers, who had gone to Lapwai previously, there were five of the seven men of the Mission at that place. In their informal discussions

about mission politics, so many issues arose on which there were divided opinions that all felt a special meeting of the Mission was imperative. Smith especially was critical and vocal. He wanted to start a new station at Kamiah and declared that "he would leave the Mission rather than be connected with Dr. Whitman."

On February 14th a messenger was sent to Waiilatpu calling for the presence of Whitman and Eells at Lapwai. The two men, with Mrs. Whitman, arrived at Lapwai on February 22nd. Spalding's Diary, which began November 26, 1838, and which follows in the latter part of this volume, reveals some of the crosscurrents which were separating the Mission into little islands of suspicion and misunderstanding. As soon as possible the special meeting was called to order. Again Spalding was made Moderator and this time Smith was chosen Scribe. The meeting, which began on a Saturday, was adjourned over Sunday and reconvened on Monday. The business was concluded on Tuesday. The fact that the men took three days to debate the issues shows the extent of the difficulties.

Added to Smith's adamant insistence upon the necessity of living apart from the Whitmans, was the conviction of the Walkers, the Eells, and the Spaldings that the Mission doctor should be more centrally located. Tshimakain, where the Walkers and Eells were to live, was 175 miles north of Waiilatpu. As a possible solution to the difficulties existing between the Smiths and the Whitmans was the idea that the Whitmans should move to a new location more central and that Waiilatpu be turned over to the Smiths. Locations on the Tucannon or the Palouse, the latter of which joined the Snake River from the north below the mouth of the Tucannon, were suggested. After long debate Smith's proposal to move to Kamiah was rejected and the alternate suggestion of the Whitmans moving to the Palouse accepted. Mrs. Whitman blamed Spalding for the vote for, in a letter to her father dated October 10, 1840, she wrote: "Every mind in the mission that he has 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." It does not appear that Smith was desirous of getting the Whitman station. He merely wanted to live apart from the Whitmans. The major reason for the vote seems to be the desire of the others to have the doctor more centrally located.

The Mission also voted to place the printing press, which was to come from the Sandwich Islands, at Lapwai. Gray was instructed to take charge of the blacksmith shop, the mills, and the farm at Lapwai, thus freeing Spalding for the study of the language, translation work, and evangelizing. As will be noted in Spalding's Diary, this arrangement did not work out satisfactorily.

Whitman asked Spalding to assist him in selecting a location for a new station on the Palouse. On March 8th Spalding met Whitman, the

Walkers, and the Eells at a point on the trail leading from Walla Walla to Spokane. The Walkers and the Eells were then on their way to their new home at Tshimakain. The four men discussed the advisability of Whitman leaving Waiilatpu. By this time Mrs. Whitman had voiced her strong opposition to the proposal. She and her husband had put so much hard work into developing Waiilatpu that she was loath to leave it and start anew. The four men now doubted the wisdom of the vote of the Mission requiring the Whitmans to make a change.

Walker and Eells continued on their way while Whitman and Spalding made some explorations of the Palouse country without finding anything suitable. On March 23rd, Whitman and Smith arrived at Lapwai to discuss their problem with the men there. After two days of discussion, Spalding wrote in his Diary, "came to no conclusion." Whitman and Smith started back to Waiilatpu on March 25th, and on April 1st Spalding received word from Whitman to the effect that he and his wife had decided not to move.

Smith's unhappiness is revealed in a personal letter he wrote to Walker from Waiilatpu on March 28, 1839, in which he said in part:

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. 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.

The prospects of this mission I assure you look dark to me. What is before us 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.

And in another letter to Walker dated April 20th, Smith wrote: "The Dr. expects to remain here himself & expects that I shall leave in the autumn. . . He says much about my going to the upper country of the Nez Percés."⁸⁴ Thus, according to Smith, Whitman began urging the advantage of going into the very heart of the Nez Perce country for the study of the language.

Within six months after his arrival in Oregon, Smith was completely disillusioned regarding the flattering prospects of the Mission as had been set forth by Spalding in some of his early letters to the Board, portions of which had been published in the *Missionary Herald*. Unhappy in his personal relationships with his colleagues, Smith became increasingly critical of the policies of the Mission. His letter of April 29th to Greene, which follows, reflects this attitude.

⁸⁴ The original letters are in the Coe Collection, Yale University.

WIELETPOO, OREGON TERRITORY
April 29th, 1839

TO THE PRUDENTIAL COM. OF THE A.B.C.F.M.
BOSTON, MASS.

REV. & HON. SIRS. A draft on the treasury of your Board for the expenses of this mission during the past year has already been forwarded to the Treasurer, amounting to £ 595 . . . 1 s. For the expenditure of my portion of that sum I report as follows.

For clothing, bedding &c	15	8	8
Stationary	1	18	
Provisions, Groceries &c	9	17	9
Household furniture	12	18	1
Framing utensils	1	5	11
Packing boxes, begs & Freight	4	5	10
Articles for Indian Trade	1	15	2
Expenses of the journey after leaving the Rendezvous	10	1	1
My proportion of the general expenses of the mission	17	15	3
Expenses for hired service	12	0	0
1 yoke of oxen	10		
Whole amount	97	5	9

This bill may appear to you very large, but I do not see how my individual expenses could have been much diminished. Arriving here as we did with merely nothing we must of course be at considerable expense for clothing, furniture &c in order to make us comfortable.

What we brought with us was packed on mules 2000 miles across the mountains & the labor of this packing performed by my own hands. 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. The labor which I performed on the journey was full equal to that of a man in our employment who rec'd \$25 . . . pr month. This was the case with each of us till we arrived at Fort Hall when our labors were somewhat diminished. The fatigue & labor, & trial of such a journey, I can assure you no one knows till he has made the trial.

When I arrived here I found myself in rags & my "shoes clouted on my feet" by reason of the distance of the journey. I say this not by way of complaint, but merely to show that when we arrived here we had merely nothing & must as a matter of course be at some expense in order to make ourselves comfortable.

I would have given you a list of articles rec'd from Vancouver with the prices, but it would require too long a letter: therefore I have merely given you the amount of the different kinds of articles rec'd. With regard to the expense of goods obtained from the Hon. H. B. Co.

it is something more than the same goods cost in the States generally. Then our freight to Walla Walla costs seven shillings sterling for every 90 lb. which more than doubles the price of salt. With regard to the price of flour which we were told in Boston was only five dollars pr barrel at Walla Walla, I find it quite different. I am charged for 100 lb of flour at Walla Walla one pound & five shillings sterling. With regard to the general expenses of the mission I have something to say. This expense is incurred in consequence of the mill & Blacksmith's shop. I confess that I voted for both these but if I had had the experience then which I have now I should not have done it. That business was transacted immediately after our arrival, when I now see we were not at all prepared for it. Perhaps however we have learned a lesson by it which we could have learned in no other way. Every thing coming from the blacksmith's shop costs us more than the articles already made at Vancouver & I presume but little more will ever be done with it. With regard to the mill it would benefit merely one station & scarcely at all the others. Brs. Walker & Eells are much nearer Colville where they will be able to obtain all their flour & it is so far from this station as to be of but little benefit. One attempt has been made to obtain mill stones but failed & now we have found that we might dispense with the mill entirely.

I do not say that we have found that a mill of some description is of no consequence to us, for some means of converting grain into an edible state is of great importance: but we have found out a much more economical way. Necessity is the mother of invention. Mr. Spaulding applied water power to a small coffee mill & by that means obtained bread for a large family during the whole winter. This led to the construction of a mill on the same principle only larger. Accordingly at this station we employed a man to construct one for us & put it in operation, for which we give him two horses, which cost about 8 dollars each. I have already obtained nearly the worth of one horse in flour. This answers the purpose well & we need no other. Hand mills would be of great service to us here. Each station, however, can be furnished with a small iron mill of the kind we have at a very small expense. It would be much cheaper than to buy flour. Whether the mill will be built or not I know not.

With regard to the hired service, I have reported for a part of the expense of this station. The men were in employ when I arrived. The wages of one man does not come into this bill, but will be reported in the next, which will make me about six pounds more. In future I shall have in my employment one Owyhee⁸⁵ who receives seventeen

⁸⁵ Owyhee or Hawaii. The Hudson's Bay Company imported Hawaiians as laborers as early as 1810. The Hawaiians proved to be much better laborers than the natives. Whitman secured Joseph Maki and his wife to help him in June, 1838. Smith employed an Hawaiian by the name of Jack.

pounds pr annum. This will be all that I shall need. It is necessary to have some assistance & Indians are not to be depended upon. At a time when most needed they will often leave. Unless we have some assistance we must necessarily spend very much of our time in laboring for our own support. With regard to the oxen, I merely receive them from Dr. Whitman & report 10 pounds for him, as he had a larger bill than he wished to report for. With regard to my expenses for the coming year, I am unable to tell what they will be. It must fall short I think of £ 100 by considerable. I neglected to send for many things last autumn which it has been necessary for me to send for this year, so that I think my family expenses must be a little more than the past year. What general expenses there will be I know not. I hope my bill will not exceed £ 75 yet it may. After this year our expenses will be much less. But as to this mission becoming a self supporting mission it never can till there is a change in the country. Our clothing, furniture, tools, salt &c must come from some other source & there is now no possible way of exchange. Therefore we must have some assistance or go without these articles. If we obtain any thing of the Indians we must have articles to exchange for it.

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.⁸⁶ 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 a very great danger of introducing the habits of civilized life faster than the natives are capable of appreciating them. We might spend our whole time in manual labor for the Indians, but it would only increase their selfishness. But I must close more of these hereafter.

With regard to sending out farmers & mechanics I can see but little good resulting from it. If they come as teachers & are capable of teaching it might be well, but to come merely as farmers & mechanics, at present I see but little prospect of good. We find here an extremely selfish people, who most of them doubtless follow us more for the loaves & the fishes, than for any spiritual benefit. I have deferred writing much respecting the character of this people, till I should become better acquainted with them. First impressions are very liable to be wrong. Selfishness I am inclined to think lies at the foundation of their peculiar religious bias, of which so much has been said.

ASA B. SMITH

⁸⁶ Smith is here beginning to challenge the policy which Spalding and Whitman had previously adopted of settling the Indians.

The Smiths Move to Kamiah

Although Smith, in the above letter, makes no reference to an exploratory trip he made to Kamiah, probably following the Mission meeting held at Lapwai the latter part of February, yet a reference in his letter to Greene, of August 27, 1839, shows that such had been made. In this letter Smith wrote: "This place had never been visited by the brethren till I came here first last winter." No doubt Smith was then so impressed with the possibilities of Kamiah that he was ready to defy the wishes of his brethren, expressed in the February meeting of the Mission, for him not to move to Kamiah.

Spalding, his wife, and their little girl Eliza, visited Watilatpu arriving on April 27, 1839. That day Spalding noted in his Diary: "Mr. & Mrs. Smith expect to leave soon for the Lawyer's country to spend the summer in the language." Yet when Smith wrote to Greene two days later, in the letter given above, he made no mention of that plan. On April 30th Spalding again noted: "Mr. & Mrs. Smith prepare to leave." The Spaldings did not return to Lapwai until May 13th. By that time the Smiths had already passed through that place on their way to Kamiah. Without doubt the Smiths had Lawyer as their guide and assistant.

Among the few extant letters of Mrs. Smith is the following written from Kamiah sometime in June 1839 to Mrs. Walker. The letter reveals something of the primitive conditions under which the Smiths were living and also something of Mrs. Smith's poor health.

NEZ PERCE COUNTRY

DEAR SISTER Was much gratified on receiving your kind letter. It was as unexpected as it was welcomed. It being unexpected might render it the more precious. We are very pleasantly situated this summer in a little grove of pines, & in a little cedar house of three rooms, kitchen, buttery, and bed room. The whole costs about one weeks labor, no floors or windows. But very comfortable & pleasant for us.

Mrs. Gray will tell you that it is not very convenient or pleasant for company, as she had a trial of it. But it was worse than in good weather. I think it will not be consistent for us to see you at Clear Water as Mr. S. is so much engaged in his studies that he can hardly

afford time for any thing else. We shall be happy to receive a visit from you here before you leave & will endeavor to make you as comfortable as circumstances will admit.

When we get into a good house if within — I shall enjoy receiving company much better than we can now. As Mr. S. has only his axe & auger you may judge what furniture we have. I write thus that you may know how to excuse things if you should come. My health is not very good, The pain in my side is evidently increasing, together with a pressure upon my lungs. What is before us we know not. I sometimes feel that my labor here is nearly done. Mr. S. feels very anxious about me. Intends immediately to apply blisters to my side. Love to the Sisters. Yours truly,

S. G. SMITH ⁸⁷

EVENTS WITHIN THE MISSION
SMITH'S LETTER OF AUGUST 27, 1839

The Smiths lived under very primitive conditions during their first summer at Kamiah. Gray evidently helped Smith erect a rude cabin. Spalding, who visited them in July, noted in his Diary for the 9th of that month: "He is living in a very open house without floor or windows, much to the injury I think of Mrs. Smith's health. His food, pudding & milk, is quite too simple I think."

Tragedy struck the Mission on June 23rd when little Alice Clarissa Whitman was drowned in the Walla Walla River which flowed near her parents' home. She was a little more than twenty-seven months old. Spalding, who happened to be suffering from a sprained back, was obliged to go with his family to Fort Walla Walla by canoe. The funeral was held on June 26th. The Whitmans looked upon the death of their child as a judgment of God upon them for their sins. They blamed themselves for much of the discord which had developed within the Mission and sought full reconciliation and forgiveness from all whom they thought they might have wronged. Whitman had considered the possibility, before the death of Alice Clarissa, of leaving the Mission. Now he put aside such thoughts and determined to give himself more completely to his work than ever before.

Spalding persuaded the Whitmans to go back with them to Lapwai after the funeral. All reached Lapwai on July 6th. Two days later Spalding, the Whitmans, and E. O. Hall, who had arrived at Walla Walla on April 29th from the Sandwich Islands to help run the printing press, rode up to see the Smiths at Kamiah. One of the matters they discussed was that of a suitable alphabet. Previously Spalding had devised an alphabet, but a fuller knowledge of the language showed that this was too cumbersome. The missionaries took the

⁸⁷ Original in the Coe Collection, Yale University.

alphabet used in the Hawaiian Islands which consisted of the letters — *a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p,* and *w*. To these twelve letters they added *s* and *t*. Some of the other letters were used in foreign words. This alphabet was formally adopted by the missionaries at their annual meeting held September 10, 1839, at Lapwai.

Smith's letter to Greene, written at Kamiah and dated August 27th, gives his reasons for settling there. He makes some interesting comments on the nature of the language. Smith was a linguist and appreciated the importance of digging out the principles of the Nez Perce grammar. Rogers also turned out to be an apt student of the language but since he had not had an opportunity to study Latin and Greek, he was not as well qualified to compile a Nez Perce grammar.

One of the most interesting sections of the following letter of Smith to Greene gives an account of the Nez Perce "delegation" which visited St. Louis in the fall of 1831. Smith got his information from Lawyer. Smith was loath to ascribe anything but selfish motives to the Nez Perces. If the Indians wanted instruction in the Christian religion, he believed it was for materialistic ends. The manner in which Lawyer linked up the going of the "delegation" with the influence of Spokane Garry indicates a definite religious motivation. The publicity which followed the visit of the four Nez Perces, (one of whom was probably a half-Nez Perce and half-Flathead), was the inspiration which caused the Methodist Board to send out the Jason Lee party to Oregon in 1834, and the American Board to sponsor the Whitman-Spalding party in 1836.

Attached to Smith's letter of August 27th is a postscript, dated September 13th, written from Waiilatpu, in which he commented on the Mission meeting held at Lapwai beginning September 2nd. Walker and Eells were unable to be present. Hall, from the Sandwich Islands, was invited to join the group, and on September 4th Rogers returned from the buffalo country where he had been with a band of Nez Perces during the summer. Smith, who claimed that he had gone to Kamiah for the purpose of mastering the language, requested permission to remain there. His request was granted. By this time Gray was becoming restless and wanted a station of his own. After considerable discussion, he was given permission to explore. Spalding disapproved. This particular vote became the cause for considerable dissension. Gray interpreted it as giving him permission not only to explore but to settle elsewhere, whereas his colleagues said that the motion had granted him only the right to explore. Future action of the Mission was needed.

Another problem which came up for discussion was in regard to the independent missionaries. Two couples arrived in Oregon in August 1839 — the Rev. and Mrs. J. S. Griffin and Mr. and Mrs. Asahel Munger. They arrived without financial resources. The members of

the American Board's Mission found that these uninvited guests presented real problems. Christian charity demanded that they be received. Yet, how could the Mission justify the extra expense involved?

Perhaps the most fundamental problem being discussed by the missionaries was that of settling the Indians. Smith's letter, which follows, does not reflect much of this discussion. However, later he does present his arguments to Greene. Spalding in his Diary entry for September 1st, which was the day before the Annual Meeting of 1840 began, wrote: "Rev. 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." Smith, therefore, was opposed to the construction of mills, the giving of encouragement to natives to build cabins and own cattle, and the introduction of agriculture and irrigation.

Thus we find this little group of missionaries in far-away Oregon working out in the crucible of experience some of the fundamental principles of missionary policies and techniques to be used in the evangelization of the American Indians. The Oregon missionaries had little information as to what other missionaries in this country had done or were doing for their guidance. They were, therefore, pioneers in thinking through some basic principles in the realm of the philosophy of missions. In this debate, which waxed warm during the year to follow, Smith took the negative while Spalding took the positive side.

Smith raised a pertinent question with the Board when he inquired as to the advisability of spending so much money and effort for a tribe which did not number over 3,000, when so many millions elsewhere were without Christian missionaries. He wished that he had gone to Stam and confessed that only the Lord knew why he was sent to Oregon.

The Minutes of the 1840 Annual Meeting were kept by Smith, who was the Recording Secretary. These Minutes, which follow Smith's letter of August 27th, show that considerable time was spent at this meeting in a discussion of the importance of printing some elementary school books in the native languages.

KAMIAH OREGON TER. Aug. 27th 1839

REV. D. GREENE

BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR: As the time for sending letters by way of the Sandwich Islands is at hand, I will devote a portion of the time which I have set apart for writing to my friends to you. I regret that I have not more time to write in order that I might give you information respecting this people, their language &c — I have been so busily engaged for three months past in the study of the language that I have not allowed

myself time to write even to my friends. I have deferred all my letter writing to this late period & it must necessarily be done up in a hurry. I cannot therefore write you so fully & with so much care as I could wish. There are many things concerning which I would like to write you if time will permit.

First I will speak of our present situation &c. You have already heard doubtless that we were stationed at Wioletpoo on our arrival here with Dr. Whitman. We remained there till spring when it was thought best to put myself in a more advantageous situation for acquiring the language as at Wioletpoo the language is imperfectly spoken & no good teachers could be obtained. The Nez Perce is not the native language of those at Wioletpoo & of course they would not speak correctly. Accordingly I set out for this place & arrived here on the 10th of May, where the pure Nez Perces is spoken. This place is about 180 miles from Wioletpoo & about 60 above Clear Water on the same river. This place had never been visited by the brethren till I came here first last winter. It proves to be the most eligible spot for a station in the whole country. Three fourths of the year, autumn, winter & spring the people remain here permanently. In the summer many of them usually go to buffalo. At the other stations very few Indians usually winter. They are obliged to move for game. But here the mountains near by are filled with elk & deer, so that there is no occasion for the people to leave in the winter. I expect that at the annual meeting wh. will be held next week it will be voted that I remain here permanently. At Wioletpoo last winter almost no people at all remained. Some old people & children who were unable to travel were left behind & had it not been that my present teacher was hired to teach Bro. Walker & Eells the Spokane language, I should have had no good instruction during the winter. I enjoyed his instructions sometimes an hour & some times two hours pr day & this is all the time I have been able to devote to study till I came here. For a little more than three months I have labored without interruption. On arriving here I built a house of cedar to answer our purpose for the summer & without a chair or a table commenced my studies. Our house was made by grooving posts & setting them in the ground & filling up the sides with split cedar. The roof was made of dirt, our floor is the ground, our windows are cracks between the timbers, our door is made of cedar split out with an axe. At my leisure I have made some stools to sit on, & a table by splitting a log & putting legs into it. Such is the table on which I am now writing & I assure you notwithstanding all these inconveniences, I enjoy myself in studying as well here as I did in the nicely furnished rooms of Andover.

I have enjoyed the instructions of the best teacher that could be obtained in the country. He exhibits more mind than I have witnessed in any other Indian. He is one who has been much in the mountains

with the American Fur Co. & on account of his knowledge of different languages & his talent at public speaking he was called by them Lawyer, by which name is now generally known. He has stood by me during the summer & been faithful in giving me instruction, for which I have fed him & in part his family & promised him some clothing. This is necessary for Indians always live from "hand to mouth" & their time furnishes them their food & clothing.

I regret that I have not been able to devote more time during the year to close application to the language, because without a knowledge of the language we are entirely useless. We have so much to do to take care of ourselves, build our houses &c. that there is but little time to study. Five months during the year is all the time I have pretended to study. Could I have had the whole time I might have been much farther advanced than I now am. Still however I am so far advanced as to see in some measure what is to be done in order to master the language. The language possesses some of the most striking & interesting peculiarities that even I heard of. I will now just glance at some of the general features of the language.

The number of words in the language is immense & their variations are almost beyond description. Every word is limited & definite in its meaning & the great difficulty is to find terms sufficiently general. Again the power of compounding words is beyond description. Ideas are not expressed by means of small words & particles, but the whole is often thrown into the verb making a compound expressing the whole, as for instance "*Witnasa*" to go, to travel. *Tualawihnasa* – to travel in the rain; *Tautaulawihnasa* – to travel in a rainy night –, (vowel sound same as Hawaiian). This is the general character of the language. Hence the number of words is immense. I have been transcribing from a book of words wh. I had taken down in alphabetical order as I had heard them & have not yet finished the letter S. Words beginning with τ & w remained untranscribed – & I have already written about 7,000 words & when I have time to go through with the other two letters of the alphabet the number will be increased to 10,000 or 12,000 – & all this without writing any of the plurals or oblique cases of nouns or adjectives (personal pronouns excepted, plurals & some of the oblique cases written) or any of the variations of verbs according to mode, tense, number, person, or direction. Should all these forms be written out the number would be immense. The cases of nouns, adjectives, & pronouns are formed by suffix syllables. The prepositions are all suffices like the Hebrew. The adjectives agree in number & case with the nouns. A class of words wh. perhaps might be called adverbial conjunctions vary according to number & person to agree with the verb that follows. This is not the case with the simple connectives. Hence I conclude this must be a class different from the simple conjunctions. There are no relative

pronouns strictly, tho there is a form of expression which answers to it. It is made by means of the demonstrative pronoun meaning *that*, preceded by one of those adverbial conjunctions of *wh*. I have just spoken. In the verb emphatically is the power of the language. The simplest form of the verb signifies simply the performance of our action but here are three forms according to directions as in all other forms of the verb & each of these forms is varied according to mode, tense, number & person. For instance *Kusha*, to go — direction from the speaker. *Kusham* — towards the speaker. The first person present of course can not be used — *Kushanki* — going on from a place to a distance, as going on in the same direction from place to place on a journey. All verbs have these three forms unless it be of such a character as to be incapable of it. Any action or affection terminating on the speaker or having a direction towards him have the termination of the 2nd word, viz, *am*.

The next form of the verb has reference to place that is it signifies to go to another place to perform an action, as — *Kutasa* — or another work *haktasa* — (from *ha-kisa*, simple form) to go to another place to see any thing. This again has two other forms according to the direction. The third form signifies to perform an action for another or to do any thing with what is another's as *Kiansha*, to go for another, or *hahnansha* to see another's as wife, children &c.— (The *K*. always becomes *h* before *n*. This also is varied according to direction the same as the first form & so of every form. Fourth form signifies to go to another place to perform an action for, or with reference to another place, to perform an action for, or with reference to another as — *Kiantasa* or *hahnantasa*, to go to see another's.

There is also a causative form of the same made by prefixing *Shap* as *Shapakusha*, to cause to go, to send. *Shapaksa*, to cause to see, to show, to exhibit. This form goes through all the forms of the simple *kusha*. Another form signifies successive action & is made by prefixing *Wia* as *Wiakusha*, to go one after another. This again is varied in the same way as the simple form *Kusha*. There are also some other prefixes *wh*. modify the verb in the same way as *Tan*, signifying an action formed in the night, *Tuala* — in the rain, &c. Again the verb is varied according to the object — This however I think is only in the singular form of the verb. When the object of the verb is 1st per. sing. the verb has one form — 2d p. sing. another form — 3d. p. sing. another & so of the plural. Thus there are six variations of the verb in the sing — in reference to the object according to number & person. This renders the language very definite & it is not necessary always to express the object. These are some of the peculiarities of the language but, there are many more of a similar character. But perhaps I have forgotten that you may not feel the same interest in this subject that I do & may already have wearied your patience.

In this connection I will speak of an idea that was advanced in the *Herald* from the pen of Mr. Spalding, before I left the States — viz, that this people would learn the English language before the missionaries would be able to learn theirs, so as to supersede the necessity of translating the Scriptures into their language, &c. This was a most pleasing & taking idea in the States, but after witnessing what has been accomplished towards instructing the people in the English language for three years, I must say it appears folly in the extreme & I wonder that I should ever have had any confidence in such an opinion. Not a child can be found who can read a single sentence of English intelligibly & even those young men who have been at the Red River School for 4 or 5 years & some of them were not able to speak their own language when they returned, understood the English language but very imperfectly. They read the New Testament & pretend to communicate from it to the people, but they communicate far more errors than truth & only do mischief instead of good. This opinion has a most pernicious effect on the mind of the missionary himself. It paralyses all effort to acquire the native language & after perhaps three years residence among the people he finds himself far in the rear of those who have been in the language but one year.

The character of this people is a subject wh. deserves notice. Every thing that has been written or that was published before I left the States was in praise of this people so that the impression in the States seemed to be that the people were already christians or certainly almost christians. And sometimes the impression seemed almost to be that this people were destitute of depravity. But the church must learn, if they have not already, that none of the sons & daughters of Adam are destitute of moral depravity. The accounts given of this people's religious character by worldly men, cannot be depended on — & the first account of missionaries even merely from their first appearances & first impressions wh. ought not to be too much relied on. There is some thing in the first appearance of this people wh. strikes the mind very favorably & I should have written much more favorably of them when I first arrived had I heard nothing about them of a different character from what I had read in the States, than I can now.

I have recently been making inquiries of the natives concerning the origin of their notions concerning the christian religion & of the object of those who went to the States as it was said in search of Christian teachers. Untill about ten years ago as near as I can learn from them, they knew nothing of the christian religion or of the Sabbath. My teacher tells me that they had indeed before this seen a flag flying at the Forts of the H.B.C. on certain days & that the men were shaved & dressed different from usual & were engaged in horse racing & gambling, but they knew not then that it was the Sabbath. They had also I think before this seen some white men in the mountains

(catholics) who had told them some things, & before or after this some had learned to make the cross, (probably afterwards) & they had witnessed the celebration of christmas by firing of guns, carousing & intoxication. These were among some of the first ideas they had of religion.

About ten years ago a young Spokane who goes by the name of Spokane Garry, who had been at the Red River School, returned. My teacher, the Lawyer, saw him & learned from him respecting the Sabbath & some other things which he had heard at the school. This was the first that he heard about the Sabbath & it was called by them *Halahpawit*.⁸⁸ He returned & communicated what he had heard to his people. Soon after wh. six individuals set out from the States, in search as he says of Christian teachers. Two of this number turned back in the mountains & the other four went on & arrived at St. Louis when two died, one died soon after having left that place & one alone returned to tell the Story & he is now dead. With what motives these individuals went it is difficult to determine. To suppose that it was any thing but selfish motives, is to suppose that good can come out of the natural heart. Were I to judge of their motives by what I see now among the people I should say it was nothing but selfishness. Doubtless there was curiosity to find out something about the christian religion. There has been much said about the desire of this people for instruction but it is quite evident what it is for. It is not usually the common people that express much desire only the chiefs & principal men. These manifest a great fondness for hearing something new & telling of it & by so doing they gather many about them & increase their influence & sustain their dignity among the people. This has evidently been the case is now.

They have manifested a great desire for missionaries, but there is no doubt but that much of this desire has been the hope of temporal gain. Some of this people had come in contact with the Americans in the mountains from whom they had rec'd more for their beaver than they had from the H.B.C. & this had raised in them a hope of gain from missionaries. It has been said that they were ready to help missionaries & supply their wants. It is true they usually are when they receive a plenty of blankets, shirts, ammunition &c for it, but not very generally without. If we do not pay them well for every thing they do for us, we very soon are called by them a "stingy chief." Such is the character of this people as we see it daily acted out, tho' there is apparently now & then an exception, when a man appears to bear some regard to us as the servants of Christ. If those who went to the States were actuated by good motives, certainly they were different people from what we find here now.

⁸⁸ Timothy, one of the first two Nez Perces baptised by Spalding, called the place where he and his band lived Alpowa — or the place where the Sabbath was observed. This site was on the trail which led from Lapwai to Wailatpu.

This is in fact a heathen people notwithstanding all that has been said in their praise. True they do not worship idols but they have that wh. is equivalent. They formerly worshiped the sun-birds, grey bear & other beasts & even people. Some of this superstition remains to the present time. The most of it is their jugglery over the sick — certain individuals pretend to be "*medicine men*" (tiwat) & are supposed to possess supernatural powers in healing diseases. It is said that they are left out in the woods during the night while young & that the birds converse with them & make known to them that they are possessed of these powers & thus they become medicine men. Some have renounced this delusion & they have come out in opposition to it; others are silent, standing in fear, & may still practice it, & thus in fact worship the birds & the medicine man himself. When one is sick, the medicine man is sent for, if they are in favor of this course, & he performs over the sick day after day his mummerly & if the individual recovers he receives horses or other property as his compensation. He is looked up to as a superior being & even to this day many are afraid if they refuse to obey his orders, he will in some supernatural way destroy their lives. This juggling has been carried on daily for some weeks during this summer within a quarter of a mile of this place & I have had frequent opportunities of seeing it. Several individuals are employed to assist. These all sing an Indian song & keep time by beating on sticks laid before them near the sick for the purpose. The medicine man some times sits, & sometimes stands, swinging his arm, turning himself into various postures, singing, screaming, making most hideous noises, dipping his hands in water & sprinkling it on the sick, then pressing the body of the sick with a most horrid yell as if to force out an evil spirit from the body of his patient.

This people are generally very regular & strict with regard to this worship. But they are like the Pharisees of old. They do it to be seen of men, or as a work of merit. They often tell of their own goodness & labor hard to convince us that they are good. They are self righteous in the extreme. They have no fondness for the plain truths of the gospel. As long as they listened to the interesting historical parts of the bible, they were pleased, but the great truth that all are under condemnation & exposed to the penalty of the law while in their present situation, is very offensive to them. I have seen the same enmity manifested to the truth here that I have in the States. The reason why it was not manifested sooner is because they were not made to understand. But as soon as these plain truths were brought to bear on their minds, they disliked them.

No longer can we be born along by the current of popular favor among this people. The novelty of having missionaries among them is now gone & we must work against the current as much as in any other heathen country. In future it will be uphill work. Indeed I fear after

all that has been said of the readiness of this people to receive the gospel, that the sad story that is told of these Indians on the borders of the States, will soon be told of this people also. What is done for this people must be done quickly. But nothing can be done effectually till the Scriptures are given to them in their own language. Unless we can give them the gospel in their own language, we had better leave the fold. But no one as yet is able to undertake this work.

The language you will readily see from the remarks made concerning it, is one which is not easily obtained. I have however become deeply interested in the study of it. But there is one fact which is exceeding paralyzing to the effort to translate the bible into this language. It is the fewness of the people. The highest estimate has been 5000. All are now convinced that this is much too high an estimate. There are probably from 3000 to 4000 speaking this language. Perhaps my estimate may be too small, taking into account all those who remain constantly in the buffalo country. The thought of spending one's life in translating for such a little handful of people while millions speaking the same language are sitting in darkness, is truly heart-sickening. Had I known what I now do before I left the States, I can not say that I should have been here. The subject of Indian missions is truly discouraging. If they are prosecuted, it must be at a far greater expense than missions in any other part of the world. When the bible is translated into one of these languages, but 2000, 3000, or 5000 usually at most will be benefited by it.

There seems to be no other way in the present state of the church & the world, but for these numerous tribes to perish in their ignorance. The idea is indeed appalling, but from the nature of the case, so far as we can see, it must be so. I cannot say, send more missionaries here, while millions in other parts of the world are sitting in darkness. No, I am almost tempted rather to say send *me* across the Pacific ocean to *Siam* where I may labor for millions speaking the same language. But I am here, & the Lord knows for what purpose & what work he appoints me that I will endeavor to perform. I cannot say send ploughs & cattle for this people. I have no hope of converting them in this way. So far as I can see the tendency is not favorable. This is evidently what they want of us, & the more we do to encourage their selfish desires, the more difficult will it be to bring them under the influence of the gospel. My only hope is in giving them the pure unadulterated word of God & enabling them to understand it. This & this alone I believe will benefit them in this life & in the life to come.

SEPT. 13th at Wioletpoo. The business of our annual meeting has been transacted when it was voted that I should remove to Kamiah, where I have spent the summer & I am now at this place making preparations for moving. Moving in this country is attended with very great labor & considerable expense. All our furniture, clothing, pro-

visions &c must be packed on the backs of horses about 180 miles. The work allotted to me is the translation of some portion of the New Testament. This I feel is a work of great responsibility & at present I am not sufficiently acquainted with the language. I hope however before the close of the year to be able to do something at translating, tho' every effort of this kind for a long time to come, we must expect, will fail of the desired results. Br. Rogers, a young man who came out with us from Cincinnati, is to be associated with me the coming year & will engage in teaching & preparing some school books. He is a valuable helper in the language. He has been with the Indians to buffalo this season & has made great proficiency in the language. He has a natural talent for acquiring language & it is probable that he has surpassed all other white men in the acquisition of the Nez Perce language.

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. Every hour we devote to temporal pursuits to the neglect of the language, is so far removing the time when the gospel shall be translated into the language of this people. I feel that I am the property of the church, & that when I am laboring with my own hands I am not subserving the purpose for which I have been educated, & set apart to the work of the ministry. The time has now come when we are convinced that what we do must be done quickly.

Catholicism is now making his appearance, & the errors of that church are beginning to be diffused among this people. At this very moment the Catholic priest is at Walla Walla instructing the people & the Indians are gathering together there to listen to the false doctrines which he inculcates. Already has the priest denounced us because we have wives & the people told that they are going to hell because they are unbaptised. How much influence this will have on the people we know not. One thing is certain, the natural heart loves such kind of instruction as the Catholics usually give, & we have reason to fear that our work will soon be done up along this people. Had we now a translation of some portions of the bible to put into the hands of the people we might hope to check the progress of error. But without this our efforts will be feeble. What then shall we do? Shall we employ our time in temporal pursuits to the neglect of our appropriate work, or shall we increase our expenses by hiring others to perform the temporal labor that our own time may be employed in our appropriate work? I am now without any house to secure me from the severity of the winter & shall I neglect the translation of God's word or the preparation for this work, & retard the labors of my associates to build my own house. But Providence has assisted me in deciding this question by bringing within my reach a man from the States, whom I have hired for the winter at the rate of 8 dollars pr month & he appears to

be a man who will do good service. I hope by means of his help to spend a good portion of the year in study & therefore my expenses are increased. It will be only that I may devote my energies to the work for which I have been sent to this region.

Think not that this will ever become a self supporting mission. The idea is visionary in the extreme — were there any way of exchange of commodities to obtain our foreign supplies, we might support ourselves. But in this case we must be farmers & traders & our whole time must needs be spent in secular concerns, & how could missionary labor be performed?

The experiment is about being made by individuals from Oberlin — Griffin & Munger from that place have arrived here, the former a minister, the latter a mechanic. They had difficulty between themselves on the journey which was carried to such an extent as to cause them to separate at Fort Hall & from that place they had no connection with each other. They come from the American Rendezvous with Mr. Ermatinger, the gentleman in charge at Fort Hall, to whom their whole conduct was known. The least that can be said is that they have brought themselves & the cause of Christ into disgrace. Munger has given up the idea of sustaining himself & Dr. Whitman has hired him at 8 dollars pr. month. Griffin has gone to Mr. Spalding's where he wishes to furnish himself with means to support himself by working in the black smith's shop. But we can furnish him with work for only one or two months at most. It is utterly impossible for these men to take a single step here without means. We must feed them for the winter, or the H.B.Co. must have mercy on them or they will starve. Already has Mr. Ermatinger brought one of them at his own expense & on his own animals from Fort Hall to this place. The idea of a missionary's supporting himself will answer to talk about in the States, but the experiment cannot be successfully made in this country.

It is our determination not to have any connection in missionary matters with these individuals. If they are hired it is only for manual labor. Already have we given some of the gentlemen of the H.H.B. Co. to understand that these individuals have no connection with us or the A.B.C.F.M. What our prospects are it is difficult to say. Should not any unfavorable influence be felt from the Catholics, we may hope soon to do some thing for the permanent benefit of the people. Our prospects for permanent usefulness aside from foreign influences have never been more favorable than now. The trials & unpleasant feelings occasioned on our journey have all passed away & now a good degree of harmony of feeling prevails. The work is now beginning to be taken hold of at the right end & we may hope through the blessing of God to do some good.

The health of our number is as good as usual except that of Mrs. Eells, who has been & perhaps is now dangerously ill, & that of Mrs. Smith who has been feeble this season in consequence evidently of an

affection of the liver. She has for some time been under the influence of mercurial remedies & I hope that soon her health will be improved.

I shall write you by the express in the spring & also by the man now in my employment who will return next season by the route we came. Please to remember me affectionately to your associates at the Rooms.

Yours, as ever in the fellowship & labor of the gospel

A. B. SMITH.

p.s. I have referred my brother who is at Andover to this letter for information which I have not time at present to write to him.

One question with regard to translation. How shall we translate the word which means baptism, or shall we not translate it at all? The people have applied a name from seeing the ordinance performed but it signifies only application of water to the head. No term can be found which is general. The word applied is *Ipipsasha* (verb). Will it not be better to coin a word from the original term, as *Baptisha*? The great difficulty is to find terms sufficiently general. Yours, &

A.B.S.

MINUTES OF THE 1839 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OREGON
MISSION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD HELD AT LAPWAI,
SEPTEMBER 2-5, 1839

The annual meeting of the Oregon mission was held according to appointment at the house of Rev. H. H. Spalding, Clear Water, commencing on Sept. 2d 1839 & ending on the 5th. Meeting was opened by a sermon from Rev. H. H. Spalding, after which proceeded to business.

Voted. To invite Mr. E. O. Hall of the Sandwich Island Mission to sit with us, & act as corresponding member.

Rev. H. H. Spalding was appointed Moderator & A. B. Smith Recording Secretary & Scribe.

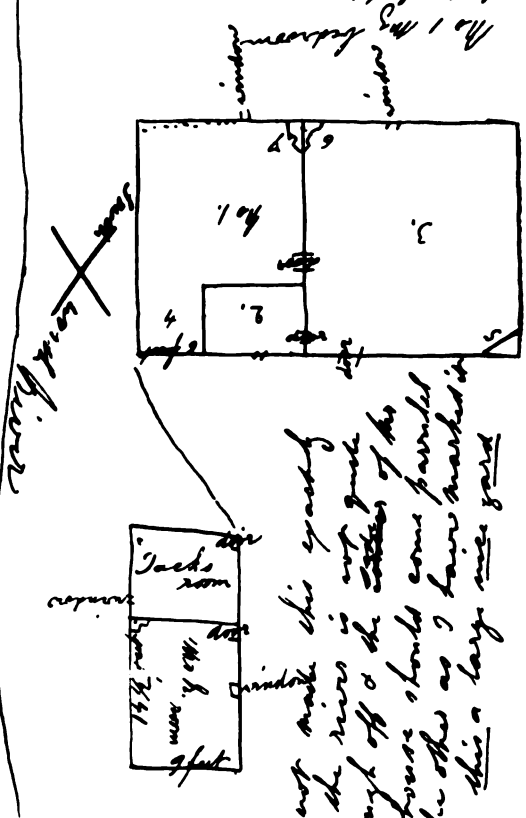
Voted. That the public letters to the mission be read. Letters from Rev. D. Leslie & Rev. D. Greene were read. Also Mr. and Mrs. Hall's letter of introduction from Rev. H. Bingham. Also Mr. Bingham's letter giving account of the contributions of his church to supply this mission with a printing press, apparatus & family supplies.

Messrs. Spalding & Smith were appointed a committee to take into consideration & report resolutions respecting that donation — also to prepare a letter to Mr. Bingham & also to inform the Board of this donation. Voted to adjourn till 3 o'clock.

Met according to adjournment. Prayer by Mr. Gray. Following resolutions were passed — viz. 1. That the vote of the last meeting respecting the removal of Dr. Whitman be rescinded.

2. That Mr. Smith remove from Waiiletpu to Kamiyah to commence a new station.

5 A new bathroom for kitchen at
 kitchen, the entrance
 4 out bed. 9 am going to have
 entrance which will contain
 3 kitchen
 2 bathroom
 No 1 My bathroom
 6 x 7 for kitchen with a little entrance
 1 for kitchen - for Jack's & Thomas's bunk
 1 no get like to have in the pantry



and some dry a little
 in springing I see with up the
 beyond some ponds every valley
 to the top of the mountain
 and in river in river the water
 from his river was very I

The windows are small and 9 lights. In the bedroom that
 has made a part, that case, when I have looked it, the door
 • one large table & a writing table, and left one left one at the kitchen
 There will be no chair and all the furniture will be done, even boxes

FLOOR PLAN OF THE SMITH HOME AT KAMIAH

From Mrs. Smith's letter of December 22, 1839 (see text page 118) which does not indicate the dimensions of their house, but Mr. Smith in his letter of November 11, 1839, states that the kitchen measured 14½ by 15 feet; the buttry or pantry, 5 x 7; and the bedroom, 9½ x 13, plus the nook for the bed, 5 x 6. Thus the overall measurements of the house were 14½ x 28 feet. The cabin nearby had two rooms. Mrs. Smith indicates that the second room was about 9 x 7. See also Smith's letter of August 27, 1839, for more details regarding the building of the house. Note that the two larger rooms had but one window each. From the original letter in the archives of the American Board, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

3. That we accept the kind offer of Mr. Bingham to furnish from the contributions of his church a sufficient amount to support one missionary in this region.

Voted to adjourn till tomorrow morning. Prayer by Mr. Hall.

SEPT. 3d. Met according to adjournment. Prayer by the Scribe. Minutes of yesterdays proceedings were read. Letters from Mr. Greene, rec'd last evening were read. Also one from a society in Philadelphia, & Mr. Spalding was appointed to answer it. Also a letter from Rev. Saml. Parker. Mr. Gray was appointed to answer it.

Resolved. That a committee of three be appointed to write a general letter to the Missionary House by the Express in March next containing statistics, future prospects, &c. Messrs. Eells, Spalding & Smith were appointed that Committee. (I will state here that probably we shall not be able to meet soon enough to have this letter ready to go by that express.)

Resolved. That a report from each station be prepared for every annual meeting, containing a report of the present condition & future prospects & probably expenses of the station for the year to come. Dr. Whitman reported on secular affairs.

Resolved. That the report on secular affairs be accepted & the same committee be continued in office.

Resolved. That Mr. Rogers be invited to prepare a small elementary arithmetic & Mr. Smith his reviewer. Also, that Dr. Whitman be appointed to prepare a reading book & Mr. Rogers his reviewer. Also, that Mr. Smith be appointed to prepare a book containing religious instruction or translation from the New Testament & Mr. Spalding his reviewer. Also, that Mr. Spalding be appointed to prepare a book containing religious instruction from the Old Testament & Mr. Smith his reviewer. Also, that Mr. Walker be appointed to prepare an elementary book in the Spoken language & Mr. Eells his reviewer. Also, that Mr. Eells be appointed to prepare a small arithmetic & Mr. Walker his reviewer. Also, that Messrs. Spalding & Smith be a committee to translate the ten commandments to be published at the Islands under a cut. Also that Messrs. Spalding & Smith be appointed to prepare hymns in the native language & [be] each others reviewers.

A proposition was presented by Dr. Whitman & Mr. Gray for the relief of the missionaries to supply each annually with provisions & to furnish them as soon as possible with houses & furniture. Adjourned till afternoon. Prayer by the Moderator.

Afternoon met according to adjournment. Prayer by Dr. Whitman. The proposition of Dr. W. & Mr. Gray was discussed, when it was found that the expense of packing provision to the stations would cost more than to raise it on the ground. Accordingly that part of it was dropped & it was *Resolved.* That the proposition of Mr. G. to assist the missionaries in building houses & making furniture be accepted.

Voted to adjourn till tomorrow. Prayer by Mr. Gray.

SEPT. 4th. Met according to adjournment. Prayer by Dr. Whitman. The following resolutions were passed, viz.

1. That the secular committee be the printing committee.
2. That we consider school instruction in the *native language* an important branch of our operations & that each member of the mission give as prominent attention to this department of labor as his circumstances will admit.
3. That we invite Mr. Rogers to sit with us & act as a corresponding member of this body.
4. That we have a recess for prayer & conference together to meet at the ringing of the bell.

Afternoon — met according to adjournment. Prayer by the scribe. The following resolutions were passed — viz.

1. That Mr. Rogers be requested to cooperate with Mr. Smith in his labors at the station to which he has been designated.
2. That this mission deeply appreciate the truly kind & christian labors of Mr. E. O. Hall with us, especially in arranging our printing establishment & printing for us the first book in this language.
3. That Mr. Smith be a committee to present this resolution to Mr. Hall.
4. That Mr. Gray be instructed to explore the Yankoomoo, Auhai, Cootenae & Coeur de Lion countries with a view to select a suitable place for a station in one of the above named countries.
5. That Mr. Gray be at liberty to assist Dr. Whitman in mechanical labor.
6. That Mr. Smith be appointed to answer the letter of Mr. Bingham introducing to us Mr. & Mrs. Hall from the Sandwich Island Mission.
7. That the committees for Foreign correspondence stand for the ensuing year.
8. That the secular committee be instructed to make arrangements for the next annual meeting & call a semi annual meeting if required.
9. That the secular committee be appointed to make arrangements to meet the expenses of Mr. Hall in this country.

Voted to adjourn till tomorrow morning Sept. 5.

Met according to adjournment. Prayer by Dr. Whitman. Minutes of the meeting were read. *Resolved*, that we accept the minutes as just read. Voted, to adjourn till the calling of another meeting by the secular committee. Prayers by the Moderator & Scribe.

Signed, H. H. SPALDING, Moderator
A. B. SMITH, Scribe

[Note on letter — Recd 8th Feb. 1841. Ackd. in genl let 8 Mar. 1841. D.G.]

TWO LETTERS FROM MRS. SMITH TO MRS. WALKER

Two letters from Mrs. Smith may be inserted here for the light they throw upon the problem of the independent missionaries and of the conditions under which the Smiths were living at Kamiah. As will be noted in Spalding's Diary for September 24th, his potato crop was "very good but small." This was because of the drought of that year. Mrs. Smith makes reference to a census of the Nez Perces which her husband and Rogers were making and of which Smith wrote later to Greene. The following letter was addressed to "Mrs. Eells & Walker."

KAMIAH, Dec. 18, '39

DEAR SISTERS: This morning Mr. S. has put a blister on my spine as he says, to keep me still, & threatens to continue it till I will become obedient, so you see what is before me. It is not very pleasant but if I can be benefited by it in any way I shall be glad. O I want to see you more than words can express. Somehow or rather I feel very differently towards you two than to either of the other sisters. If I could see you what a good long talk we would have. But that cannot be for a long time yet. In Mrs. Walkers letters some time ago, I received a piece of riband for which accept my thanks. I think you are getting me quite in debt. But I am waiting for my ship to come in when I shall remember it.

What is best for us to do about giving to Mrs. Griffin? What they can do I know not, or how they can get things to make them comfortable I know not, unless some one gives them. I would give her with all my heart if it is right. Mr. Smith, Mr. Hall & others say that they have come in opposition to the Amr. Board & ought not to be assisted. But the poor woman has come without a sheet or pillow case, & how they will get them I don't know. Mrs. Spalding while I was there gave her three *broken plates* for her to (. . . ?) & enough wide striped cotton to make a pair of sheets. If husband will consent I shall give her some things. She has plenty of clothing probably more dresses than I shall have after mine get here. She has two pretty silk dresses, several muslin & fine calico, & two or three pieces unmade. She has more neck dresses than she will ever need & all *very pretty*. Mr. G. has enough. But *sheets, pillow cases, paper & crockery* they need. Would you give them: Shall you do it?

I fear I shall not hear from you for a long time. *Do write every opportunity*, & I will do the same. Yours with much affection,

SARAH S. SMITH⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The original of this letter is in the library of Washington State College, Pullman, Washington.

KAMIAH Dec. 22, 1839

MRS. WALKER,

DEAR SISTER As I hope soon to be favored with an opportunity of sending to your place, I will commence writing you. I suppose it will arrive at the same time that your boxes & letters from home arrive & on that account will hardly appear worth reading. So I intend putting some mark upon it that you may not open it till you have seen & read everything else & begin to want something more. Then perhaps you can bestow a thought on your sister here in the wilderness all alone.

I suppose I cannot interest you more than by telling you all about ourselves, what we are doing, what we have done, & what we intend to do. As I suppose you will have the reading of Sister Eells letter which I wrote a few days since, I will try & begin somewhere near where I left off. I said we had now a little house to live in of which I would give the plan. It is small but we intend to enlarge it sometime. I know well how to prize it, I'll assure you having lived in a mere shed for so many months & without a floor or window. The following is a plan of it you may like to look at it. (a drawing — follows.) [See illustration at page 113]

- No. 1. My bedroom
- No. 2. Buttery
3. Kitchen
4. Our bed. I am going to have a curtain which will entirely conceal the bed, not yet a clothes press, we hang some clothes within the curtain.
5. A nice cupboard for dishes wh. I do not like to have in the pantry & for kettles & for Jack & Thomas's lunch.
6. & 7. Fire places with a little cupboard in each.

I have not made this exactly right — the river is not quite far enough off & the side of Mr. Rogers house should come parallel with the other as I have marked it leaving this a large nice yard.

Our windows are small only 9 lights. In the bedroom Mr. S. had made a pretty book case, where I have dotted it. We have a nice large table & a working table. We left our little one at Wielatpu. These with our two chairs are all the furniture we have. Our boxes cushioned makes a good settee for our present use in the bedroom, & I find it very comfortable to lie down on. I have commenced a carpet for our little parlor, when it will be done I know not, at present I am able to sew but little. Mr. Smith seems much troubled about it, sometimes says he will burn it, says it will be selling his wife too cheap to exchange her for a carpet.

I am making a feather bed. It is now half full. Tis already quite a comfort. I have made me a good black bombazine dress to wear this winter & a cape lined with flannel, so I shall be warm. Mr. Rogers is now making Mr. S. a suit of blue broad cloth clothes. I don't know

what more to tell you & I expect you are already tired & wish me to stop. But I will just say that we have a nice oven out doors & yesterday I baked some first rate *yankee* bread of corn & wheat. I should like to send you a loaf. If you have not made any I am sure you would like it. We are troubled about potatoes. Hired Indians to go to Weilatpu & for some reason the Dr sent us poor little things, not fit to eat. I presume to say that not one half of them were much bigger than a walnut. Being tired of that sport, on Mr. Gray's authority & Mr. S. invitation, we sent to Clear Water & those were worse yet, 9/10 of them not as big as your thumb & half of them not bigger than a birds egg. This is a specimen of their good feeling & desire to oblige us I suppose. But I will lay this aside for a little while, perhaps I shall think of something else that will be more interesting.

TUESDAY MORN. O dear: I find myself too late about my letter. Mr. R. horses are just here & this letter is unfinished. What shall I do, keep it a little longer or close it & send it as it is. I don't know that I have any thing in particular that will interest you if I keep it longer & it may not get to you at another time. Mr. Smith wishes me to say that he & Rogers are counting the people, that is how many Nez Perces there are in all, both those that are here & those that are at buffalo. They go to the principal man in each little band & he can after a little study give the numbers of men women & children, also to know in particular the number of boys & girls, that we may judge what the people will be hereafter. He is also wishing to know whether the people are now on the decrease or not & therefore is taking the numbers of births & deaths, that have occured since we came here. Something of this kind he intends to send to the Board feeling that they have long enough been deceived with regard to this people. He says that perhaps Mr. W. & E. will ascertain something of their people at least the number. I can stop to say no more, did not expect time to say as much. Do write every opportunity. Mr. S. sends love & says he would send some glass to you if he could. We got some at Mr. Spalding & have 8 or 10 left. Give my love to Mr. Walker. I want to see little Cyrus very badly but fear it will be a long time first unless you come to see me. Yours in great haste.

SARAH G. SMITH.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Marked on the outside of this letter are the following words: "Not to be read for a month." and "Mrs. Smith Dec. 29, 1839"—evidently indicating the day it was received.

The Smith Diary: November 11, 1839-January 31, 1840

Smith resumed his Diary on November 11, 1839. He made two additional entries for that month, on the 14th and the 24th. Therein he commented on the reasons why the Nez Perces were decreasing in numbers. Only one entry appears for December, the 27th, and one for January 1841, the 31st.

Smith and Spalding could look at the same problem and come to opposite conclusions. Both observed the nomadic life of the Indians which was made necessary by the never ending search for food. Divided into small bands, the Indians were constantly on the move hunting, digging roots, or fishing. Spalding became the ardent advocate of settling the Indians. Once writing to Greene, he declared: "You can not evangelize a people always on the wing." Smith was critical of such a policy believing, in part, that it was beyond the resources of the Board to attempt such a costly program. Rogers tried the experiment of living with one of the roving bands but even Smith agreed that such a method of evangelizing the natives was impractical. Smith was finally driven to the position that the handicaps and difficulties faced by the missionaries were too great to assure any measure of success in their attempt to evangelize the natives. In time this led him to withdraw from the Mission.

Smith's entry for November 14th runs to over 2,000 words in which he discusses the self-righteousness of the Nez Perces, the discouragements the missionaries faced, and the superstitions and religious practices of the people. Most of this section of the Diary is omitted because Smith, in his letter to Greene of February 6, 1840, copied long sections of his Diary verbatim and amplified other parts. The letter of February 6th will be given in full.

Nov. 11th 1839. AT KAMIAH. Arrived here the last of Sept. with our goods &c.⁹¹ I commenced preparations for a residence among this people. The summer we spent in this place in a rude hut hastily built & devoted our attention to the study of the language. Our house is now nearly completed,⁹² so that it is very comfortable to live in, the

⁹¹ Smith considered his earlier sojourn at Kamiah as a temporary expedient. Now he had the permission of the Mission to make a permanent settlement.

⁹² The reference here is to the second house built at Kamiah. This seems to have been better constructed than the cabin erected earlier that summer.

only the outside door is hung. The others are shut with blankets. Our house consists of a kitchen 14½ ft. by 15; pantry 5 ft. by 7; & bedroom 9½ ft. by 13 with a nook at the end of the pantry 5 ft. by 6 for the bed. It is built with posts grooved & set in the ground & filled with split cedar — roof of dirt nearly flat so that there is no chamber & nothing overhead but the roof itself. It is indeed the first time we have had a comfortable place to live since we left the States. Since we left our native land we have passed through hardships & trials such as we knew nothing of before. Before we come to this place we indeed lived in a house, but very poor indeed. The summer we spent in a hut without any floor or windows. To live a whole summer on the bare ground is something which is almost unknown in civilized regions. Yet such have been the sacrifices we have made by coming to this region.

A few days ago witnessed a practice among the Indians which they perform at this season preparatory to hunting deer. They run small sticks down their throats into their stomachs to cause themselves to vomit. The sticks are small timber osiers. Four are usually taken at a time & passed down more than a foot in length & held there till he commences vomiting. Soon four more are taken in the same way & this is repeated 8 or 10 times during the same morning. The rest of the day is spent in washing the surface of the body in water heated by hot stones dug for the purpose at the margin of the river. This is repeated for several days in succession & then the individual is prepared for hunting. The reason they assign for this is that they may cleanse themselves so that the deer cannot smell them — & to make them long winded to run. It is said that they pound their legs & then go into the cold water in order to fit them for running. Barbarous & cruel indeed are the customs of the heathen.

14th. Often do I feel discouraged respecting the condition & prospects of this people. . . [A long section of the Diary is here omitted.]

24th. Met the people today in a grass meeting house, or rather lodge which they completed yesterday. A little more than 200 were present including all the young children. This will probably be the usual number during the winter. Had an interesting conversation with my teacher this morning. He seemed to have some sense of his situation as being without hope. He understands more truth than any other individual & it seems to take some effect. His hopes of salvation from his own works seem to be cut off, & now he is in darkness & knows now what to do. I have endeavored to tell him but it is only the Spirit of God than can make him understand what it is to yield himself up to the Savior.

DEC. 27th. I am daily learning more & more of the practice of this people. It is evident that they have been in the habit of paying their devotions to hot stones. This is done in connection with steaming

themselves or washing. Their steam houses are made by sticking willows in the ground & bending them over. Then covering them with grass & earth. Stones are heated & placed in this little mud cot which is not more than 3 feet high. The individual then shuts himself up in this place & puts water on the stones to produce steam, & as the stones are hissing he pays his devotions. His prayer is that he may kill plenty of game. Sometimes they only dig a hole by the river & fill it with water, then throw in hot stones & then wash, & pray that they may always be clean & kill a plenty of game. This is done in connection with vomiting themselves by running small sticks down their throats. They have been in a habit of having great faith in vomiting themselves in this manner, & their confidence seems to remain much the same at present. They have an idea if they do not vomit themselves & wash they will not be skillful in killing game. They have an idea that this vomiting is very salutary to health & if they do not practice it at intervals they will soon die. They have a terrible idea of the "*wawas*" as they call it — by which they mean bile. Tho' it evidently does not mean bile only, as there are several kinds of "*wawas*" as the *white*, the *yellow*, & the *black*. It seems to mean whatever passes from the stomach in vomiting, or whatever passes from the bowels in a liquid state. Often do they come to me & tell me that their children are sick, that "*wawas*" passes from them & c & appear alarmed when nothing is the matter except that the child vomits a little or has a slight diarrhea. They have an idea that the body after a time gets filled up with this *wawa* & if they do not get rid of it, they will soon die. Hence they pass sticks down their throats day after day in order as they say to get rid of all the *wawas* & then they shall be well & strong. Such are their notions of medical practice. Every thing having reference to medicine is connected with superstition. Even when we give them medicine, it is generally looked upon as a charm & viewed much in the same way as their medicine jugglery.

JAN. 31. [1840] The Nez Perces have been in the habit of worshipping the sun & earth. The manner is as follows. At sunrise they would take their pipe & light it, put it to their mouth & take three puffs, then direct the pipe stem towards the rising sun & emit the tobacco smoke in the same direction & say "Thou Chief of the morning, smoke first & I will smoke afterwards." At noon they used to smoke in the same way & point up to the sun & breathe out the smoke in the same direction & say "Thou Chief above, smoke first & I will smoke afterwards." The same also at sunset, "Thou Chief of evening (or setting Chief) smoke first & I will afterward." In the same manner they would direct their pipe & smoke to the earth and say, "Thou Chief below, smoke first & I will smoke afterward." They would direct their prayer to these objects in this manner, "Bless us, Grant that we may not be sick, that we may not die, that we may travel prosperously. Give us plenty

of food, &c." Temporal blessings were all they thought of & even now when they pray to Jehovah the most they think of is to ask for temporal blessing. The most they fear is hunger, sickness, & death in this life, & misery after death.

The Blackfeet are to this time in a habit of paying their devotions to the sun, stars, earth, stones, beasts, & almost everything, accompanied with smoking, & to these objects they pray for whatever their depraved hearts desire. That they may be blessed with food, preserved from sickness & death, that they be assisted in stealing horses &c. & in killing their enemies.

SMITH'S LETTER TO GREENE

Smith's entry for February 7, 1840, consisting of about 280 words, gives the story of the origin of card-playing and gambling which Smith got from Lawyer. The story has all the ear-marks of an illustration from one of Spalding's sermons. Since this account is given almost verbatim in Smith's letter quoted below, the entry in the diary is not here repeated.

Under date of February 6, 1840, Smith wrote a letter to Greene of about 9,500 words. He evidently had plenty of time in his lonely station at Kamiah to write. Some sections of his letter, including his analysis as to why the tribe was decreasing in numbers, were copied from his Diary, sometimes with amplifications. He writes of the loss of his American cow, a catastrophe for the Smith home because they needed the milk. There were later difficulties to arise out of the death of this cow. Smith criticizes Spalding. It is most interesting to note that Spalding never wrote such letters of criticism of Smith or of any other member of the Mission to the Board. Spalding was entirely unaware of these derogatory letters being sent East about him until the storm broke over his head in the spring of 1842. He was then stunned at the news.

Smith conducted the first systematic census of the Nez Percés with the aid of Rogers. He returns to this subject in later letters. Burdened with a sick wife, Smith seems to feel that the hardships of the western journey might have contributed to her illness, although he does not say so directly. He does advise the Board never to send "females" overland to Oregon again.

KAMIAH, OREGON TER'Y
Feb. 6th 1840

TO REV. D. GREENE
BOSTON MASS:

MY DEAR SIR: In my last letter to you, dated Sept. '39, I mentioned that we were about moving to this place to make preparations for our permanent residence here. We arrived here the last of Sept. & com-

menced building, & in about 6 weeks from the time we arrived we were very comfortably situated in a cedar house, the timber of which we found lodged on the bank of the river & a few miles above this place.

After living as we had, a part of the time without a house since we left our homes, & a part of the time in such a house as our friends at home would not consider good enough for their cattle, we found it a great comfort, I can assure you, once more to get into a good comfortable house with windows, floor & other conveniences for our comfort. Many a time should we have been thankful for such accommodations as we could have found in our father's barn among the cattle, but we have lived through all these privations & we would by no means complain of them as being hard. Our sufferings have been far less than our Saviour's, & why should we not be willing to endure them for his sake?

But these privations are now passed & now we have the prospect of making ourselves very comfortable in respect to a dwelling & means of living. Tho' the Lord has been teaching us that we must not place our affections on these things, by taking away from us our main dependence for living comfortably, our American cow, we have but one other & that is one of the poor breed of the country, originally from the wild herds of California, which was rec'd from the H.H.B. Company in return for cows we were obliged to leave at Fort Hall, & is of but little account to us. Our cow had furnished us with plenty of milk, for about a month past, & but three days ago, she ate a poisonous plant, which I suppose to be the wild parsnip, as I found by examination of the contents of the stomach, & died very suddenly. The loss to us is beyond calculation. No one in the States can realize it at all. But it is the Lord that hath done it & He has done it in wisdom. The affliction tho' we feel it deeply, is far lighter than we deserve. Tho' our last comfort as it were in respect to our living that which we prized more than all others, is gone yet we have more remaining than we deserve.

"The Lord gave & the Lord hath taken away" & I think we feel to say "blessed be the name of the Lord."

In my last I gave some account of the character of the people. Later experience has more clearly convinced me that what I then wrote was true. Almost every day's experience shows me more of their selfishness, & of the awful depravity of their hearts. With but few exceptions, I believe it to be true that their only desire for missionaries is the temporal benefit which they hope to derive from them & that they desire instruction only that they may appear wise & gain influence among their people. They love the truth only when it does not condemn them, & the chiefs & principal men usually do not apply what they hear to themselves, but only make use of it in talking to the people.

High expectations have been raised respecting this mission among the churches at home — expectations which can never be realized. I feel it to be of immense importance for missionaries to be extremely careful what they write on first entering their field of labor. It is easy for any one of an excitable temperament & vivid imagination to write a most flattering account on first entering a missionary field,⁹⁸ especially where the people appear well disposed, & raise the expectations of christians at home to the very highest pitch, especially that portion who are not the most discerning, but such expectations are raised only to be disappointed. Probably there never was more interest excited in any mission than there has been in this. 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. I confess that my own feelings were much excited & my expectations raised high respecting this mission before I thought of coming here; & I observed that others *wiser & better* than myself had high expectations too. You will very naturally inquire, I suppose, whether my expectations have been realized. I must say that they have come far short of it. Indeed before I left the borders of the States, my expectations came down to a proper level. Said Dr. Beecher to us as we called on him in Cincinnati, "Go on & save all the souls you can, for soon there will be no Indians left on the continent." I have felt deeply the force of his remarks since I have been in this field, & often do I feel that the tide of desolation will soon sweep over all these tribes as it has over those on the borders of the States.

At Westport, Mo., in conversation with one who was well acquainted with the Indian character, the late Dr. Chute of that place, I rec'd some hints which brought down my expectations respecting this people. Said he, "Notwithstanding all the flattering accounts from this mission, you will find the Nez Percés, Indians still & you may make up your mind to labor long without seeing much effect of your labors." His remarks were just. On arriving here, I indeed saw that which was interesting, but not that which by any means answered my previous expectations. I found too that those in the field had very much changed their minds since those first accounts were written. Experience, however, has taught me much since that time. I am able to judge now with much more accuracy respecting the character of this people. I must, therefore, say that I think those first accounts highly exaggerated & calculated to excite undue expectations. I will say, however, that I do not recollect having read any thing from the pen of Dr. W. liable to this charge. But I am confident that if Mr. S. had had more experience, a better knowledge of human nature & less imagination, he would have written different from what he did. One however is very

⁹⁸ Smith is here referring to the rosy accounts of the Mission which Spalding sent to the Board in 1837, parts of which were published in the *Missionary Herald*.

liable to be deceived by the first appearance of this people before he knows by what motives they are actuated. You see that I write plainly, for I remember you said to us in New York, "Write what you please to us, but be careful what you write to your friends."

I have been thinking about looking over the accounts from this mission, & referring you to such portions as appear to me exceptionable, for impressions have been made whether intended or not which ought to be corrected.

First, I will refer you to the *Herald* for 1837, pp. 425 & 501, the account of the promising Nez Perce chief, Takansuatis. 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. he has become his enemy & proves to be a very wicked man & now spends much of his time in the buffalo country. It is now very evident what his motives were in being so kind & obliging, & when his selfish expectations were not gratified, he showed out his wickedness. These Indians are often very shrewd & manage well with strangers to take the advantage of them. They manage if possible to lay a white man under obligation to them, & if he suffers them to do it, he finds it no easy matter to cancel such an obligation. For instance an Indian will come & say he has a horse to give me; he does not wish to sell it, but give it. If I accept the present, the Indian expects twice as much from me, at least, as tho' he had sold me the horse & he will come at a future time & ask me for whatever he wants. A stranger settling among them will be very likely to get cheated by them in this way & think they are extremely kind to him, when it is only that they may pick from him every thing he has.

In the *Hawaiian Spectator*⁹⁴ an Indian speech was published as given by Mr. S. in which the Indians express their willingness to do any thing he wished &c. that they did not sell him meat but gave it to him. I understand Indian presents now very well. They always give, expecting as much or more in return. This is the way among themselves. I have not found them so ready to give. It is usually the case that they are ready to give us meat when they have no ammunition to hunt with in order to get a new supply. But when they have plenty of ammunition, unless they have more meat than they can consume themselves, they are not usually so ready to give to us. They always expect to be paid for their generosity.

Again, pp. 499 of the same volume, Mr. S. mentions the use of paintings in giving instruction. I wish to make a few remarks respecting this mode of giving instruction. I never have employed this method at all but I have witnessed the influence of it on this people. I consider it extremely dangerous for a missionary, while he understands the native language very imperfectly, to make use of this method. Mr. S.

⁹⁴ See p. 239 ff. of this book for an account of this speech.

said they "sometimes spend the whole night in perfecting what they but partly understood on the Sabbath." True they did & filled up the picture from their own imaginations & in this way they have acquired a vast amount of error which I find no easy matter to eradicate. Painting may sometimes be of some use in giving instruction, but to put them into the hands of Indians to give instructions to others, I consider to be very dangerous.

On the same page it is said, "A paper with his (Christ's) name upon it is clasped to the bosom with all the apparent affection of a mother embracing a darling child." This is mere superstition—the blind adoration of a Catholic. Before the arrival of missionaries here, the people obtained their religious notions from Catholics.

On pp. 500 of the same vol. are some remarks respecting the ease with which the natives learn English, & the expediency of teaching English rather than the Nez Percés. In my last I remarked upon the impossibility of accomplishing what is here considered so practicable. Every days experience convinces me more strongly not only of the inexpediency of such a course, but also of the utter impossibility of it. This people are probably no more apt at acquiring a foreign language than any other heathen people.

On pp. 498 mention is made of the "Indians giving a horse for a pack of cards which they were positively told was the word of God." Perhaps there may have been such occurrences, but certainly they must have been rare: for in inquiring of my teacher whether any such thing had ever been done, he said he never had known of any such instance—altho' he has been in the mountains & knows what has been done there by the Americans as well as any other man. He says he never knew of any one's giving a horse for a pack of cards, & he knew not that any one had been told that they were the Bible.

I will here give an account of the origin of card-playing, as related to me by my teacher, which he said he heard long ago from some source whether traditionaly otherwise, it is quite amusing, & as to the source from whence it sprung it may not be far from being correct. It is as follows—

"A long time ago, there lived two men, who were friends to each other, & spent much of their time together. They were very religious, & spent their sabbath in worshipping God, & did not end the duties of the sabbath till midnight. On one sabbath after the duties of the sabbath were past, at midnight, as these two individuals were together, no others being present, the Devil came, & gave them a pack of cards, & told them the names of them & showed them how to use them; & exhorted them to think nomore of God & not to be troubled, but to think of him & make use of these cards. So the two friends continued playing till morning, & then went to sleep. They prayed not in the morning as formerly but slept till night; then awoke & took their

supper, & the Devil made his appearance again, & gave them another pack of cards. Before this time there were no cards in the world. The American witnessed these two individuals as they were engaged in playing cards & thought it something very fine & went to work & made some cards for themselves like those which they had seen, & since that time they have spent their sabbaths in playing cards instead of worshipping God."

This is the origin of card playing as my teacher says he has heard related — Certainly I think Indian tradition (or whatever it may be) cannot be mistaken as to the origin of this practice.

On pp. 500, Mr. S. Says, "How much grain I shall be able to get in the coming season, I do not know, but the blessing of God attending us, as we trust it has thus far, I *count upon a hundred acres.*" I will refer you to a letter written by Dr. W. about a year from the date of the one from which this quotation is made, on pp. 388 of the *Herald* for 1838, when the Dr. says — "I have been enabled to furnish Mr. S. with considerable corn & potatoes." You might well inquire what was the need of this, if the "hundred acres" were cultivated. To tell the truth the "*hundred acres*" being sown *only in the air*. Mr. S. at the end of the year found himself in want of provision.

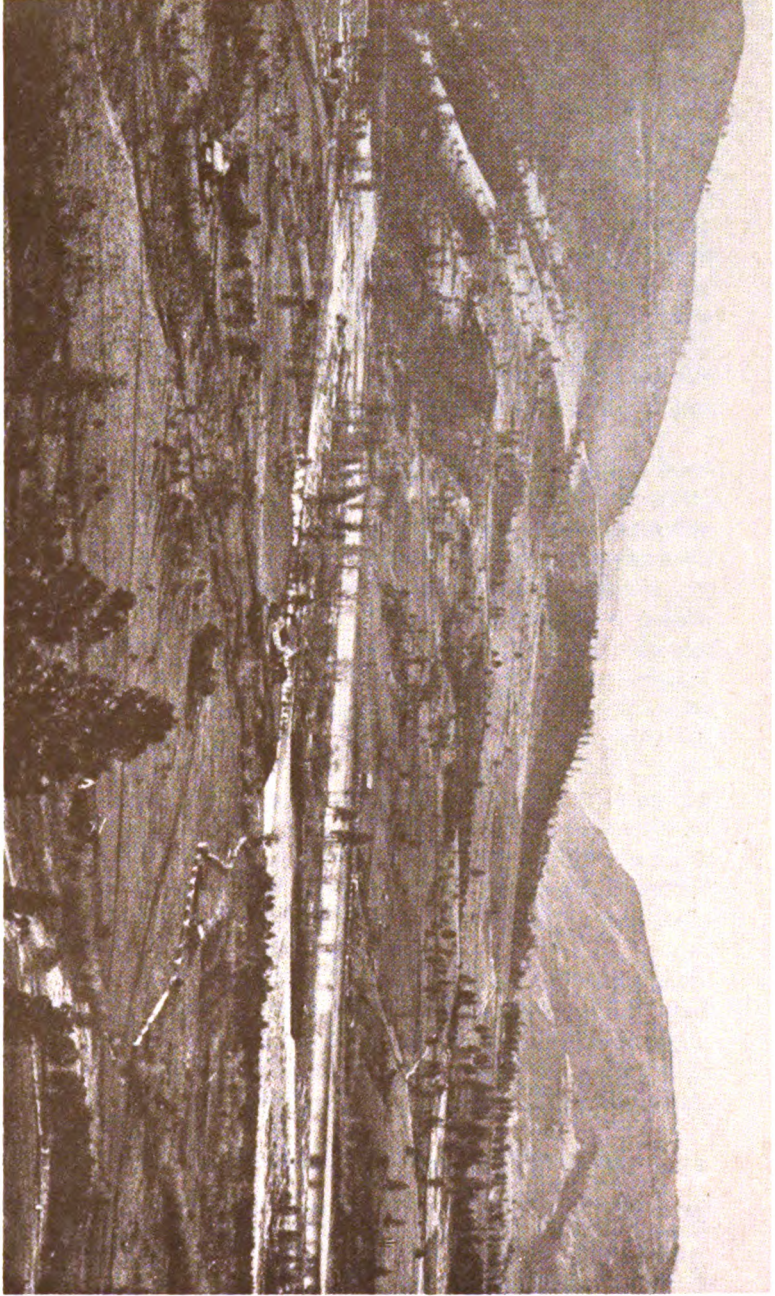
Again on pp. 387 of the *Herald* for 1838, Mr. S. speaks of the probability of his being "followed by hundreds & perhaps thousands, for, several days on his way home to hear some thing about Jesus Christ every night." This expression is very liable to make a wrong impression respecting numbers. Any one would be very likely to suppose from this that he was travelling through a country containing a dense population & that within a short distance could be found many thousand of people. But this is far from being the case. This hundred & thousand are to be taken with *great* limitations. As an example of the sparseness of population, take the Nez Perces tribe, including the little remnant of Kayuses. They are scattered over a territory not less than 250 miles in length, & yet I think from recent estimates there cannot be more than 3000 souls including the Kayuses. This is the extent of their usual places of residence from one end to the other, while their country extends a considerable distance each way beyond these remote places of residence, so that their country extends at least 400 miles in length. As to the width of this tract I am unable to say. Perhaps in the widest part which is in the eastern part of it, it may be 150 or perhaps 200 miles. It must be an extent of country equal perhaps to one half of New England or nearly to that of New York. Over this vast extent of country are scattered not more than 3000 souls!! not more in all than we find in any common country towns in New England!!

Respecting those speaking the Flathead language, I am not so well acquainted with their numbers, nor with the extent of their country. It has been said that there are more speaking the Flathead language

than there are the Nez Percés. This is probably true, but they are scattered over a large tract of country & divided into small tribes speaking the language with considerable variations from each other. The Spokans where Brs. Walker & Eells are, are but a small band estimated I think at 500. The Pende Orelles (improperly spelt Ponderays) are another band perhaps a little larger, & two days travel I think from the Spokans. The Coeur de Lions are a small band of perhaps 200, whose land lies between the Nez Percés & the Spokan. (This has been improperly spelt Cudeloons.)

Respecting that region, Brs. Walker & Eells must be able to give you much more correct information than I can. You see from this that thousands are hard to be found in this region. It is only on some great occasions or in going to buffalo, that thousands are found together. As to their following for the sake of hearing the gospel, it may have been so, or they may have followed for other purposes. These Indians are extremely fond of travelling with white people & often do it for other purposes. Often do they wait a day or start a day sooner in order to travel with us, & often go when apparently they have no business & if they can get a few crumbs of a white man's supper they feel themselves well paid. They are always expecting some little favor of a white man, & if they can get it by riding along with him one or two days, it makes no difference with them. It is nothing at all for them to travel. They are born, as it were, & brought up on horse back, & to follow a white man on horse back would be the same to them as sitting in their lodges. Other motives actuate them too, as curiosity, a desire to hear something new to tell of & of which they are most passionately fond. It is not certain therefore that they followed for the purpose of hearing the gospel.

On pp. 387 of the *Herald* for 1838, it is mentioned "that an alphabet in the Nez Percés language" is completed, & three books are mentioned as completed or hoped to be during the year. That alphabet has been thrown away, it being found before the reception of your letter, not only "unclassical & outlandish," but also attended with such difficulties, as to render it entirely impracticable to use it. Respecting the book sent to the Islands to be printed, it came back as it was sent. Mr. Hall came last spring with a press, which was kindly presented to us by the members of Mr. Bingham's church, & all the printing that was done during the summer was a small work of 20 pp. prepared by Spalding. Before it went to press, it was sent to me for correction. On examining it, I found scarcely a correct sentence of Nez Perce in the whole of it. I corrected it as well as I was able to at that time & sent it back. Some of the corrections were admitted & some rejected. The book was printed. The result is that the book is so incorrect as to be almost entirely useless & has been used but little. This is all that has appeared of those books. At our meeting in Sept. last, assignments were made



KAMIAH, IDAHO

The picture shows the day school built near the mouth of a creek that flows into the Clearwater River. The ford across the river was at the end of the island, at the right. This site is still used by the First Presbyterian Church (Indian) of Kamiah. See footnote 100, page 146. From Kate C. McBeth's, *The Nez Percés since Lewis and Clark*, Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.

for the preparation of books as you will see from the minutes of the meeting, a copy of which I will send you, among which an elementary reading book was assigned to Dr. Whitman. This of course was the first book to be needed. In Dec. Dr. W. concluded that he was unable to prepare such a work, & applied to Mr. Rogers & myself to do it for him. We have accordingly prepared matter for some 50 or 60 pages, which is now in press.⁹⁵ Mr. Rogers, with a little instruction from Mr. Hall is printing the work; he has sent me the first 28 pp. & it appears very well. This work, tho' not entirely correct, I think to be generally free from grammatical errors, & will answer our purpose tolerably well. I find my own style quite stiff & frequently not according to the idiom of the language. What Mr. Rogers has prepared, however, is in a more easy style & more according to the idiom of the language. By travelling with the people & being much with them, he is able to speak the language with great ease & propriety. He is a very valuable helper to us.

But I will pursue this subject no farther at present. Perhaps I have said now far more than I ought to have said. Still I have felt that you have a right to require of me a frank statement of my own views & the results of my own experience. I have grieved that impressions have been made on the minds of the Christian community which I am satisfied are wrong. I cannot *directly*, I *dare* not, attempt a public correction of these impressions. But as Mr. S. I am satisfied will not make any correction, even to *you* I, therefore, have written what I have. For on Mr. Hall's asking him if he was not ashamed of what he had written, he said, "No, I am only sorry that I did not write ten times as much as I did." If I have done wrong in writing what I have, forgive my fault, & tell me of my error, & let the matter rest as tho nothing more were written. I have not written this hastily. It has been premediated for *months*; & I hope I am actuated by no other motive in writing this, than a desire that you may know the truth. I would not by any means wrongfully diminish your confidence in any individual, but I desire to have the truth known.

I do not say that there is nothing interesting or encouraging here. We do find that which is interesting. But at the same time we find difficulties & discouragements arising from various sources, difficulties too of such a nature as seriously affect our usefulness among this people. Some of these I will mention as I have already noted them down in my journal.

The first I will mention is the self-righteousness of the people. As a

⁹⁵ The first book to be printed on the mission press at Lapwai as an eight page primer for children. This appeared in 1839. This is the book which Smith said was "entirely useless." The second book to appear was the Nez Perce reader, fifty-two pages, which appeared in 1840. This is the volume of which Smith is here writing.

general thing the people consider themselves already good. They have thrown away their old hearts as they say, that is they have left off their old practices of lying, stealing, &c, & are now worshipping God & giving heed to his word. Hence they are indeed Pharisees, resting on their own good works, & how to drive them off from this ground & tear away their sandy foundation, I know not with my present knowledge of their language. Often do they come to me & tell me of their good works & endeavor to convince me that they are good, but when I tell them that they cannot get to heaven by self-righteousness, that such feelings are wrong & it is only those who feel themselves to be sinners & as such apply to Christ for salvation, they immediately take the opposite ground & rest their hopes on the acknowledgement of their sins. Thus they will shift their ground as occasion requires, while their hearts remain the same.

A self righteous man any where is one of the most difficult to affect by means of the truth, even when we can present the truth to their understanding in ones own native tongue; but how much is the difficulty increased when we attempt to reach the self-righteous in a foreign tongue, with which we are but imperfectly acquainted.

Another discouragement is the scattered condition of the people, & the impossibility of bringing them together in any considerable numbers at any place.

The Nez Percés are scattered over a large extent of country, as I have already stated. Their country, including the Kayuses, as they are now considered all one tribe, cannot contain less than 30,000 square miles, & perhaps 40,000 — so that there cannot be more than one inhabitant to *ten* square miles. They however live in small bands along the rivers & small streams, at considerable distances from each other on lands belonging to themselves. By common consent or perhaps by fear of each other, each band has control over the land belonging to it, & this is the hunting or fishing ground of that Band. It is not common that one infringes on the rights of another. They are usually careful especially at the hunting season, not to hunt on another's ground. Still however there are places where they assemble for particular purposes on the lands of others. This is the case with regard to the *kamosh* ground & other places of roots. Many of the bands have no roots on their own lands. Hence they go to the lands of others where they dig roots, or obtain them in exchange for fish. Consequently the people are extremely scattered, living in little bands varying usually from 10 to 100 or 150. One bands numbers 235. Should one band attempt to live constantly on the land of another, it would subject both to serious inconveniences in their present mode of living. Game is already scarce, & it is all the people can do to live in their present scattered condition. The same difficulty occurs in respect to gaining their subsistence from cultivations. Good land is found only in small

tracts here & there on the banks of streams, not enough in any one place to collect any considerable number, except in the region where Dr. W. is. Soon the place would become too narrow for them should any considerable number settle in the same place, & this would eventually lead to jealousies and discord among the people & result at length in scattering them again to their own countries. Hence it is for their own interest to reside on their own lands & it is probable that they will live there & die there. Thus it is that we can have but few within our reach, to whom we can give instruction. These little bands usually live, 5, 10, 15, 20, or 30 miles from each other & sometimes more.

They may indeed assemble at the stations at certain seasons in considerable numbers but it is only for a very few weeks, & then they must go to their respective places in search of food.

The greatest number that have been at this station at any time is about 275. It was but a short time however that there were so many. Most of them went away three or four weeks since in search of food & will not return again till the spring opens.

Another discouragement is the wandering habits of the people. The people are not only scattered, but they are wandering from place to place during almost the entire year. The manner in which they live renders it necessary for them to wander. Their food consists of dried buffalo meat, venison, fish, various kinds of roots, & even the moss which grows on the pines, berries, &c. These articles are all obtained in different places, hence they must wander to obtain them. The summer is a very busy time with the people, especially with the women, as they dig all the roots. They commence digging roots in May or the last of April & sometime without interruption till near the 1st of July when they go for salmon or buffalo. They dig roots however more or less till winter comes. Those who go to buffalo are gone usually from three to four months. Some of them remain a year or more in the buffalo country, & some remain their constantly. Out of 497 people who belong within 15 miles of this place, 249 are now in the buffalo country & only 248 in this vicinity.

In the winter they must go where they can get game. If it is not to be found on the ground where they reside in the summer, they must go some where else.

This draws them away from some of the stations very much during the winter. Most of the Kayuses & many of the lower Nez Perces winter at the Falls of the Columbia River, 100 miles below Walla Walla, where is an abundance of salmon, which they buy of the natives there. We can therefore do but little with the people. There are but few of them within our reach, & that few usually but a small part of the year.

Another discouragement is the small number of the people & the

fact that they are decreasing in numbers & according to present appearances will at no distant day become extinct. The highest estimate that has been made of the Nez Perces is 5000. But we are now satisfied that this estimate is too large. Mr. Rogers & myself have commenced numbering the people. We have obtained the number of each band as far as we have proceeded by means of the principal man or chief of that band. In many cases they have done it themselves & brought us a bundle of sticks for each individual of the band. We have thus far numbered 1,421, & we think that certainly one half & perhaps more are already numbered. All the large bands are numbered. Two in the region of the Salmon River are numbered, one of 151, & the other 235. (This river is called on the map I have before me, N. Fork or Lewis or Snake River.) All who live on the Koos-koos-kee River, on which are situated this station & that of Mr. Spalding's have been numbered amounting to 950. On Snake River we have as yet numbered only 85. The Nez Perces are scattered along the Snake River from the mouth of Salmon River down to the Koos-koos-kee & some distance below. Yet they are all very small bands, much smaller than those which have been numbered. I think that all who live on the Snake River cannot exceed in numbers those on the Koos-koos-kee. This includes all except the Kayuses & a few Nez Perces who are united with them by marriage &c. Their number is small indeed. Their country stretches along the south side of the Columbia River, not however including the River, but along the southern tributaries of the Columbia, & extends from the country of the Nez Perces down to the range of mountains where are the falls of the Columbia, 100 miles below Walla Walla. This remnant of a tribe has in fact become united with the Nez Perces & there are but few of the old people who now speak the Kayuse or Waiiletpu language. The whole number cannot exceed 3000, including both the Nez Perces & Kayuses. The Nez Perces language, however, is spoken to some extent by the principal man of some of the adjacent tribes, but scarcely at all by the common people.

The number of this people is evidently diminishing & has been for many years. From the accounts of the people, it appears that formerly the number of people was much greater than at present. The excavations in the ground where the people formerly had their lodges indicate that the number of people was much greater than at present.

The causes which have diminished the people are as follows: 1st Disease — It appears from the accounts of the people that epidemics have formerly prevailed among them, carrying off many people in a short time. No epidemic has however prevailed among them very recently. Twice during the remembrance of the most aged among this people has the small pox been among them. The first time it visited them must have been 60 or perhaps 70 years ago. Some very old

people, I should think 70 or 80 years old & perhaps more, relate that when they were children a large number of people both of the Nez Perces & Flatheads wintered in the buffalo country. In the spring as usual the people from this region went to buffalo. Instead of finding their people as they expected they found their lodges standing in order, & the people almost to an individual dead. Only here & there one survived the disease. It seems to have been the most virulent form of the small pox. From thence it followed the people to this region & swept through the whole country, very few surviving the attack of the disease. Some fled & thus avoided the contagion.

The small pox again visited this country soon after Lewis & Clarke were here, perhaps two years after; but it was a milder form, perhaps the varioloid & did not prove so fatal. Many however died. The marks of this disease are now to be seen on the faces of many of the old people.

Pulmonary difficulties are much more common in this region than I had supposed. Out of three deaths which occurred here last summer, two of them were occasioned by pulmonary affliction. Both were children. Children frequently die here from this cause. This is doubtless owing to exposure, rather than to the climate, as children are seen often almost or quite naked here in cold weather. The constitution of many are not sufficient to outride such severe exposure.

2. Wars. In past years large numbers of this people have been cut off in wars with the Blackfeet & Snakes. Thus it is that the number of men have been diminished, till at present but few men are left. The number of women is much greater than that of men. I will give the number of men belonging to several bands as an example of the small proportion of men. All the young men who are unmarried are included among the men — in one band of 235, there are 60 men. In one of 143, there are 30 men. One of 125, 27 men — one of 102, 17 men; one of 110, 18 men; one of 84, 23 men; one of 63, 6 men.

3. Polygamy & the consequent degradation of the females. Till recently polygamy has been the constant practice of this people, but now most of the Nez Perces have abandoned this practice & are living with one wife, yet the effects of this sin together with its attendant evils are still felt. The marriage vow is usually not considered at all sacred among this people. Women are taken & put away at pleasure & there is no law to call them to account for it. Adultery is by no means uncommon among this people. Hence there are but few children. In consequence of the degradation of females, they are subjected to every kind of hardship. They dig all the roots, cut all the wood & carry it on their backs, pack all their effects when they travel, while the men live at their ease. Consequently abortions are very frequent among them & many children die almost as soon as they are born. Probably not less than half the children are destroyed in this way, so that in fact

births are very infrequent among them. From May last to the close of the year, there were only two births among the people belonging near this station. During the same time there were seven deaths at this place and 4 in the buffalo country. Since the commencement of this year however there have been already three births & but two deaths. Since writing this I have heard of three deaths of those from this place in the buffalo country during the winter.

It is evident that the people are now decreasing & there is great reason to fear that before many generations shall have passed away, they will become extinct.⁹⁶ The prospect therefore is that the effects of our labors will not be extended to future generations, but come to an end with the extinction of this unhappy people. The fewness of the people & the fact that they are fast diminishing is a discouragement which bears heavily on my hand. What inducement is there in fact to labor to reduce the language to writing & translate the bible? Should the labor be accomplished, there would be but few to read it, & according to present appearances, the language must, before many generations shall have passed away, become extinct.

Another discouragement is the difficulty of the language. From the information we have already obtained, I am led to believe that there are few if any languages more difficult than the Nez Percés. The language is certainly most peculiar in its construction, & in many respects has no resemblance to any language with which I have any acquaintance. Words are peculiarly definite in their application, varying to express the precise manner of the action, & the instrument often with which it is performed. Hence the number of words seem actually beyond all computation, & their changes are equally endless. So many changes must be kept in mind when talking that it requires a very long time to be able to use the language properly. No white man has yet mastered the language & perhaps never will fully do it. To present the peculiarities of the language fully, so far as we are acquainted with it would require a long article, & a paradigm of the verb. The task I have already commenced & I hope to be able by the summer vessel to send you a pretty full account of the peculiarities of this language. (I have promised Mr. Bingham a perusal of it on the way & he will forward it to you.) I have written out a part of the paradigm of a verb, which I find to be imperfect yet. It already amounts to 14 sheets of Fools Cap, & how many more it will require I am unable to say.

Verbs are varied according to direction, place, mode, tense, number & person. We have direction to & from the speaker & place where the speaker is & place at a distance. Each of these has its forms running through the whole. I have discovered seven forms which I think must

⁹⁶ The latest census reports shows that there are today about 1,600 Nez Percés, or about one-half the number of the Smith estimate.

be called modes. There are nine variations according to tense & perhaps ten. The verb is too varied according to the number & person of the object, as well as the subject, as I stated in a previous letter.

The difficulty of translating seems almost insurmountable. Indeed it appears utterly impossible to translate literally. General terms are not to be found. From the very genius of the language, the verb expresses the precise *manner* of the action, as well as the action itself — all that we would express in our language by a verb, together with an adverb or other adjuncts. Hence we are obliged often to say more than we wish to, & more than the bible itself says. I see as yet no possible way to devise any remedy for this, & I often almost despair of ever being able to translate correctly into this language.

There are also notwithstanding the small number of people, dialectic differences which occasion some difficulty in writing the language. Words are frequently used by some bands of the people, which by others are not admitted as belonging to the language. There are also differences in pronunciation, which in different parts of the tribe occasions a difference in the orthography.

Another discouragement is the fact that this people have no form of government, & no law among them. The inconvenience & perplexity of living in such a state of society will readily be seen. But this is not the principal difficulty we have to meet with on this ground. The people have no law and consequently understand not the nature of law. There are indeed those among them who are called chiefs. But these have no power. Their law is mere advice. The people regard them or not as they please.

To be a chief amounts merely to nothing. There are three classes of chiefs among this people distinguished by the manner in which they become chiefs — 1st. Those who have been brave in war, leaders, &c. There are but few remaining of this class & soon they will all be gone.

2nd. Next to the war chiefs are the *mush* chiefs, that is, those who have become chiefs by making feasts & feeding the people. Gratifying the people's appetites is the one principal way to gain their influence, & obtain power over them.

3d. The Tobacco chiefs, that is, those who have become chiefs by being presented with tobacco at the Forts, & deal it out to the people & thus get an influence over them. The two last classes are mere gratifiers of the people's appetites.

The power of the chiefs amounts to very little & the people do that which is right in their own eyes.

They know nothing of the restraints of law, have no idea of penalty, & apparently no idea of justice. Justice with them seems to mean nothing more than expediency or propriety. Every thing of this nature seems foreign to them. Hence it seems impossible to make them understand the nature of divine law, its holiness & justice, the nature of its

penalty, &c. Consequently they have no just idea of the object of Christ's death, the nature of the atonement, or any kindred subject. Although the divine law & the atonement, as connected with the transgression of it, has been my principal topic of instruction for months past, yet little or no advance seems to be made. The people after all seem to have no just idea of the subject.

This is a difficulty which no one laboring among a people who are living under the influence of law, let it be ever so imperfect, can at all realize. It is impossible to give them illustrations on this subject, for they have as little idea of the illustration as of the thing itself to be illustrated.

Another difficulty of a similar nature arises from the fact that the people have had no system of religion. Missionaries often complain of the difficulties they meet with from the prevailing religious system of the natives, & the difficulty of applying the words, which are used in reference to their superstitions, to religious subjects. But I apprehend the difficulty is far greater where there is no religious system, & an entire destitution of terms to apply to religious subjects. How, for instance, can we give this people any idea of the priesthood, of sacrifices, & other kindred subjects. They have nothing like it among themselves, & no terms to use in reference to those subjects. Had we the terms, altho' they might have been associated with all that is impure & debasing, & had we some form of religion with its various institutions, however corrupt by which to illustrate, & convey correct ideas to their minds, I should feel it to be a great acquisition.

In view of these facts, my heart often sinks within me, & I am led to exclaim, How shall the object for which we have been sent hither be accomplished? This mission has been established & prosecuted thus far at great expense to the Board, & for a mere handful of people, & that speaking the same language too while millions to whom access might be had are sitting in darkness. By the time this reaches you, this mission will have cost the Board not less than \$17,000, (the expense is already incurred) not less than \$12,000 of which must be considered as belonging to the Nez Perces mission, making an expense of at least *four dollars* to each individual of the whole tribe. And as yet the work can scarcely be said to be begun. The language as yet is but imperfectly understood. But a bare beginning is made in preparing books & teaching the people. The great work of translating the bible is not yet commenced. The *work* is yet *to be* done. A degraded, savage people cannot be elevated at once to the rank of christian & civilized society. No, it is the work of years. People at home who have no experience cannot realize it.

Look at the Sandwich Islands after 20 years of *united* labor of able & devoted men. True a mighty work has been accomplished, but

should the missionaries at once leave, it is doubtful whether that people would long remain a christian people. What then can be expected of *us* who labor under far greater disadvantages in *every respect* than our brethren at the Sandwich Islands ever have?

I must say that in view of the present condition of the church & the world, I am ready to give up the cause of Indian missions in despair. What new method of giving the gospel to the Indians can be devised attended with less expense of men & means? We must have books in the native language, schools, & the Scriptures translated, or we are but beating the air, merely trifling while a world is sinking to perdition. The same array of means, the same machinery is necessary here for 3,000, as needed for the millions of Siam, or of China. The same is true of every Indian tribe on the continent. How great then is the labor & expense of giving the gospel to these wandering, scattered tribes. Has this subject been considered in all its length & breadth by the patrons of the Board?

Darkness thick as midnight covers the subject when viewed in this light, & it is only by contemplating that it is "not by might nor by power, but by the spirit of the Lord," that any ray of hope dawns upon it. What is to be the destiny of this people & of other tribes the Lord alone knows. This we know, that he will do all things right.

The picture which I have drawn you may think very dark. Certainly it appears so when compared with previous accounts but I think it is not darker than the reality.

In connection with what I have written, I beg leave to refer you to a report of Messrs. Kingsbury & Byington, found in the Report of the Board for 1834, appendix, pp. 174, s. vi. The subject referred to is one which they say they are aware must be well known already to the Committee. The remark is this, "Our own experience has long since convinced us, that it is highly important for the Committee to have a *personal* acquaintance with the missionaries, they may send out to the heathen. At least in each new field we feel that it is important that the *leading man* in that mission be well known to the Committee, & be one in whom their confidence is not misplaced."

My own experience has convinced me of the same. Their remark is certainly judicious & cannot be too highly appreciated. The Committee certainly cannot be properly prepared to act unless they know the true state of affairs in their mission.

Before this reaches you, you will probably have heard of the admission of two natives to the church, & one American who came here from the mountain service.⁹⁷ With regard to the addition of these individuals

⁹⁷ See "Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon," under date of November 17, 1839, when Joseph, Timothy, and James Conner joined the church. *Minutes of Synod of Washington*, 1936.

to the church, I have some things to say. The course pursued in reference to it has been such as I cannot approve. I will relate the circumstances & leave you to draw your own inference.

In January of the last year, there was quite an excitement of feeling at Clear Water, which resulted as was supposed at the time by those at that station, in the conversion of several natives. It soon appeared, however, that many of those who were supposed to be converted, were entire strangers to the faith of the gospel. In March last there was a meeting of the mission at Clear Water, when Mr. Spalding expressed a desire to admit some natives to the church. Brs. Walker, Eells, & myself told him we thought it too soon & advised him to defer it. It was accordingly deferred. Nothing was said on the subject at our last meeting in Sept. & nothing has been written to me on the subject since that time. In Nov. an Indian report came that two natives & the American referred to were admitted to the church which is composed of all the members of this mission. I could not at first believe the report, but it was soon confirmed by Mr. Rogers, who soon after visited that station, & I have not heard of the fact from any other source to this day. I learn that Dr. W. was there at the time & that no other members of the church were present. I have been thus long waiting for Mr. S. to write me on the subject, in order that I might give him my views & feelings on the subject. But altho' I have rec'd several letters since that time, neither he nor Dr. W. have mentioned the fact to me, or even intimated any thing to lead me to suppose that this was the fact.

These individuals were admitted to the church as you will see from the account of it, without even notifying a meeting of the church, or consulting with the members of the mission.⁹⁸ Dr. W. happened to be there in attendance on Mrs. Spalding in the line of his profession. There was at this station two male members of the church, within one day's ride at that season, but we were not notified. The admission of these individuals especially the two natives to the church at that time would probably have been opposed by every other male member of the church, except those two who were present. A suspicion of this fact *may* have been the reason why it was done in secret. I wish to inquire if such proceedings are according to church order & valid. According to congregational principles it certainly cannot be valid, & I do not see how it can be according to Presbyterian principles; for this church is not acknowledged to be a Presbyterian church. No session has been formed. Power has been delegated to no individuals

⁹⁸ Under Congregational polity (and Smith was a Congregational minister), new members were received by vote of the church members. However, under Presbyterian polity, and Spalding was a Presbyterian, the session, made up of the minister and the elders, was the body to receive new members. Spalding and Whitman therefore were the proper persons to decide who were to join.

to admit members. I do not say those individuals are not christians. They possibly may be christians, but the evidence they give, at least some of them I consider very doubtful. If they are christian certainly they are not intelligent christians, & in my candid opinion they are not prepared for admission to the church.

I do not believe they know *why* they are in the church, nor that they are able to give a satisfactory reason for "the hope that is in them." It is now several months, it is true, since I have seen those individuals, but from the fact that I have not as yet seen any individual even those who have had the best advantages, who has any clear & satisfactory idea of the atonement of Christ, I do not see how it is possible that they should understandingly embrace the Savior. There are many individuals who evidently think themselves christians, but they invariably so far as I have seen, rest their evidence of a change on the fact that they have forsaken their former wicked practices. Evidence of regeneration should be very clear & decisive among this people from the fact that they make great religious pretences & we are extremely liable to be deceived in their characters unless we watch them closely. They are very anxious to have us think that they are good, & often take great pains in attempting to convince us that they are so.

I will further say, that those individuals were admitted to the church without any articles of faith or covenant in their language & no one here is able to explain the articles of faith & covenant satisfactorily in the Nez Perce language. Consequently they know not what they are required to believe or what covenant they have entered into with God & his people.

One remark in the Report for 1838, I forgot to mention when speaking of what had been published. It is on pp. 126. "So much interested in the object of this journey were the Nez Percés, that four of their number accompanied Mr. Gray, bringing with them a large number of horses & some other such property as they possessed, with the expectation that the avails of their sale in the United States might defray a part of the expense of conducting the new missionaries to their country." In some way a wrong impression has been rec'd respecting this. On arriving here I found that the Indians had no expectation of assisting the missionaries in this way; but that the horses were sent with the express promise that they should receive a cow for each horse. The horses were actually sold here & one Indian actually met us at the Rendezvous to receive his cows in return for the horses he had given. As it turned out cows did not arrive here to cancel these obligations & the Indians have made no small trouble about it. As yet the mission families are not properly supplied with cows & none can be spared to the Indians without taking away the means of living from our families. All of these bargains with the Indians were made by Mr.

Spalding except one which Mr. G. made at Rendezvous when on his way home.

Mr. S. has found it necessary to give the Indians something in return for those horses in order to get along peaceably with them. So much for what has been published to the world as the generosity of these Indians & their desire for missionaries.

On the next page are some remarks respecting the simplicity of the language. Respecting the language, I have already written & will write you more soon.

Respecting the sending of missionaries across the continent, permit me to say that I hope it will never again be done. The more I think of our journey the more fully satisfied I am that it is improper for missionaries, especially females, thus to travel, certainly while there is access to the field by sea. The trials, hardships & perplexities of such a journey no one can realize but those who have undertaken it. We suffered from hunger & thirst, cold & heat, parching winds & severe storms in an unprotected situation, flying sands & dust & poisonous insects and musketoos, extreme hardship & fatigues & more than all were deprived of sabbaths & means of spiritual improvement. I can assure you it requires more grace than any of your missionaries whom you have sent across the Rocky Mountains possess, to bear up under such trials & not have their piety seriously affected. I am fully satisfied that the influence of this journey has been decidedly unfavorable on the religious character of every one who has undertaken it. I doubt whether it is possible for any to live to long without sabbaths & not have their religious character grow into deformity. I never could be induced to undertake this journey again under the same circumstances, in preference to a voyage at sea, on any consideration whatever. The idea of thus profaning the holy sabbath by travelling to reach our field of labor is revolting indeed. I dread to have this fact generally known among the churches, lest it produce an unfavorable influence.

Mrs. S. health is rather poor. She is suffering under a spinal affection, as we have recently discovered, for which we are now applying remedies. I hope she will obtain relief, but this is a disease, the cure of which is not easily affected.

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly in the fellowship of the gospel.

A. B. SMITH.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ This letter, written on February 6, 1840, was not received by Secretary Greene in Boston until February 8, 1841, over a year later. The slowness of the Oregon mail in those days was another complicating factor that adversely affected the administration of the Oregon Mission.

Four Letters of Complaint

In the lonely isolation of Kamiah, the unhappy Smith had plenty of time to brood on his misfortunes and to write letters. During 1840 his seven letters to Secretary Greene totaled over 30,000 words! As has been mentioned, his letter of February 6th, quoted above, ran to about 9,600 words! However, the letter dated September 3rd extended beyond 10,000 words. And in all probability he wrote with a quill pen.

*Smith's five letters to Greene, dated February 25, August 5, August 31, September 3, and September 28, 1840, follow. In these letters Smith analyses in detail what he considered to be the underlying reasons for the dissensions within the Mission. He traced nearly all of the difficulties back to Spalding. Smith declared that he might not have been in the unpromising Oregon Mission if it had not been for the exaggerated and over-optimistic reports which Spalding had sent to the Board in 1836 and 1837, which were published in the *Missionary Herald*. He tells Greene about an old quarrel which existed between Spalding and Whitman. Smith probably did not know that Spalding was a rejected suitor of Narcissa Prentiss or surely he would have mentioned it. He accuses Spalding of accumulating horses for his personal profit, of dissembling, and even of dishonesty.*

The year 1840 was the year of greatest discord in the Oregon Mission of the American Board. The annual meeting held at Lapwai, beginning July 4th, was marked by sharp disagreement. The three chief malcontents, Smith, Gray, and Rogers, compared notes and were mutually encouraged to continue their fault finding. Four out of the seven letters Smith wrote to Greene in 1840 carried severe criticisms of Spalding. During the same year Gray wrote three similar letters. Whitman wrote one in a much more restrained tone. Walker and Eells, living at Tshimakain, were removed from the personalities involved and made no disparaging comments.

The Minutes for the annual meeting of 1840, which were kept by Smith and sent by him to Greene, are inserted before Smith's letter of September 3rd.

KAMIAH, OREGON TER'Y, Feb. 25, 1840

TO REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR, I have just written you a very long letter under date

of Feb. 6th which I find far too bulky to send you by the H.H. B. Co's Express & shall therefore send it by way of the Sandwich Islands. We hope soon to have an opportunity of sending direct by that route to the United States. The principal information I have to communicate to you is contained in that letter, in which I have given some account of the discouragements we meet with from various sources in this field &c.

The last letter you will have recd from me before this reaches you, is one of Sept. last, at which time we were about moving to this place. We arrived here on the last of Sept. & commenced building & before winter we were enabled to make ourselves more comfortable than we have been since we left the States. Our house is small but very comfortable. It is situated on the bank of the Koos-koos-kee River, adjoining which is a small circular plain of about 30 acres, a part of which appears to be very good land.¹⁰⁰ This little plain I am surrounding with a fence of small pines which grow along the borders of the plain, a portion of which I design for cultivation & the rest for a pasture. I hope to be able by thus fencing to be able to secure what provisions we need without devoting very much of my time to it.¹⁰¹ At the other stations much is lost for want of fences. We have the prospect of being in a situation to obtain the necessaries & many of the comforts of life. We have had the misfortune this winter to lose our only American cow, having eaten a poisonous plant. It is a very great loss to us, as we have but one other & that one of the poor breed of the country & worth but little. But Mr. Gray has kindly offered us one of his to make up our loss.

The greatest number of natives who have been at this station at any one time is about 275. They remain however but little with us, as they are going here & there for provisions. The whole number speaking the Nez Perces language we are now satisfied from actually numbering them to a considerable extent, cannot exceed 3,000. Respecting this & the scattered condition of the people their wandering habits &c I have written you fully.

Respecting the character of this people, every day's experience convinces me more fully of their supreme selfishness. They are self righteous in the extreme & labor hard to convince us of their goodness, but their hearts are enmity against God. They love not the truth when it condemns them. They have considerable knowledge of the bible, its historical parts which they remember extremely well, but they know very little of the doctrines of christianity. I have not seen one who has

¹⁰⁰ This "circular plain of about 30 acres" has been identified by some of the older Kamiah Indians as being on the north bank of the Clearwater River, about four miles downstream from the First Presbyterian Church (Indian) of Kamiah by the present railroad bridge. See illustration at page 131.

¹⁰¹ Smith made no effort to develop at Kamiah a demonstration center of agriculture and animal husbandry as Spalding was doing at Lapwai. Smith was content to cultivate only enough to supply him with the necessary provisions.

any clear idea of the atonement. This I think arises from the fact that they have no idea of law, penalty, or justice. This has for months been my principal topic of instruction, the atonement as connected with the transgression of the divine law, still they seem not to understand it at all. Of course the truth can have but little affect on their minds. I have seen but one individual since I have been at this station who has seemed to be at all affected by the truth. This is my teacher, who has more knowledge of the truths of the gospel than any one of the natives with whom I have conversed. Sometimes I have thought that he had some sense of his sins & his lost condition. He has often when I have conversed with him, but still he often gives me reason to doubt the sincerity of his seriousness. His heart is full of pride & he is evidently resting on his own good works. Sometimes I think he makes these pretenses in order to please me, as he is very submissive to me, for he feels himself some what dependent on me, & wishes to obtain favors from me.

He may be truly serious, but certain it is that nothing but the Spirit of God can reach his heart.

Mrs. S.s health is rather poor. She is suffering under a spinal affection.

Yours in the fellowship of the gospel.

A. B. SMITH

KAMIAH, OREGON TER. Aug. 5th 1840

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR. My expenses for the past year I have neglected to report to you till the present time on account of not receiving our bill in season to send by the express across the mountains.

My expenses for the past year, 1839, are as follows:

For Indian goods	21	-	2	-	11
Wages of one man	17	-	0	-	0
Half of the wages of one man part of the year 1838 at Waiiletpu	6	-	0	-	6
Amount car'd forward	44	-	3	-	5
Amount bro't forward	44	-	3	-	5
Utensils for farming, building	7	-	8	-	2
Clothing, household furniture, &c & building materials, medicines	33	-	14	-	8
Freight on goods from U.S. & from Oahu to Walla Walla	4	-	17	-	4
Freight on goods from Vancouver	3	-	10	-	
Total	£ 93	-	13	-	7

My expenses for the year past have been greater somewhat than I anticipated yet, considering that they are the expenses incurred in forming a new station & that near 200 miles from the port where our goods are landed, I think they cannot be considered unreasonably large. I shall not have occasion to make as large a bill again.

The present year my bill will not exceed £ 40 exclusive of hired help. At present I have no hired man & cannot get one. I have written to the Sandwich Islands for a christian man & wife. Whether they will come or not I cannot tell. Should I succeed in obtaining help, my expenses cannot exceed £ 60.

It is of immense importance that we have faithful servants to take care of our temporal concern. If we cannot have such we had better leave the country at once, for we should be wearing out our lives here to little or no purpose. The Indians we cannot depend upon. They are sure to take the advantage & trouble us when we are without help. I am satisfied that the only way to accomplish any thing is to make ourselves independent of the Indians. If we are not dependent on them for assistance or any of the means of living, it will save us from endless perplexity & trouble with them. On this subject I intend to write more fully at another time.

I remain, My Dear Sir, yours truly

A. B. SMITH

KAMIAH, OREGON TER'Y, Aug. 31st 1840

REV. D. GREEN
BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR, Yours of Oct. 5th '39 was rec'd July 2nd. I regretted much that you were under the necessity of writing me in so great haste, but hope soon to hear from you again more at length. This is the only communication I have rec'd from you, directed to me alone since our arrival here.

My communications to you since the one acknowledged in your letter to me are as follows: Sept. 1839; Feb. 6th & Feb. 25th & Aug. 5th, 1840.

Since writing you in Feb. last, my time has been very much occupied in temporal concerns & I have been able to do but little in improving my knowledge of the language or in communicating instruction to the people. The opportunities for communicating instruction would have been indeed small had I been able to devote my time wholly to it. Most of the time for six months there have been few or no people about us. They have been wandering here & there in quest of food, the same as formerly.

The same difficulty is experienced at all the stations. While the people remain in their present situation it seems utterly impossible to keep up a school during the summer, unless it be a boarding school, &

whether a boarding school is practicable I have very strong doubts. Such a system of operations must greatly increase the number of laborers & the expenses of the mission. Again I have many doubts whether children to any extent would be obtained on this plan. Their children are very important service to them in their present mode of living. As soon as a boy is able to throw a rope & catch a horse, which is while he is very young, he is of very important service to his parents or friends in taking care of horses. As soon as a girl is able to follow her mother & dig roots, she too is of great service & I do not think children could to any extent be obtained. Indeed, if they can be induced thus to give up their children, judging from what I have already seen, they would feel that we were under obligation not only to support the children, but do much also towards supporting the family. To provide for such an establishment in such a country as this, would be attended with far greater difficulty & expense than were the early establishments among the Cherokees & Choctaws. This is a subject on which I have thought much & examined the early History of those missions, & I find the subject is beset with difficulties on every side.

At present a school can be sustained here only about six months in a year & that liable to numerous interruptions. The prospect that the people will change their habits & become a settled people & thus be a situation to be instructed is not so favorable as may be supposed. The encouragement to do so is not so great as you may apprehend.

From the reports of the great crops here in '38 you may have a very wrong idea respecting the soil of this country. It is by no means like the alluvial tracts of the western States of "inexhaustible fertility" tho' there are occasional spots of small extent, which with the genial summer showers of New England, would produce fine crops. But such seasons are rare here — only *one* out of *four* since the commencement of this mission has been favorable. Irrigation we find is our only safe guard & but few spots indeed can be found favorable for this. Without irrigation we can expect usually but small crops of corn & potatoes. Peas if sowed in season to get their growth before the dry season commences, do well. Also winter wheat, if there are sufficient autumnal rains to moisten the ground & cause the grain to sprout, will do well. The ground becomes completely baked or crusted over during the dry season, so that grain cannot grow if buried in it, but must remain for the autumnal rains to moisten it.

It is usually very difficult to fence land here for want of timber, so that what is cultivated by the natives is liable to be destroyed by horses & cattle. Cultivation too, in order to be successful, requires a great amount of labor, so that we have good reasons to fear that an idle wandering people will soon be discouraged in their attempts to cultivate. As yet their cultivation has scarcely diminished their wander-

ing at all. Seed time & harvest confines them where their fields are & between these periods they are usually wandering not looking after their fields & when they return find little or nothing.

About Waiiletpu, I think, there is more good land & of a better quality than in any place between that immediate vicinity & this station. The soil there has a greater proportion of clay & suffers less from drought than in this region.

The country too is to some extent exposed to frosts. The first year of this mission, crops were destroyed or injured from this source. Again this season there has been frost at this station every month except June. It has not however been severe enough to do any very great damage. I have a very good crop of peas & corn, & potatoes promise very well. The corn & potatoes have been irrigated.

You see from these remarks that the agriculture prospects of the country, even in the narrow limits where cultivation can be carried on, are by no means the most favorable. This upper country, which is occupied by this mission might sustain a very sparse population by means of herds & flocks.¹⁰²

The people would like very well to have houses built for them but with their present habits, they would not live in them. Indeed they could not, they are so filthy in their habits, but in the course of a few weeks would be under the necessity of leaving them to be occupied by swarms of fleas. Their filthy habits render it necessary for them to change their place of residence every few weeks. But they would like houses where they could store their stuff while wandering about.

That the people will change their habits & become a settled people enjoying the blessings of civilization before the gospel savingly affects their hearts, is something which the history of missions does not warrant us to expect. But how can we bring the gospel to bear on them while they are living a wandering life? Some may say we ought to wander with them. But here we meet difficulties. They wander usually in small clans. But few can be found together & they are so occupied as to furnish but little opportunity for giving instruction. Again *our* situation is such as to render it impossible. We can only stay where we are & instruct what we can find.

During the summer, even while none were in camp near us, we have had a congregation on the Sabbath varying from 20 to 100 & sometimes 150 according to the distance they were from us. They would come in the morning on horse back & return at evening, often a distance of 5, 10, or 15 miles. They are fond of a horseback ride on the Sabbath & it furnishes them an opportunity for assembling together & learning & telling news & they are sure to improve it for such purposes,

¹⁰² Smith was a poor prognosticator. Were he able to return today to the scene of his labors in northern Idaho, he would be amazed to see how the "upper country" was developed with prosperous villages and rich wheat land.

notwithstanding the religious instruction they receive. No special interest has been manifested in religious instruction. Usually becoming attention has been manifested during religious worship; but when the exercises are closed they seem generally to think no more about what they have heard. The chiefs usually pay the best attention in order that they may remember what is said so as to rehearse it afterwards in their lodges. They are the only ones usually who make any religious inquiries & all the inquiries which I have heard this class make usually have reference to names of persons & place which it was necessary for them to remember in order to relate some bible story. It is seldom that inquiries farther than this are made. The chiefs sustain the character of religious teachers & make great pretensions about being co-workers with us, & feeling discouraged that the people pay so little regard to instruction. They are "blind leaders of the blind" & while they are forming a shield for themselves to ward off the truth, they are often preventing our instructions & destroying their effect on the people.

During the summer our situation has been not a little trying & unpleasant for want of suitable assistance. In June the Hawaiian who had worked for me left, principally on account of his being alone, having none of his countrymen with him to converse with. Since that time we have had no one to assist us in the house or out of doors. Consequently I have had but little time to do any thing besides taking care of our temporal concerns. Indian help at this season is almost impossible to be had & if we could have it, it would be worth but little & cause us great difficulty. We find from experience that it is not safe to be dependent on them, for they are not to be trusted. When we are in need of them, it is the very time for them to take advantage of us & make us trouble. When we need them most, they are the least ready to help us. During the summer they have plenty to eat & they have no occasion to render us service for something in return. When they are half starved they are very ready to help. That is the Indian character. You see then the necessity of having foreign help.

But this is not all. If we are under the necessity of trading with them, or employing them in any way, we often find them bad to deal with & are in constant danger of getting into difficulty with them. It is extremely bad policy for a missionary to have this dickering with Indians. It detracts from his character as a religious teacher & lessens his influence among them. For instance they will not infrequently make trouble about pay, demand ammunition, &c. We find it necessary to keep ammunition in order to procure venison for our own use, but the keeping of it makes us no small trouble. They are continually harrassing us about it & so of every thing they want. They seem to wish to make the stations their trading posts & the most they want of us is to supply their temporal wants.

You will see from this the importance of our having the means of

living within ourselves so as to be in no way dependent on the Indians, so that our intercourse with them will be only to do them good.

As to economy also, I am satisfied that it is better to have Hawaiian help than to depend on Indians. It requires no small sum in the course of a year for Indian goods to pay for their work & when we get it, it amounts to but little. As we usually pay Indians, it is about half what the wages of a Hawaiian are, & yet all things considered, 4 Indians would not be worth so much as one Hawaiian, & the Hawaiian are poor help compared with what can be had in the States. They are slow & awkward & at the best we have a great deal to do ourselves. One good faithful American I am sure would be worth more than 4 Hawaiians, & 4 Hawaiians would require more food than 8 Americans.

The trials connected with domestic assistance are by no means small. One Hawaiian is not contented alone. We must have two, or a man & his wife. I have accordingly written to the Islands for a Christian man & wife to be sent out. But there is some doubt whether they will be sent.

Our situation has been the more trying on account of Mrs. Smith's health. The case has become rather critical & gives me no little anxiety. The hardships & exposures she has passed through have been too great for her constitution to bear up under. Last autumn it became evident that she had a spinal affection. During most of the winter & spring she was kept under a course of blistering from which I have no doubt she would have rec'd material benefit, could she have been during the summer relieved from the care & labor of the family & kept in a recumbent posture. As it has been we have had no one to relieve us & she has performed the labors of the kitchen, tho often with much pain & fatigue & in great danger of aggravating the disease & rendering her ultimately a confirmed invalid. During the summer we have worn our clothes without ironing & when we have not been able to get native assistance, I have been under the necessity of doing most of the washing myself. Such as been our situation during the summer; & is it any thing to be wondered at if under such circumstances we should desire to be in some other field where our situation should be such that we might devote our time & strength to the object to which we have devoted our lives.

The prospects of usefulness here at the best are small indeed, & to have our hands tied as they have been so as to be able to accomplish merely nothing, it is trying indeed to us. Should our situation remain as it is, we shall feel ourselves under the necessity of requesting the Prudential Committee to transfer us to the Sandwich Island mission, where we could be in a situation to devote ourselves to the great work & where I am informed are districts containing a greater population than the whole Nez Perces tribe, with no one to break to them the bread of life; or to permit us to return to our native land. But it is not our desire to leave the work. Our only desire is to be where we can

accomplish *the* work to which our lives have been devoted.

By the express next spring I shall be able to write you more definitely respecting our prospects. In our present situation we feel that we need especially your sympathies & prayers & we doubt not we have them.

In your letter you speak of "the importance of economy in every movement & that you fear you will be obliged to incur all the disastrous consequences of cutting down the allowances to the missions again." I have ever felt to sympathize with the Board on this subject, & have endeavored to make my expenses as small as my circumstances would admit of. Perhaps I might in some instances have curtailed more. I feel willing to curtail as far as our situation will admit. I would even be willing to remain without domestic assistance could I feel that we were subserving the interests of the cause to which we have devoted our lives. But in so doing in our present situation we can do but little more than to take care of ourselves. Should the pecuniary embarrassments of the Board continue to exist, I would suggest this inquiry. Would it not be better to abandon some of the least important & least promising fields, that those missions which are now in successful operation may be prosecuted without further embarrassment? I feel to sympathize with other missions & never was I prepared fully to appreciate the importance of such institutions as the one at Ceylon or that at Lahainaluna untill becoming acquainted with heathen character. The curtailment of such institutions must be attended with disastrous consequences & I believe that to curtail essentially the operations of these institutions would be attended with far more evil than the abandonment of this whole field.

Indeed closing this communication, I will make some remarks respecting the supplies recently sent out to this mission. I do not write officially, but from the views of the brethren as expressed at our last meeting. The feeling expressed was very generally that of regret that so much expense had been incurred & so large a proportion of it unnecessarily. Some of the articles sent out are valuable to us & such as cannot be easily obtained here, while others again might have been obtained to better advantage of the Company. The ploughs are invaluable articles & could we have had them as soon as we arrived it would have saved much trouble & expense. It is *well* that they came stocked, for we have no timber here. The hoes are valuable for ourselves, but not for the Indians untill they are able to have & use ploughs. The hoe they use is what is sometimes called a *grub* hoe in the States, & is used there for digging up roots &c. This only can be used in digging up ground & can be had in this country. As to mills, much expense has already been incurred here for a mill which has not gone into operation yet & when it will I am unable to say. Dr. W. will probably use one of the mills sent & the other will probably remain useless. Small iron mills which would cost comparatively little would

answer all the purposes of a mission family, or even a *hand mill*. As to the natives I think they had better pound all the grain they have as they pound their roots, untill they shall learn to *appreciate* the favors that are bestowed on them.

Crockery, tinware, woollens, most kinds of cottons, shoes, iron & many other things can be obtained here, better than to have them sent from home. It is now ascertained that the Company have brought out many things only for the purpose of supplying us. It is better that they should supply us as far as they have what we need, than to be supplied from any other source. They are not fond of transporting goods received from the States up the river, whereas everything we order of them is brought to Walla Walla without fail.

It is the wish of the members of the mission that no more be sent to the mission, except by *express order*. *Indefinite* orders we do not wish to have responded to. Already there has been no small sacrifice of property in consequence of *indefinite* orders before it was ascertained what was necessary.

As to stoves, had I remained at Waiiletpu I should have liked one, but I would hardly be at the trouble & expense of getting one to this place for it. We do not need it, tho' it might be an article of convenience.

It is to be hoped that friends will not make clothing & send out for the Indians. Some clothing has come to me for this purpose. To give it to them would be extremely bad policy & do injury instead of good. It is not of a suitable kind also. Should any be prepared in future, it would be far better than it should be stopped at the Missionary House than that it come here. Should the Indians know that clothing is sent for them & they are in the *habit* of finding out many things which they ought not, they would suppose every thing sent to the mission was for them & might tear our houses down over our heads unless a free distribution was made.

Another company of independent missionaries has arrived in the country to join the company which came out last year.¹⁰⁸ They have brought us no letters, which we regret very much. We had hoped to receive letters across the mountains.

With most affection, I remain, My Dear Sir Yours in the fellowship of the gospel.

A. B. SMITH

SEPT. 28th. The communication I was appointed to write embodying the station reports I intended to have forwarded at this time, but it must be delayed on account of not having rec'd the reports from all members of the mission.—Yours &c

A. B. SMITH

¹⁰⁸ There were two parties of independent missionaries whom the Oregon Missions of the American Board found it necessary to receive. In 1839 the Griffins and Mungers arrived and in 1840, the Clarks, A. T. Smiths, and Littlejohns. See "List of Persons" in opening section of this volume.

MINUTES OF THE 1840 ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE OREGON MISSION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD
HELD AT LAPWAI, JULY 4-9, 1840

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, Ms.

KAMIAH, Sept. 2d, 1840

MY DEAR SIR, The following is a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of the mission held at Lapwai in July last & which I forward for your inspection.

Yours truly

A. B. Smith

The fifth annual meeting of the Oregon Mission was held according to appointment at Lapwai, commencing on July 4th, 1840 & continued by adjournment until the 9th. Present:

Doct. Whitman from Waiilatpu
Messrs. Spalding & Gray from Lapwai
" Walker & Eells " Tshimakain
& Mr. Smith " Kamiah

After a sermon by Rev. H. H. Spalding, the meeting was organized by electing by ballot Rev. E. Walker Moderator & Rev. A. B. Smith, Rec. Sec. & Scribe. Doct. Whitman, Rev. Messrs. Walker & Smith were appointed a committee to prepare business for the meeting. Rev. Messrs. Spalding & Eells were appointed a committee to make arrangements for religious exercises. The minutes of the previous meeting were read.

Public letters to the mission were called for: whereupon, *Resolved*: That all public letters when answered together with copies of the answers shall be deposited with the Recording Secretary. It was stated that Mr. Rogers had rec'd a letter from Mr. Greene relative to his connection with the mission: whereupon *Resolved*: That Mr. Rogers be requested to present his letter from Mr. Greene to be read at this meeting. After the reading of which letter, *Resolved*: That Mr. Rogers be invited to sit with us & act as corresponding member.

Resolved: That the ladies be invited to attend the Session. Letters from Mr. Greene were read. Reports from the several stations occupied by this mission were presented, which reports were accepted.

Mr. Gray also presented a report respecting an exploring tour which he made in Sept. last, in accordance with a previous vote of the mission which report was accepted. Mr. Rogers presented a report relating to the printing department which report was accepted.

In relation to the station reports it was *Resolved*: That the number of cattle, horses & mules, sheep & swine be embodied in the station reports together with their increase & diminution during the year.

The Prudential Committee of the mission presented their report, which was accepted.

A considerable portion of time was spent in familiar conference respecting the affairs of the mission after which the following resolutions were passed, viz. *Resolved*: That we approve of the purchase of a canoe by Mr. Rogers when recently at Vancouver, for the use of the mission.

Resolved: That Mr. Rogers be requested to bring up from the Dalles the supplies yet remaining there in the canoe; & also to go to Vancouver to put in order such goods as may be needed from the supplies sent by the Board, & to place the remainder in such condition that they may be brought up as necessity may require, also to attend to any other business the mission may intrust to him.

Resolved: That we consider it expedient to commence a station at Shinnap.

Resolved: That Mr. Gray be removed from Lapwai & commence a location at Shinnap.

Resolved: That as soon as practicable a building suitable for the printing establishment be erected at Lapwai, & such furniture provided as is necessary to carry on the department.

Resolved: That the printing establishment, together with the erection of a building be entrusted to Mr. Rogers under the superintendence of the Pru. Committee.

Resolved: That £30 per annum be appropriated for the support of Mr. Rogers according to previous arrangements.

Resolved: That the Pru. Committee be continued in office for the year ensuing.

Resolved: That no member of the mission be at liberty to dispose of the cattle belonging to the mission, except by vote of the mission.

Resolved: That the members of the mission located in the Nez Perce language, together with Mr. Rogers be a committee for the examination & admission to the church of natives in that language.

Resolved: That the members of the mission located in the Flathead language be a committee for the examination & admission to the church of natives in that language.

Resolved: That Mr. Smith be appointed to embody the facts contained in the station reports in a letter to the Board.

Resolved: That the sawmill built at Lapwai by Messrs. Spalding & Gray be under the direction & superintendance of the Pru. Committee.

Resolved: That Doct. Whitman be at liberty to make use of one of the mills sent by the Board at his station.

Resolved: That Doct. Whitman & Mr. Rogers be a committee to assist Mr. Gray in selecting a location at Shinnap.

Resolved: That Mr. Smith be appointed to write a letter to J. McLoughlin, Esq. & also to the associates who are expected.

Resolved: That the next meeting of this mission be at Waiiletpu on Thursday the 8th of July 1841.

The minutes of the meeting were read & accepted. The sessions were opened & closed with prayer by the several members of the mission & the meeting was closed with prayers by Rev. H. H. Spalding & the Scribe.

Attest, A. B. SMITH, *Scribe*

[Note on letter.— Recd. Oct. 2, 1841. Ackd to Walker & Eells 26 Feb. 1842. D.C.]

KAMIAH, OREGON, Sept. 3d, 1840

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR, In my letter to you of Feb. 6th I made some remarks respecting the accounts from this mission which have been published. Since that time I have rec'd the abstract of the Report for 1839, in which I find some statements which need correction.

It is stated that "around the station of Mr. Spalding 70 or 80 Indian families have located themselves" &c. If it is meant that so many families encamp at that station & remain a few weeks during the year, it is true. In the same way a great proportion of the natives belonging to this tribe may be said to be located around the several stations, for most of them spend some little time during the year at some one of the stations. But if it is meant that so many families are permanently located & remain constantly at the station it is false as any thing can be. Scarcely any remain permanently at that station, almost all are away a great part of the summer. Doubtless the idea is given that so many families are settled. This has doubtless arisen from a careless statement on the part of Mr. Spalding.

Careless statements in future will be guarded against, as an official document will go to the Board annually containing the substance of the station reports as *accepted* by the *mission*.

Respecting the admissions to the church, mentioned in the same report, a very gross mistake has in some way been made. It was not an Indian that was admitted, but Charles Compo, Mr. Parker's interpreter when in this country. He is of French origin & was educated a Catholic. This was the only admission at that time. His wife was not admitted as the report states.

The church was formed a few days before our arrival, even after they had heard from us & knew that we were near. Still they hastened business forward & organized a church & admitted this individual. He was ignorant as Catholics usually are. He came to Doct. Whitman in the spring & remained there during the summer, during which time they suppose he was converted & without giving him an opportunity to show fruits of conversion in his life, he was admitted to the church. He is a very quiet peaceable, harmless man, but has not given any very decided evidence of piety. Indeed some of us, Mr. Eells especially,

have doubted his piety. He remained at Waiiletpu till the following spring when he went to the Willamette where he now is. Mr. Rogers inquired about him when at the Willamette a short time since & learned that he absented himself from all the religious privileges enjoyed at that place, thus showing that he has no desire to meet with the people of God. Mr. R., tho he saw him, had no convenient opportunity to converse with him.

In my letter of Feb. 8th, I mentioned the admission of two natives & one American to the church & the circumstances under which it took place. I have since conversed with only one of the natives & I could not gain any satisfactory evidence that he was a christian. It is possible that he may be a child of God; but certainly I should not have dared to place the seal of the covenant upon him.¹⁰⁴ The most favorable that I can speak of him is, that he gives but doubtful evidence of piety. He has no clear views of the nature of sin or of the plan of salvation & I fear that he has never been made sensible of the vileness of his own heart. The case of the other from what I have seen & heard cannot be any more favorable. They are usually very circumspect in their conduct so far as I know but this may be said of others who are as self righteous as even the Pharisees were.

I feel deeply the importance of the expression you made in your letter to Mr. Spalding which was read at the meeting of the mission, "Guard well the church," & there are others of the mission who feel its importance as much as I do. We cannot be too careful on this point. We are extremely liable to be deceived respecting the character of natives. As yet we understand their language but imperfectly & find it extremely difficult to know what their feelings are.

There has been a great desire, manifested on the part of Mr. Spalding, to get natives into the church & had not this mission been reinforced, probably there would before this have been a large number counted as members of the church of Christ. I fear that he has been actuated by a desire to follow up the glowing accounts he has given

¹⁰⁴ Smith here touches upon a fundamental difference of missionary policy of the missionaries of the American Board and those of the Roman Catholic faith and also of the Protestant Episcopal. The Roman Catholics, with their emphasis upon the necessity of baptism, administered this sacrament whenever possible and gave religious instruction later. The Episcopal missionaries in their various fields of labor were inclined to do likewise. The Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, on the other hand, looked upon baptism as the initiatory rite into church membership and reserved it, therefore, for those who had been instructed for membership. The latter made exceptions for infant baptisms. This fundamental difference of evangelization meant that we can not compare the results of the labors of the respective groups of missionaries by counting the number of baptisms. Spalding was inclined to be lenient in deciding who was ready for baptism. Smith was quick to criticize him for this. In his old age, when Spalding returned to the Nez Perce field, he was not inhibited by dissenting colleagues. He then reported over 1,000 baptisms from among the Nez Percés and the Spokanes within a space of about two years.

by a report of many added to the church, rather than a desire for the best interests of Zion. But in this my fears may be wrong.

From the minutes of the last meeting of the mission you will see that resolutions are passed which will in future prevent admissions to the church under such circumstances as those who were admitted.

The same report gives account of two children who had resided in Mr. Spalding's family, as having died leaving evidence that "they had been born of the Spirit." From what I have seen for two years among this people, I am led to believe that Mr. Spalding was deceived respecting these two Indian girls. It is rarely the case than an Indian ever manifests any concern when dying. They have an idea if any one is thinking about Christ & praying when he is dying he will certainly go to heaven, & so the friends are constantly asking a dying person if he is thinking about Christ, if he is praying &c. Mr. Spalding baptised these girls when at the point of death, after which they say "they appeared very happy." Of course they would, for they supposed that by this ordinance heaven was secure to them.

Cases of the same kind might be multiplied by pursuing the same course, & cases of equal interest. One at this station died a few weeks since coming to think he was certainly going to heaven, for said he "I have a '*kimit kaihkaish tumina*' a new, clean heart." They are all very ready to hope that they are christians if we will encourage it, & even while we are trying to show them that they are deceiving themselves, they evidently think themselves christians notwithstanding. External rites in their views constitutes them christians, which shows plainly the origin of their religious motives. The Nez Perces school which "seemed likely to embrace 150 pupils," continued a few weeks during that autumn with about 60 scholars.

One thing more which has been published I will speak of. It is a remark on pp. 425 of the *Herald* for 1837 respecting a railroad across the Rocky mountains. The remark of Mr. Spalding I have supposed to be a sportive one & I should have said nothing about it had I not recently rec'd intelligence from my friends that Mr. Parker is stating with a great deal of confidence that there will be a rail road across the mountains in a few years. It certainly appears to me that a man who has travelled over the ground himself must be strongly beside himself to make such a remark.¹⁰⁶ I see too from a news paper that the inhabitants of Iowa Ter'y have been discussing the propriety of having such a rail road — & the Editor sportingly asks "What next?" It will do very well for people at home who know nothing of this country, but think Oregon "a perfect Paradise," to discuss such a subject. But any sober man who has travelled the ground over, I should suppose

¹⁰⁶ Smith's negative attitude is nowhere better revealed than in his refusal to believe that railroads would some day cross the continent. He lived to see the trans-continental railroad completed in 1869 and also to see in 1885 the railroad cross southern Idaho.

would consider such a project perfectly visionary. In the first place the country here is of too little value to warrant such an expense. Again 1500 miles of the way, the land is unfit for settlement on the route we came & this is doubtless the most direct & favorable for a railroad & the only one which could touch the "Soda Springs." The route up the Missouri would be extremely circuitous & the navigation is extremely difficult & dangerous. Again most of the whole route is almost entirely destitute of timber, either for the construction of a rail road or for fuel — & the greater part of the way, it is a region which cannot furnish coal. It would indeed be a desirable object to us who are so far out of the world that by the usual route all the intelligence we receive is nearly a year old when it reaches us. But enough of this. I fear I shall weary you with my long letters.

Since I wrote you in Feb. last, Mr. Gray has forwarded to you a communication in which he has made several statements respecting Mr. Spalding, which are of an unpleasant character.¹⁰⁶ Mr. Gray sent the communication to me & wished to know if I would sustain him in making such a communication. I told him I would — I told him, however, that I did not mean that I would sustain him in communicating any thing that was of a *more personal* character. But in making statement of facts respecting the conduct & character of Mr. Spalding which related to the interests of the mission, I would sustain him. My language on that point I think he quoted in the communication. He wished to know also whether I thought best to send the communication at that time it was sent or to defer it till after we should have a meeting of the mission. In reply to this I stated that I had some objections to sending the communication until Mr. Spalding's conduct should be inquired into by the mission & he should be dealt with according to church order. Still the importance of having the Board know something of the state of things here, might justify the immediate sending of it. After I had given him this doubtful advice, I thought that perhaps he would defer the sending of the communication. He however did not, but sent it immediately.

As to the matter contained in that communication, I have no doubt as to the truth of it. Some of the facts I have myself been witness to, or remarks of the same kind I have heard Mr. Spalding make. Other facts Mr. Hall, Mr. Rogers & Doct. Whitman have been witness to. There were but few facts stated in that communication, but such as can be proved by other witnesses than Mr. and Mrs. Gray.

Many things have transpired since I have been a member of this mission, which I have long wished were known to the Board. Mr. Spalding has made statements & manifested feelings which I have

¹⁰⁶ It should be remembered that Spalding received Gray when no one else in the Mission was willing to live with him. The two men had weaknesses which were bound to precipitate trouble.

wished some one would communicate, but I have felt delicate about doing it myself. One sheet of my communication of Feb. 6th containing some statements of this kind, I did not send (see pp. 37 of that communication & 9th of this, following sheet part of the letter written Feb. 6th '40 — but not sent with that communication, 37th p. of com. Feb. 6th 1840.)

You will judge from what I have already written that things are not as they should be in this station. You may well judge that there are things here which try & grieve me. It is so. There are things here that grieve me & I have long felt desirous of unburdening myself to you. It is not of personal injuries rec'd from my brethren that I am complaining. It is of things which concern the mission & the cause of Christ of which I speak. I have long been hesitating whether I ought to write these things to you or not. These with other things which I have not yet mentioned have laid heavily on my mind for a long time & I have been in great doubt what to do. I have written this much & now shall I go farther? There are other things which grieve me, & which I would forbear to mention but after considering long & thinking that you might hereafter blame me, should I keep silent, I cannot for bear. If I am doing wrong pardon me. But I must say, & I say it with a heavy heart too, that there is one of our number whose sympathies seem not to be with the Board, nor even with this mission generally. It is the individual already referred to, Mr. S. The course which this man takes is certainly a source of grief & despondency to me.

His conduct & the spirit which he has manifested in reference to the Board has been a grief to me. The limitation of the Board has called forth from him many unhandsome remarks & he seems to feel it very hard that he is not allowed the privilege of possessing private property, &c. Some remarks of his to me last spring will show his feelings. He has been buying a large number of horses of the Indians & he said to me "that he intended to buy 100 mares." Said I, "What will you do with them & what do you want of them." Said he, "I shall have something to depend upon, if the Board should throw me off." But said I, "The property is not yours, it belongs to the Board. It will do you no good." But said he, "I think they will never come to get the property, & if they order any of the members of the mission to take it, I will not give it up to them. If they send out any more missionaries here, I will take care of them while they stay, but they shall not carry away any of the property." This is the substance of his remarks. You may well judge what were my feelings on hearing such remarks, for he assumed *my* sympathies *are* & *ever have been* with the Board. I have no disposition to find fault with the course they pursue & I am grieved that others should do it. After hearing such sentiments advanced you might well suppose that I should take notice of that individual's course. I have done so & I hope I am not uncharitable; but

certainly there is that which looks like the carrying out of the feelings which he expressed. There is certainly that which looks like his taking all that the Board will allow him whether he needs it now or not, as if to lay it up for future use. He is furnishing the Indians as fast as possible with hogs & cows & perhaps he is doing it for right purposes & had not such sentiments been expressed I should not suspect him of any other motives.

He has even parted with an American cow to the mountain man whom he has admitted to the church, to pay him for the work & that too when it was needed in the mission. Mr. Walker & Eells have neither of them an American cow & the one which I had obtained of Dr. W. by exchange is now dead. We would either of us gladly paid that man for his work & taken the cow & denied ourselves in other things to that amount for the sake of obtaining the cow, so valuable is an American cow to us both for our support and comfort. (Mr. Gray has kindly offered me one of his American cows to make up my loss.)

In your letter rec'd last autumn, you instructed us not to have any connections with the Oberlin missionaries. Mr. S. has disregarded this instruction. Mr. Griffin, one who came out last summer, has spent the winter at Clear Water & Mr. S. has not only taken him for his counsellor, to the rejection of his brethren in the mission, but has even endeavored to persuade Mr. G. to become associated with him in his labors at that station instead of going to another field.

But I will pursue this unpleasant subject no further, tho' I might say much more, yet I forbear. I may be unnecessarily exciting your suspicions, yet I have related to you facts. If what I have written is of no consequence, commit it to the flames. It is better that I should write it to you rather than to others, for you will know what to do with it. But I will say, I do not wish you to take what I have stated, on my testimony or responsibility. I will refer you, if you wish to inquire, to Mr. E. O. Hall of the Sandwich Island mission who has been with us during the summer & has seen for himself. Mr. Cornelius Rogers too can give you any information of the kind you wish, as he has been here & has seen & known all that has transpired. (He is now employed to print for the mission.)

The preceding sheet, a part of my communication of Feb. 6th, I did not send at that time for fear that I might be too hasty & that I might be saying too much before the subject should be taken up by the mission. I send the sheet now as it contains facts & shows what my feelings were at the time I wrote. I can now make an additional statement respecting one fact mentioned on that sheet viz. the selling a cow to the mountain man. The circumstances were these. Soon after my cow died in Feb. I wrote to Mr. Spalding mentioning the fact. In answer to my letter, Mr. Spalding, after saying that he wished he had my calf to bring up, said he had just sold one cow to Conner. Mr.

Rogers writing to me a few days later makes this remark. "It is said that it is an 'ill wind which blows nobody any good,' so altho' you have lost a cow, I notice that Conner very suddenly had one lent to him when we heard that yours was dead." The sudden transition of the cow to Conner when mine was dead, excited some suspicion in the minds of Mr. Gray & Rogers & accordingly Mr. Gray inquired of Conner *when* he bought the cow. Conner went to his book & said it was the 7th of Feb. which was the date of Mr. Spalding's letter to me in which he mentioned the fact. It seems that he wrote the morning of the 7th, for the Indian came that day with the letter to me. What time in the day the cow was sold I know not. I will make no comment on this fact.

The fact of selling this cow & of disposing of others to the Indians was the occasion of the resolution passed at the last meeting. "That no member of the mission be at liberty to dispose of the cattle belonging to the mission except by vote of the mission."

Respecting Mr. Spalding's feelings towards the Board, which I remarked upon in the preceding sheet, I will further state that Mr. Rogers has mentioned to me that during the year he spent in Mr. Spalding's family "many a time had he defended the policy of the Board when assailed by Mr. Spalding."

Mr. Hall also, the first time I saw him which was at this place a few weeks after his arrival, in conversation respecting what he had heard Mr. Spalding say, remarked that "if the Board knew of Mr. Spalding's remarks & of the feelings he cherishes towards the Board, they would say to him, "come home & answer to these things." Mr. Hall dealt plainly & faithfully with Mr. Spalding on that subject & since that time I know not that he has made similar remarks. What his feelings now are in that respect I cannot tell.

The result of the meeting in July respecting the matter under consideration, you will of course feel anxious to know & I will before proceeding any farther give you some account of that meeting. When the members of the mission came together, it was plain that Mr. Spalding was standing alone. All were convinced beforehand that his conduct had been such as to demand the attention of the mission. But how to bring the subject before the mission so as to manage the affair to the best advantage we found it very difficult to determine. At length we concluded to postpone the business of the meeting & spend the time in familiar conversation respecting the affairs of the mission.

Personal difficulties were a subject of conversation, when Mr. Spalding soon began to feel that he was the person aimed at & challenged the mission to bring their charges, saying that he would act on the defensive. Mr. Eells then began to talk to Mr. Spalding very kindly, saying that we had no intention of bringing charges, but that our object was to remove difficulties in a friendly manner & restore

harmony & good feeling. In this way several times during the conversation, Mr. Eells was enabled to restrain very much the feelings & language of Mr. Sp. which otherwise might have been very boisterous.

Doct. W. remarked that he supposed that the origin of all the difficulty that had existed in this mission lay between him & Mr. Spalding. It was something long standing & existed before they left the States, tho' at the same time he was himself ignorant of it. It would not be so public for him to state it in that meeting as Mr. Spalding made it known himself while in the States. That Mr. Sp. had published from town to town before he left the States that "he would not go on a mission with Mrs. Whitman." Mr. Sp. did not deny the charge but heard it in silence as if he knew not what to answer.¹⁰⁷

Many plain remarks were made & the result was that Mr. Sp. made a kind of general confession, saying that he knew he had done wrong many times & was willing to confess it, yet he never specified a particular in which he had done wrong. Most of the brethren seemed satisfied with this & concluded to have no more said. Mr. Gray thought that there was a disposition on the part of some of the brethren to refuse him a hearing & so he thought it not best to present a copy of the communication he had sent, so that none of the members of the mission except myself know that he has made such a communication.

Brs. Walker & Eells seemed rather unwilling to know very much about the conduct of Mr. Sp. They were less connected with him & were not so much affected by the course he pursued. It was necessary too that the business should be accomplished with all possible speed in order that they might return without delay to their families. They seemed to manifest a truly christian spirit throughout the meeting. Many things were passed over in silence & only resolutions were passed to prevent in future a deviation from a proper course, as the resolutions to prevent the disposition of cattle & regulating admission to the church. I had some doubts & have still whether this would in the end be the most satisfactory, but as *dispatch* was the order of the day, we hastened matters to a close & hurried back to our lonely companions. Brs. Walker & Eells seemed to hope that Mr. Sp. would pursue a different course in future, tho' they evidently had fears. I remarked to Mr. Walker that I had understood that Mr. Hall had already made some statements to the Board respecting the unhappy state of this mission, at which he said he was glad that the Board were about to know it. Doct. W. was very *sanguine* in his expectations that

¹⁰⁷ In the author's *Henry Harmon Spalding*, the theory that Spalding was a rejected suitor of Narcissa Prentiss was rejected. However, in his *Marcus Whitman, M.D.*, confirming evidence was given to show that this was the case. Spalding is reported to have said publicly when he learned that he was being considered for the Oregon Mission as a colleague of Dr. Whitman: "I do not want to go into the same mission with Narcissa Whitman for I question her judgment." See *Marcus Whitman*, 119.

Mr. Sp. would in future do better. But this is the Doct's failing, to form hasty conclusions & be very *sanguine* in his expectations & then has the mortification of seeing his expectations fail.

Mr. Gray remarked to me that it was the fifth time that he had heard Mr. Sp. make the same kind of confession since he left the States in company with him.¹⁰⁸ As for myself, I had seen so much, I felt that I must see his future conduct before I could speak with strong confidence.

Mr. Sp. during the meeting was generally silent, seeming to be afraid to bring accusations against others as if conscious that others might bring more aggravated accusations against him. He seemed afraid to have his former conduct exposed. He prayed much during the meeting & it was known that he had kept frequent seasons of fasting & prayer for months previous & it was a matter of some wonder that while praying so much & manifesting so much zeal as he did for the Indians, his conduct should have been such as it was. Mr. Walker seemed to think that he had in this way worked himself up into a state of enthusiasm & he remarked to me during the meeting that "what discouraged him the most was that in all of Mr. Spalding's prayer he witness no brokenness of heart." That was the most striking feature manifested in his prayers.

Since the meeting one circumstance has occurred which leads me to fear that Mr. Spalding is bent on having his own way & will still plunge the mission in difficulty. The fact that I have had from both Mr. Gray & Mr. Rogers.

Just before our arrival here in '38, a Temperance Society was formed & Mr. Pambrun the gentleman in charge at Fort Walla Walla was induced to sign the pledge, but conditionally however. He agreed that he would not give the Indians any more spirits, but, as I understand, did not agree that he would not use it himself or furnish it to other gentlemen. Many Indians agreed not to drink when it was offered them. Since the meeting one of the natives whom Mr. Sp. has admitted to the church went to Walla Walla & Mr. Pambrun offered him something, whether strong-drink or lemon juice none of us know. He drank, but came back extremely sorry & told Mr. Spalding. Mr. Spalding said he would now expose Mr. Pambrun to the Indians & show them that he was a liar. He was advised by Mr. Gray & Mr. Rogers both not to do it. Still he would have his own way & made this statement about Mr. P. as a part of his Sabbath instructions to the people. What will be the result when it comes to Mr. Pambrun's ears I cannot tell. Not a single member of the mission I am sure will

¹⁰⁸ Here is evidence that Whitman and Spalding had disagreements on their westward trip in 1836. It may be that the old love affair between Henry and Narcissa was the basic source of the trouble. The two couples evidently agreed to have separate stations long before they actually arrived in Oregon.

approve of this step of Mr. Sp. This is a specimen of what has been & leads me to fear greatly respecting the man.

There are many other facts which I might mention, which will show more clearly what has been the situation of this mission & what has been the character of Mr. Spalding's labors here. I do not wish to pursue this subject in order to influence the Board against him, or to gratify any personal feelings. The task is to be a very unpleasant one, but I feel & have long felt that the truth ought to be known, as it has a serious bearing upon the cause of Christ. As to Mr. Sp's character, disposition & peculiarities of mind, you can obtain information from those who knew him in the States. Dr. Beecher knew him as a student at Lane Sem'y. & I am informed that the Board never had any testimonials from Dr. B. while in the Sem'y, & Doct. Whitman has told me that he was very much grieved with Mr. Sp. while in Cincinnati on account of the feelings he manifested respecting the Dr. He was very anxious that Dr. B. should attend the missionary meeting held on their account in order that he might make a public attack upon Dr. B. in an address he was to make at that meeting.

We called on Dr. Beecher on our way & had much conversation on the subject of Indian missions, &c, but I noticed that Dr. B. said nothing either good, bad, or indifferent about Mr. Sp., notwithstanding he was his student & we were to be associated with him. I am told by those here who were acquainted with Mr. Sp's early character, that he had no early training, that he grew up without restraint, & this may account for his aversion to wholesome regulations, & his strong desire to have his own way even when it may not seem right & from his brethren.

In the following remarks I will endeavor to show you as well as I am able, what has been the situation of this mission from the beginning to something of the policy which has been pursued.

You already know the feelings of Doct. Whitman & Mr. Sp. respecting Mr. Parker from the communications they have sent to you. Whether their feelings are right or not I cannot say. I am sure however that Mr. Parker has given some wrong impressions respecting this field &c, & the course he pursued, as near as I can ascertain was a niggardly one. The statement he has made respecting the expense of a journey across the continent, I am inclined to think have led the Board to suppose that it need cost but a small sum. But I am sure the Board cannot wish to have their missionaries make such a journey more meanly than we did. For want of more means it was necessary for us to let down the dignity of the ministerial character, & place ourselves on a level with common servants & perform the same kind & amount of drudgery which they did, while all those who travelled with us that had any claim or made any pretensions to be gentlemen were relieved from all this drudgery. Mr. Parker, altho' he thought the journey could be performed with so little expense, did not thus let down the dignity

of the ministerial character, but as I am informed by those who know, depended on others to do every thing for him & only made himself as comfortable as he could. Had I any suspicion that the Board would ever send another company of missionaries across the mountains, I would say much on this point, but I hope & pray they never will, & after receiving what has already been written on this subject, I am sure they never will.

From Doct. Whitman's own account very unpleasant feelings existed between him & Mr. Parker on that journey. Mr. Parker's side of the story of course I have not heard.

The circumstances under which the first company of missionaries came out here, you have already a hint of in the preceding remarks relative to Doct. W.'s statement in the meeting of the mission. Altho' Mr. Sp. had declared thus publicly that he would never go on a mission with Mrs. Whitman, still he came, & from the accounts which I have rec'd from each of the three [men] who composed that company, it was a scene of discord & contention from the time they left the borders of the States till they arrived here. Such were the feelings which existed at the commencement of this mission, each was against the other. When they arrived, they pretended to settle their difficulties, but subsequent conduct has plainly shown that the difficulties were slightly healed & have since broken out & continued.

As to the reinforcement, after we parted with you at New York, we came on pleasantly & were happy in each other's society till we arrived at Independence & rec'd an accession to our numbers. Here we found a man of different character & disposition & the "old leaven" was diffused among our company which resulted not only in souring the feelings of all against Mr. Gray, but also in causing displeasing feelings among our hitherto happy company. Many things occurred on the journey of an unpleasant character & altho' the difficulties evidently originated in the conduct & management of one individual yet in the end there was that which was wrong on every side, & we all have reason to feel that we were guilty, & to humble ourselves before God on account of our sins during that journey.

After our arrival here Mr. Gray was located with Mr. Sp. & all the rest of us remained at Doct. W.'s during the winter. Scarcely was the first meeting over before we began to perceive the feelings which existed in the mission. During the winter unpleasant letters were passed between Mr. Sp. & Doct. W. & it was found up to the time of the last meeting that the difficulties remained.

The unpleasant feelings which existed among the reinforcement have been removed. Mr. G. has asked the forgiveness of his brethren & seemed to lament deeply his conduct on the journey. When Mr. G. went to the station of Mr. Sp. it appeared that those two were united, but what the result has been you have already learned from Mr. G's

letters. Respecting what has transpired between those two, I need say but little; as Mr. G. has given many facts. I will say that it became evident to my mind before the close of one year that they *could not* or *would not* agree. Mr. Sp. seemed determined that unless Mr. G. would act according to his notions, he should not remain there. Last autumn he seemed to use all his influence to get him away & when he had gone, he seemed determined that he should not return & when he did return he treated him accordingly; & certainly his conduct towards Mr. G. during the winter was unparalleled. He took no pains to conceal his feelings from the Indians, but even told them that Mr. G. had no right there & forbid their working for him &c. Reports of this kind come by the Indians to this station. He would also call in Blair, Williams & Conner, hired men, & two of them irreligious, to be witnesses when he had any thing to say to Mr. G.

I will here introduce a few extracts from a letter of Mr. Rogers to me dated Clear Water, Jan 29th '40. Mr. R. has just gone from this station & had heard reports here before he went. The extracts will contain the substance of the conversation on the evening of the 28th of Jan. referred to in Mr. G's letter, as having taken place between Messrs. Hall, Whitman, Spalding, Rogers, &c. It will show you the character of some things better than I can relate them. Mr. R. was present & heard the whole conversation & took part in it.

He writes: "You heard what I said the Indians told me about Mr. Spalding's reports in relation to Mr. Gray. I have only heard them confirmed.

"It also appears that Mr. Gray employed a few Indians to take 3 or 4 logs to the saw mill & Mr. Spalding had requested them in the morning to roll up his timber, so Mr. Sp. ordered them to stop Mr. G's work, which was attempted but did not succeed. He told James (the Indian chief at that place) that he had gone over to Mr. Gray, & he expected that he would be taking the land & giving it to Mr. Gray next.

"Mr. Griffin refused to do a small job (in the blacksmith's shop) for Mr. Gray, saying that he would not burn coal for him!" Mr. Griffin had been employed to do work in the shop for the mission. "Mr. Spalding told Conner that if they undertook to remove him from this station, they would find that it would take considerable *power* to do it. This arose from Mr. Gray's answering in the affirmative Conner's question as to whether the mission could remove Mr. Spalding.

"Last evening Mr. Spalding was called into Mr. Gray's room to make an arrangement with me." (Respecting the printing department.) After mentioning some conversation with took place on the subject of his taking charge of the printing office, he [Roger] says: "The above conversation brought on the subject of Griffin's conduct in the shop." (Refusing to work for Mr. Gray) "when Doct. W. & myself both

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remarked that Mr. Griffin gave us the impression that he was ported by Mr. Spalding." Mr. Spalding immediately said, "You *accuse* me of supporting Mr. Griffin & you will take it back or I will call Mr. G. to prove my innocence." I said, "Call him if we take back what you call a charge, but which is not a charge we shall say, we rec'd no such impressions: which would be barefaced lying in us, & that he could gain nothing by calling Mr. Griffin." Mr. Griffin came. Mr. Spalding asked him whether he had ever told him not to work for Mr. Gray. Mr. Griffin said he never had told him so, & Mr. Spalding said moreover that he was sorry Mr. Griffin did not do it. We all told Mr. Spalding, "That he had seemingly freed himself from suspicion, but that the impression we *had rec'd* from Mr. Griffin's conduct remained the same & must ever remain so. Nevertheless he might be guilty of backing up Mr. Griffin altho' he never *told* him not to work for Mr. Gray. Many appeals to heaven by Mr. Spalding & that part of the subject was dropped."

After mentioning some conversation which took place between Mr. Griffin & Doct. W., Mr. Rogers writes:

"Mr. Griffin began a disquisition on Mr. Gray's relations to this station &c when Doct. W. told him he had no business with that subject & he would not hear it. Mr. Griffin, however, wished to justify himself to the mission for not doing work which was asked by one of its members: in doing which he said, 'that he was afraid to do it, because he had reason to believe Mr. Spalding was the only one who could have work done to be used at this station, moreover that he was informed that Mr. Gray was about to commence an opposite establishment here.' As he pronounced these last words, Mr. Hall, Doct. W. & myself simultaneously exclaimed, 'There! There! Mr. Spalding has proved against himself the charge which he accused Doct. W. & Mr. Rogers of making.' This produced speechlessness on both of them, as the truth stared every one in the face."¹⁰⁹

"Mr. Spalding was then told plainly of his initiating [ingratiating] himself with the Indians & of his making counsellors of those who were not members of the mission. He cringed & denied, but proof was too near at hand, & every turn only involved him deeper."

I have made this long quotation for the purpose of showing you

¹⁰⁹ Griffin and Spalding became very friendly. Griffin supported Spalding in his policy of settling the Indians. On February 4, 1884, Griffin wrote to Myron Eells (a son of Cushing Eells) stating: "Instead of yielding my influence in that direction, I did all in my power to get him (Whitman) into the same. . . . In that last part of the season of '40 in about the last discussion with him (Whitman) on the subject, & he became almost abusive to me for my influence with Spalding & in my justification of him (Spalding) in the nomadic work, I declared that I would no more discuss the matter after I should add one more sentence, i.e. 'Dr. your Indians are all going to Hell on horseback.'" Original letter in Whitman College.

minutely some of the transactions here. Mr. Gray has given me the same account of what took place that evening & Doct. W. in referring to it said that "Mr. Hall cannot be convinced that Mr. Spalding did not tell two absolute falsehoods." As to that you can judge for yourself from Mr. Roger's account of what took place.

As to the affair between Mr. Spalding & Mr. Gray there was doubtless wrong on both sides. They are both very passionate men & are easily excited to do & say what is wrong.

Respecting Mr. Spalding's instructions to the Indians, I will make a few remarks. This is a subject which caused Doct. W. many unpleasant feelings before our arrival. Soon after we arrived here, he mentioned to me that Mr. Sp. was in the habit of mingling his instructions from the bible with a great deal of fiction so that the people were getting a great deal of error. I have since found by my experience that Doct. W's remarks were by no means without foundation. Indeed I have found Mr. Sp's instructions worse in this respect than he represented. This extended to all his instruction, whether from historical portions of the bible or from parables. For instances in giving the account of creation, the fall of man &c, he would fill it up with fiction something after the manner of Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, & give them the idea that it was all in the bible.

In giving the story of Abraham offering up Isaac, he would have a long dialogue between Abraham & his son & tell them so says the Book. In giving the parable of the rich man & Lazarus, he would tell them about the rich man's wife, what they said to each other when they were in hell, what the devil said, &c, & the Indians would suppose the whole was contained in the bible. Such has been the careless manner of his instruction to the people & as you may well suppose, we find an abundance of error among the people & it is not an easy thing to correct it. In addition to this he has made free use of pictures in giving instructions, & has also given them out to several chiefs to carry away with them in order to instruct the people from them.¹¹⁰ I know not that these paintings have ever been an object of worship with them, but this much is certain, they have been a fruitful source of error. It is even reported among the Indians that Mr. Sp. has sold these paintings for a horse. The fact as it has come from the Indians seems to be this — Mr. Sp. gave a chief one of these paintings containing a representation of Christ under various circumstances, & the chief in return presented Mr. Sp. with a horse which was accepted. This is trading after the manner of Indians. They never trade among themselves for so much,

¹¹⁰ Mrs. Spalding had some ability as a painter and aided her husband by drawing biblical pictures. The original copy of the Protestant "ladder" by Mrs. Spalding is in the Oregon Historical Society museum in Portland. This was a representation of church history by taking symbolical scenes out of each century. In order to brighten the drab interior of their pioneer home at Lapwai, Mrs. Spalding is reported to have decorated the walls with her brush.

one makes a present of what he pleases to another. The other makes a present in return of what he pleases. If however the former thinks it is not enough he will take the liberty at some future time to beg any thing he wishes for till he is satisfied. If, however, foreigners make too small a present in return, they will take their present back. It is evident that the Indians understood the painting to be sold from the fact that "Takansuatis", when he fell out with Mr. Spalding, accused him of "selling the body of Christ for a horse."

The method of instruction of which I have spoken & the use of paintings has doubtless arisen from Mr. Spalding's limited knowledge of the language. Being unable to translate the portion or even to give the idea contained in it in a concise manner, he seems to have fallen into this narrative form of addressing the Indians & in order to lengthen out his speech would add new circumstances to the narrative. It is much easier to convey instruction in the narrative form than in any other way, for when language fails, signs can be used.

Mr. Sp. has been in the habit of dwelling much on their wicked practices, such as fighting, stealing, adultery, lying, medicine juggling, gambling, &c, & the Indians very generally seem to think that sin consists only in such practices & if they leave them off & are strict in religious worship, this is all that is required of them.

We all find it difficult in many instances fail in attempting to convey truth to their minds on account of our limited knowledge of the language & of its unparalleled peculiarities, but while unable to convey *the* truth we desired, all the *rest* have been careful not to convey error. Mr. Sp. a year ago sent me what he had prepared for a book, which I corrected as I have mentioned in a previous letter. Among the matter was a description of the scene in the garden of Gethsemane & some remarks on the atonement. The language of this I found conveyed to the minds of the Indians the idea that Christ had by his death secured the salvation of all. I refused to correct it & advised him not to think of putting it in the book & it was not inserted. Doct. W. & myself talked to him faithfully a year ago, respecting his manner of instructing the people, but I have real reason to fear that he has not altogether reformed in this respect. Since that time I have been told that he has had a Sabbath school in which the poor, ignorant, self-righteous chiefs have taught the people from pictures, thus puffing up the chiefs with pride, increasing their self-righteousness, while they are only leading the people into greater error. The chiefs cannot be trusted to teach. They are only "blind leading the blind."

While at the meeting in July, I heard Mr. Sp. talk to the people only twice. Once he talked from the passage, "Ho every one that thirsteth, &c." In this discourse he was careful not to fall into the errors for which he had been reproved, but at the same time I was very doubtful whether the people could obtain from what he said any clear idea of the gospel invitation.

The other time he talked from the parable of the ten virgins & I was sure that the people could not obtain one correct idea of religious truth from all that he said.

The views which he formerly entertained respecting the Nez Perces language, he has now found to be incorrect & has given them up. His views were these — That the language was destitute of regularity, that it was varied without any rule or reason, that it was in vain to attempt to find out its grammatical construction, but we must ourselves settle the language & bring the people to it. Such were the views thrown out at the time of our arrival here. Such notions led Mr. Rogers & myself to search into the grammatical construction of the language & our efforts have been attended with so much success that we have been enabled to find out some of the most important principles of grammatical construction. The construction is indeed intricate, but as to regularity, it will not suffer by a comparison with other languages. Mr. Sp. held on upon his peculiar notions with such wonderful tenacity, that he would not give up until long after he found himself far in the rear of every other one who pretended to learn the Nez Perces. He seems to have no taste for philological inquiries.

In Mr. Spalding's management with the Indians, he has been accustomed to force them to his measures. For a time when they did not act to suit him he would occasionally threaten to leave them, but when they saw that he had no such intention, such threats began to lose their affect. He has been much in the habit of using the whip or causing it to be used upon the people.¹¹¹ He has however failed not unfre-

¹¹¹ It may be surprising to many to learn that both Whitman and Spalding countenanced the whipping of Indians as a form of punishment. They did not initiate the custom but found that the Hudson's Bay Company had introduced this into Oregon several years before the missionaries arrived. The Rev. Herbert Beaver, chaplain of the H.B.C. post at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838, in a letter written in 1842 describes how both Indians and Hawaiians were sometimes flogged. (See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Dec. 1931, p. 340.)

Writing to Greene on May 5, 1837, Whitman stated: "A system of punishment for crime established also by the traders has done much good." He was referring to the use of the lash. In a land where they were no jails and where there was no law-enforcing agency even to impose a fine, the use of the lash had the merit of being both immediate and effective. We should remember that the lash was then still being used in the United States Navy and was a recognized form of punishment in England. The custom was also followed at the various missions of the Franciscan Fathers in California.

Writing to Spalding on November 28, 1837, Dr. McLoughlin made reference to Chief Garry when he wrote: "When he came he found that the chiefs were in the habit of Flogging, at our suggesting, those who stole &c and by which in a great measure they had put a stop to their evil practices. . . ." Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 192. This indicates that the Indians flogged their own people.

When Jason Lee stopped at Whitman's station en route East in 1838, he wrote to his nephew Daniel on April 25, 1838, saying: "Both Mr. W. & Mr. S. use high-handed measures with their people, and when they deserve it let them feel the lash . . . be strong in the Lord, be firm, and let not the Indians trifle with

quently in getting individuals whipped when he has attempted. He has justified himself in this course to the Indians from the example of Christ in making a scourge of small cords & driving the people from the temple. He exerted his influence to get Indians to accompany Mr. Gray on his return to the States. Two of the individuals who set out with Mr. Gray deserted him at the rendezvous & returned. One of these Mr. Spalding ordered to be whipped & it was done. The other heard of it & when he came to the station he came prepared to defend himself in case Mr. Sp. should attempt to whip him.

In another instance after we arrived here, Mr. Sp. caused a woman to be whipped 70 lashes. He had married her to Williams, the blacksmith. He abused her, so that she ran away. She was brought back & whipped. After she had been whipped, the people were determined to whip Williams, & it was with great difficulty that Mr. Sp. could prevent it. He deserved it probably more than the woman & the Indians knew it. These are some few of the instances of which I have heard.

I heard him tell himself about refusing to have worship with the people for several days, when he had some trouble with them in order to bring them to his terms. One instance of an attempt to whip a man occurred when I was at that station a year ago last spring. The whole difficulty I myself was witness to. The circumstances were these. Mr. Sp. had placed a box near his hen house, for the hens to step on as they went into their house. An Indian took it away & sat down upon it. Mr. Sp. ordered him very sharply to put it back. The Indian did not move. Mr. Sp. ran in great haste & snatched the box from under him, at which a scuffle ensued, & was continued for several minutes. When the Indian found that he could not get the box, he seized Mr. Spalding. Neither gained the mastery in the scuffle. At length the Hawaiian hired man came & seized the Indian by the hair & handled him roughly when Mr. Sp. made his escape from him. I stood within a few yards & beheld the whole. I thought it not best to interfere myself until I should see that Mr. Sp. was in danger of personal injury, but let him take the consequences of his own rashness. He might have avoided the whole with a little moderation & kindness. More than 50 & perhaps a

you. . ." Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 191. According to Lee, both Whitman and Spalding approved the custom.

Spalding has at least three references to the use of the lash in his Diary. The first is for January 11, 1839, to which incident Smith was here making reference. See also the entries for August 10, 1841, where Spalding proposed the use of the whip but which was not done. And for August 19th when Spalding caused three children to be whipped for stealing corn.

When Dr. Elijah White, the first Indian agent to the Indians west of the Rockies, introduced laws among the Nez Perces in December 1842, punishment by flogging was authorized. Thus while flogging, to most Protestant Christians of this generation, seems inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel, there were some mitigating circumstances which justified, at least in part, its use. This does not excuse Spalding's use of the lash. Other missionaries lived among the Indians without resorting to this form of punishment. Spalding might have done likewise.

hundred Indians were standing near & saw the whole but none interfered.

At evening prayers he brought up the subject & undertook to get the chiefs to say that the Indian should be whipped. But the Chiefs generally seemed to think that Mr. Sp. was more to blame than the Indian, & that the Hawaiian should be whipped for pulling the Indian's hair. Several Indian speeches were made to that effect, when Mr. Sp. dismissed the people & told the chiefs to come to his house in the evening. They came & Mr. Sp. was determined that the chiefs should say the Indian was wrong or he said he would not stay with them. They did not seem willing to justify Mr. Spalding & condemn the Indian. At length I thought I would change the question a little & help Mr. Sp. out of his difficulty. He did not ask now to have the Indian whipped, only that they should say that he had done wrong. So I asked them if it was right for the Indian to disobey Mr. Sp. to which they all answered that the Indian was wrong in disobeying, when the subject ended; & Mr. Sp. gave them a piece of *tobacco* to smoke together in token of friendship. Thus ended the affair, the chiefs seeming well paid for their trouble by the *tobacco*.

Another way Mr. Sp. got into difficulty with the Indians was in waging a war upon their dogs. He & Doct. W. were in such haste to introduce all the arts of civilization among the Indians at the very onset, they encumbered themselves with sheep; but the camp was so full of dogs that the poor harmless sheep could have no peace but were in danger of being destroyed at once. The Indians were fond of their dogs & unwilling to give them up & there was great excitement throughout the camp. Mr. Sp. offered a reward for every dog they would kill & some undertook the work of destruction, tho' at the risk of getting the hate of their own people. All this was known to the gentlemen of the H.H. B. Co. so that when Mr. Ermatinger met us at the Rendezvous, he remarked to one of our number that "Mr. Sp. had got so that he did nothing but whip Indians & kill dogs."

Mr. Spalding's views respecting the manner of conducting the mission differs somewhat from the views of his brethren here. His great object has seemed to be to get the means of civilization into the hands of the Indians as fast as possible, whether they appreciate them or not. One great object of that expedition to the States was to procure cattle for the Indians & Mr. Sp. encouraged the Indians to send horses, promising one or two cows for each horse. When we arrived they came & demanded their cows, & Mr. Sp. has found it necessary to pay goods for those horses in some cases. Doct. W's views on this subject were formerly much the same as those of Mr. Sp. but now they are very different. When we arrived here they said so much about the importance of furnishing the Indians with cows, that all the money that could be found in the mission was sent to the Willamette to purchase cows there. The price of cows has so risen there that it was not

expedient to purchase, being now \$60 pr. head. But all now except Mr. Sp. have become satisfied not to purchase for the sake of furnishing the Indians. The same haste has been manifested with regard to the introduction of every other means of living.

Mr. Pambrun & other gentlemen of the H.H.B. Co. cautioned Dr. W. & Mr. Sp. not to go too fast in respect to furnishing the Indians, but because they were not christian men I suppose they considered their advice of no consequence. The result has shown that these gentlemen understood well Indian character & knew what would be the consequence of such a course. Mr. Rogers, when recently at Vancouver, had much conversation with Doct. McLaughlin on the subject of Indian character, &c. The Doct. made one remark which ought to be remembered by all who have any concern with Indian missions. He said, "If you put favors into the hands of an Indian any faster than he is prepared to appreciate them, you only do him an injury." This remark is from one who understands Indian character better than any other individual on this side of the mountains. But Mr. Sp. said even at the last meeting of the mission, "Give the Indians the means of becoming a settled & civilized people as fast as *possible*." By this means the mission becomes entirely a secular establishment, while the great object is lost sight of.

The temporal favors are not appreciated & only serve to increase the pride & insolence of the Indians, while their hearts are becoming harder in sin. Mr. Anderson in his instructions to Messrs. Dwight, Beadle, Sherman, & Jones, speaks of "missionary colonies, model farms, mechanical acts, & numerous other civilizing instrumentalities," as being of "questionable utility as a part of the system of means to be used by missionary societies for the conversion of the world." From what I have seen here for two years, I feel inclined to use stronger language than this.

I am strongly of the opinion that in any missions except Indian missions, or those in similar situations, such "instrumentalities" would be of "unquestionable" *in* "utility," & the only apology for it in Indian missions is the difficulty of access to the people in their present mode of life. But those "instrumentalities" are attended with such difficulties even in Indian missions, that their introduction here even is of very "questionable utility." Indeed it is questionable whether there would not be more probability of success in attempting to act upon the people in their present condition untill the gospel should have taken affect, then to encumber the system of missionary operations with such unmanageable & doubtful "instrumentalities." The difficulty however of wandering with such a people as this, who are separated into so small bands & become so scattered, would render it impossible to do much in that way. The difficulties are great on every side.

But suppose we act on the principle that we will "give the Indians the means of becoming a settled & civilized people as fast as possible,"

& consider for a moment what we must do in the minutiae. We must either *give* or *sell* to the Indians whatever is necessary for the purpose. If we give, they never learn the value of these things, cannot appreciate them & in fact are injured rather than benefited. They are but mere children, & seem to think that with a few cows, they could never want for any thing. If we *sell* to them we become traders & secular men instead of missionaries. We must be their mechanics & build their houses if they have any. If they have ploughs, we must stock them¹¹² & keep them in repair & so of every thing else which requires any skill. They would soon learn that we were sent here for this purpose & would demand this service of us with insolence & they sometimes do even now.

Even now they seem to have an idea that all these things are included in the commission of Christ to his disciples & on one occasion when told that Christ sent forth his disciples without any thing, one chief replied, "God is stingy."

Doct. W. has told me that Mr. Sp. has given the Indians this impression & has made his appeals to them in view of temporal benefits.

Mr. Spalding is alone in his views on the subject of settling & civilizing the Indians & because the other members of the mission think it best to walk carefully & prudently on this subject, he has denounced us all as opposed to settling the Indians & probably has so written to you. At any rate he has so written to Mr. Leslie of the Methodist mission. Mr. Leslie inquired of Mr. Rogers when at the Willamette if it was true, saying that Mr. Sp. had written to him, that "he was lone on this subject;" that "all the other members of the mission were opposed to settling the Indians, &c." Mr. Rogers denied the fact & said that he "knew that every member of the mission were doing all they felt it consistent with their means & the good of the Indians to encourage them to cultivate &c." Every member of the mission would certainly rejoice to see the Indians settled, but at the same time most of us are satisfied that it would be worse than throwing away the money of the Board to expend it at present in building houses for the Indians, or for like purposes.

I have now given you an account of Mr. Spalding's management of the Indians, instruction, &c. I will now say a few words about his buildings, improvements, cultivation, &c.

The house he built when he first arrived & which was described in the *Herald*, was thrown away at the time we arrived & the walls of a log house were up two miles distant from the first one. This house was finished that autumn & occupied. The next summer it was considered too poor, & another was commenced on the opposite side of the stream from a quarter to half a mile distant. Dobies were made by the Indians

¹¹² To stock a plow means to fit wooden handles to the iron part. Since it was much cheaper to send the iron parts without the handles, the missionaries found it necessary to stock them for the Indians.

sufficient for the house, for which they were paid in powder, blankets, shirts, knives, &c. The walls were put up as high as the windows, & then it was abandoned & the whole is gone to ruin. Mr. Sp. still lives in the log house, but has selected his fourth building spot some 20 rods from his present dwelling, but this is the spot selected for the printing office. His out houses, blacksmith's shop &c are all in ruins. A saw mill has been built, which as I am informed by Mr. Gray has cost about £ 50. This is yet without a roof & the foundation is such that unless much more is expended on it, the next high water will probably ruin it. This saw mill was undertaken by Messrs. Spalding & Gray without the consent or knowledge of the mission. Mr. Rogers being at the station at the time, advised strongly against building it, but to no purpose. The expense has been incurred & as yet it has done but little business & can work only in the spring. For the sum which that saw-mill has cost, two sawyers might have been hired for near a year & a half, who might in that time have furnished boards enough for at least 26 such establishments as the one which I occupy, & probably much more. I have here 4 comfortable rooms & a pantry, in 3 of which are fireplaces.

A large quantity of land has been broken but none of it is sufficiently fenced to secure the crops against cattle, consequently much has been destroyed. Of course there are no improvements made at the station which are of much value, notwithstanding all that has been expended there. Mr. Spalding's house is yet to be built & without fence his land is not very valuable.

From remarks which Mr. Spalding has made it is evident that he is suspicious that the Board will dismiss him, & it is in his determination, as is evident what what he has said, to remain in the country whether the Board will support him or not.

I have now given you a sufficient amount of facts to enable you to judge respecting the situation of this mission. I have been thus minute in giving facts, because it is facts & not feeling which can give you a just view of the situation of the mission. I have performed a task which I have long dreaded & which I have long felt ought to be done. I have endeavored to do it in the fear of God, & if I know my own heart, have not been actuated by any personal feeling, but by a desire for the good of the cause in which we are engaged. I have felt myself under great restraint from the fact that Mr. Sp. is an older missionary than myself, knowing that it is important that young missionaries should be slow to dissent from the opinions of those who were on the ground before them. But whether it is right to dissent in such a case as this I leave it for you to judge.

Such has been the history of this mission from its commencement. What we shall see in future no one can tell. But should things continue as they have been, I see no way that they can result but in the breaking up of the mission. In view of the nature of this field & the facts which

have now been communicated, I have often felt to regret that this field was ever occupied by the Board.

Had not this mission been commenced, it is quite certain that the Methodists would long ere this have occupied the field. This would certainly have been desirable, for their policy is so different from ours, that some disturbance is caused among the Indians by their proceedings. But the Lord reigns & here is consolation. He has suffered this mission to be commenced & conducted in the manner it has been, & he will overrule all things for the promotion of his own glory. I have often felt to regret too the change in my destination, which brought me hither instead of placing me in Siam; but here again I find consolation in thinking that for some wise purpose the Lord has brought me hither, & tho' I may not know now why it is thus, yet I may know hereafter.

Such a sudden change however I now look upon as a hasty injudicious step in me & I fear that I was too much influenced in that decision by my great impatience to be in the missionary field. That impatience too I now condemn. It was with regret that I gave up the idea of going to Siam, that portion of the world to which I had been looking as my field of labor for five years. The interest I formerly felt in that field continues till the present time & often do I feel a strong desire to be there, but God has otherwise ordered, & I would submit to his wise counseling Providence. I feel that his dealings with me have not been without profit to me & I mention these circumstances that you may caution others who may follow in my steps against deciding so hastily so important a question.

What I have written I commit to your care feeling confident that whatever course the Board shall take in reference to this mission will be dictated by wisdom & discretion. I fear even to hazard a suggestion on this subject. I would merely suggest however that should the Methodist Board desire it, the field might be transferred to them. I do not offer this as advice, but only as a suggestion of a *possible course*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ This letter of Smith's of Sept. 3, 1840, contains the first written intimation that any members of the Oregon Mission were thinking of selling out to the Methodists. To Smith this would have been an easy way out of his difficulties. Walker, who sometimes succumbed to spells of depression, wrote to Greene on September 18, 1840: "Some doubts have entered my mind in regard to the propriety of continuing this Mission. . . ." But Walker then said nothing about selling to the Methodists. In October 1841, Walker again wrote to Greene at which time he asked that his words about discontinuing the Mission be viewed "in no other light than mere remarks."

However, Walker did write to Whitman some time in the fall of 1840 in which he repeated the suggestion made to Greene on Sept. 18th. Whitman, writing to Greene on October 15th, vetoed the idea. He wrote: "I feel to say, No; Do not withdraw it."

When Spalding was called to Kamiah on October 15, 1840, he heard for the first time this idea of selling out to the Methodists. (See his Diary for that date.) Spalding was astonished at the suggestion and wrote: "My mind is thrown into confusion." Writing to Greene from Lapwai on October 22nd, Spalding declared: "The subject when first proposed, threw me into great confusion - it came at a

There was an apprehension on the part of the members of this mission that the Methodists would crowd upon us when their mission was reinforced. An opinion was expressed by several of the members of this mission, that if the Methodists should show a determination to enter into our labors, it would be best to give up the field to them & Mr. Walker went so far as to say that he thought it would be best to suspend our labors at once & wait for instructions from the Board. The Methodist reinforcement have, however, been disposed of in such a manner as to give us no reason to expect an unpleasant interference. It is a fact, however, that many Nez Perces are a part of the year under the instructions of the Methodists.

What disposition the Lord will make of this mission I know not. With Him I will leave it & wait the event praying that He will grant wisdom unto the officers of the Board & guide them in their consultations & lead them to such decisions as will be for His glory & for the advancement of his cause.

With much esteem, I remain, My Dear Sir, Yours in the fellowship of the gospel.

A. B. SMITH.

p.s. There is one thing more which I will mention that has been deeply impressed on my mind. It is the importance of having the standard of missionary qualifications elevated. This has been impressed upon my mind not only by what I have witnessed in those associated with me in this language, but also in witnessing my own deficiencies for the work & I am rejoiced that since I left home a resolution has been passed by the Board relating to the subject. I would not attempt to give the Board instruction on this point, but I feel disposed to state the result of my own experience. My great deficiency I find in reference to translating for want of a better knowledge of the original languages & I apprehend that this is not an uncommon deficiency. I never expected to have the burden of this labor thrown upon me & did not direct my studies with reference to that subject. The time I spend in medical studies too detracted much from the much more important studies. The medical knowledge I have seems indispensable in my present situation, being about 200 miles from a physician, yet I feel that an attempt to unite the two professions ought if possible by all

time when other causes were affecting my mind. . . . I told Messrs Whitman & Smith just before leaving them, that considering the state of the Mission, & the character of the field now occupied by our Mission, I thought it best to make the proposal to the Methodist brethren but observed farther, I probably should not find it to be my duty to leave the field."

In Smith's letter to Walker of October 12, he inferred that Spalding was in favor. (Evidently this part of the letter was written after Spalding had arrived in Kamiah on the 15th.)

From this evidence it appears that Smith was the one most interested in the idea and that he may have passed on the suggestion to Walker. Whitman was opposed and Spalding, at first astonished at the idea, was open-minded, but stated he wished to remain on the field.

means to be avoided. No ordinary man, I am satisfied, can do justice to both. One or the other will be neglected.

I feel deeply too the importance of more experience on the part of missionaries & can but wish that some of the wisest, ablest, & most judicious men who have for some years been settled in the ministry at home, might be induced to engage in the missionary work.

Especially is this important in the commencement of a mission & I am strongly inclined to believe that the Board would experience a great saving in removing an approved & experienced missionary from his field of labor to join a company at the commencement of their labors in a new field. The benefit derived from such a course would doubtless far more than compensate for the time spent in the acquisition of a new language. The removal of Mr. Kingsbury from the Cherokee to commence the Choctaw mission was doubtless a most judicious step.

I have just completed an article on the peculiarities of the Nez Perces language, as I intimated in a previous letter I intended to prepare such an article. My time has been so much occupied during the summer in providing for our temporal wants that I have not been able to spend so much time on it as I could wish, either for my own profit or for the purpose of presenting a more perfect view of the construction of the language. It will serve however to give you some idea of what the language is. I expected to have rec'd some assistance from Mr. Rogers, but have been disappointed. I have to present it therefore entirely on my own responsibility, without the benefit of any one's corrections. I have found great difficulty from the want of analogy to other languages, & should it appear somewhat "unclassical & outlandish," like the old alphabet, it will be nothing strange.

As I have not time to copy it again, I shall send it to Mr. Bingham at Honolulu as I have promised, with directions after he has examined it to forward it to you. As they are so much in the habit of publishing at the Islands, he may wish to retain it for that purpose.¹¹⁴ Yours, &c

A. B. SMITH

¹¹⁴ The author knows of four grammars and/or dictionaries of the Nez Perce language prepared by missionaries. The first is this prepared by Smith now in the archives of the American Board. The second was compiled by Miss Sue McBeth and contained 15,000 words. This was sent to the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. Kate McBeth in her book, *The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark*, 229-233, tells of how this manuscript was sent by boat down the Snake River to Portland. The boat blew up and sank. The red box containing Sue McBeth's manuscript floated several miles down the river before it was rescued. The papers were then dried and the manuscript sent on its way. Dr. James Cornelison, for many years a Presbyterian missionary to the Cayuses at Pendleton, used a dictionary and grammar prepared by some Roman Catholic missionaries (the location of this work is unknown to the author) as the basis of his Nez Perce dictionary and grammar. At the time of this writing, Dr. Cornelison is no doubt more fluent in the Nez Perce tongue than any other living white man.

Annual Report from the Mission

SMITH'S LETTER TO GREENE

KAMIAH, OREGON. Sept. 28th, 1840

TO REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, Ms.

MY DEAR SIR, Altho' I have not recd Doct Whitman's report, I have concluded that it is not best to delay sending the communication I was appointed to prepare from the station reports, as it would be too late for your use in making out your annual report, if delayed till next spring. Doct. W. will be under the necessity of sending his own report or his station will be unreported.

In preparing this communication, I shall merely give the reports or such parts of them as I may consider particularly important, in the same language in which they were presented so that each will in fact report for himself.

The Station at Lapwai, or Clear Water, Mr. Spalding reports as follows:¹¹⁵ "During the year public worship has been regularly observed on the Sabbath, except one sabbath when absent from the station. Usually there have been two services on the sabbath, besides morning prayer. The people have been assembled for morning & evening prayers whenever there has been a sufficient number around the station. The attendance on public worship has varied from 100 to 560. On the last of Dec. a four days meeting was held at which time there was some feeling – but with the exception of four cases nothing has appeared of long continuance. As to these four cases, I am yet in doubt. Their ideas of sin are so vague, it is difficult to ascertain whether they have correct notions of their guilty state by nature. The four principal subjects dwelt upon, are total depravity, the law of God, danger of self-righteousness & the love of Christ."

"I have made one preaching tour of six days during the year, or the period since the last meeting. I cannot say that any apparent good resulted directly from the tour, tho' one man, who accompanied

¹¹⁵ Spalding's report was read before the July Mission meeting and approved. It shows that he was consistently having more natives at his meetings than was the case at any of the other stations.

appeared deeply affected during our discourse & now gives evidence of the conviction of sin. That he will finally consent to the conditions of the gospel is quite doubtful."

"Three individuals, two of them natives, principal men & one an American, have made a public profession of their faith in Christ & have been rec'd into our little church. Their example so far as been salutary. The number of baptisms have been 13, 3 of them adults."

"With two short interruptions a school has been taught six & a half months, averaging about 4 hours pr day: besides which Mrs. Spalding & Mrs. Gray have collected the children in their rooms & done more or less at teaching. The school has varied from 140 to 12. While the people continue to depend on their present sources of subsistence, requiring them to be almost constantly upon the chase, schools at this station will be greatly embarrassed."

"Secular affairs of the station to April 1st."

"One saw mill built which does very good business, designed to aid in settling the natives, as also to furnish this & any other station in the vicinity of the river below with lumber requisite for school houses, houses for worship, dwelling houses &c. Also some preparation towards a flour mill."

"In accordance with my policy from the beginning & often expressed to the Board & in accordance with the conceived desire of the Board relative to the mission, & partly to discharge obligations & meet engagements, 4 heifer calves have been given or promised to natives, which added to those given or promised last year make 7 in all."

SECULAR AFFAIRS OF THE NATIVES

"Probably four times the quantity of land has been put under cultivation this compared with last year. Four ditches of considerable labor for irrigation have been dug & the fields in their vicinity promise well. One man has done something towards building a house & 5 others are anxious to build this fall if suitable means can be procured."

"My proportion of the draft which went out last March after deducting a considerable amount reported in previous years, was some £ 35. My expenses for the current year are entirely uncertain & depending on circumstances. I purposed last winter that they should not exceed £ 40, but they may exceed five times that."

I would remark that this report was sent to me recently & I find that over the 40 is written with a *pencil* 30 & pencil mark is drawn over the clause which follows. As the report was read at the meeting, it was 40 if I remember right & whether the following clause was read I do not remember.

Mr. Gray in reporting the secular affairs of that station for a part of the year says: "During a part of the winter, I have been engaged in connection with Mr. Rogers in preparing materials for a printing office."

"This spring with the assistance of a few natives, about three fourths of the land that was under cultivation at this station the past season has been cultivated. The drought has already affected a part, so that the prospect now is that a scanty crop will be gathered."

"The want of a proper fence is a serious obstacle in the way of cultivating to any great extent at this place."

Expenses for the current year, Mr. Gray puts at £90. Probable expenses for 1841 he estimates at £52.

REPORT FROM THE STATION AT KAMIAH

"Since the commencement of the station at Kamiah in Sept. last, the number of natives who have been at the station, has varied at different seasons. The greatest number at the station at any time was during the winter, & this did not exceed 275, & this number remained only a few weeks at the station. Hunger soon compelled them to disperse into the surrounding regions for game.

There are about 500 people belonging within 15 miles of this station. Only one half of them spent the winter in their own country, while the other half were in the buffalo country. Besides these a part of two bands from Salmon River have spent some time at the station during the winter & spring. As soon as the planting was finished the Indians dispersed to their rooting grounds in this vicinity & have attended religious instruction only on the Sabbath. They have now mostly returned to the station & are preparing to move for buffalo. The portion who remain behind will soon disperse again for roots, fish & elk, so that during the months of July, Aug. & Sept. very few indeed remain at the station.

In consequence of Mrs. S's ill health & the numerous causes & labors which have devolved on me at the commencement of the station in building & making preparations for cultivation, we have not as yet been able to do any thing at teaching. Our building & other necessary preparations for living are now in such a state of forwardness, that if we can obtain the assistance we need in our secular & domestic concerns, we hope when the natives shall again be assembled at the station, to pursue this branch of missionary labor on which so much depends.

Religious instruction has been given regularly on the Sabbath, & while the people remained at the station during the winter & spring, instruction was given daily. The number who attended religious instruction during the winter & spring varied from 100 to 275. Since they have been dispersed for roots, the number has varied from 50 to perhaps 150.

The topics on which I have dwelt have been the law of God, the transgression of the law & the consequent condemnation, ruin & guilt of mankind, the provision of salvation through Christ & the conditions on which sinners may become partakers of this great salvation.

Thus far the truth has seemed to have but little effect on the minds of the people. Tho' constant in attendance on religious instruction, they have usually seemed to hear with apparent unconcern. I have as yet witnessed no proper sense of guilt in view of sin & have known of but one instance where any concern has been manifested. In this case altho' the individual possessed more knowledge probably than any other Nez Perces, yet it was apparant that he was ignorant of the true nature of sin, & tho' he wept freely it was evident that his weeping was not occasioned by a sense of his sins, but in view of his miserable condition. He seemed to have no sense of sin any farther than related to some gross acts.¹¹⁶

This seems to be the general sentiment of the people. Hence they suppose that when they have broken off from their outward sins, they have done all that is required of them. Consequently we find them resting on their own righteousness & to convince them that any thing more is necessary is by no means easy.

During the year I have witnessed more of the selfishness of the people than heretofore & no doubt is left in my mind as to their motives in desiring missionaries. The principal motive evidently is the temporal benefit which may be derived from them.

The amount of land under cultivation for the use of the station is about 8 acres. The crops now look well & promise an abundant supply. Preparation has been made for irrigation which can be done to some extent by means of a small stream which passes through the field. The land is well fence & in sufficient quantity for all future purposes. The whole amount inclosed is from 30 to 35 acres, about half of which is separately inclosed for a pasture for cattle. The natives cultivate more ground this year than previously, but owing to the rush to the buffalo country, much less is done than otherwise would be.

The expenses of this station for the current year will not exceed £ 60."

THE REPORT FROM THE STATION AT TSHIMAKAIN IS AS FOLLOWS

"At this station public worship has been conducted with the natives daily during the greater part of the year. On the Sabbath there have been three services. The great effort in preaching has been so to exhibit clearly the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, viz. correct views of the character of God, the fallen state of man, the doctrine of the atonement, & the necessity of regeneration.

"The law of God, its nature, spirituality, & the extent of its binding force, has been frequently dwelt upon. To promote variety, & secure attention, scripture history, & biography has been often intermixed with more important truths. Some itinerating labor has been performed.

¹¹⁶ Smith is evidently here referring to his teacher, Lawyer.

"School for the children has been taught during nineteen weeks. A portion of the lessons have been printed on a black board, the remainder on paper in large letters & suspended, or held so that all could see at the same time.

"Efforts at agriculture have been carefully encouraged. Hoes have been sold for less than the usual price, & in one instance exchanged for other goods which had been previously given. Hoes have occasionally been lent, tho' it has not been practiced very generally. The principal chief has been presented with apparatus which together with a few cords of his own made a convenient harness for two horses, & then the only plough used at the station loaned him with which to prepare his ground. When the members of the mission located at Tshimakain found it necessary to send to Clear Water for potatoes to plant, one third of all that were obtained were furnished to the natives, tho' it was stated expressly that the whole were designed for the members of the mission. Many of the smaller seeds, particularly such as were thought to be the more useful have been freely distributed to such as desire to plant them. Care has been taken to assist in the selection of the most suitable land for tillage, & instruction as to the manner of cultivating & securing the crops &c has been faithfully given.

"What reception the instruction imparted has met with is but very imperfectly known. At no time has the number of natives collected at Tshimakain been large, tho' more or less access has been had to 1,000 or perhaps 1,500 different persons. Good attention has been given during the time of religious worship, but apparently the truth has produced very little deep & permanent effect. The old mythology & superstitions of past ages have still a strong hold upon the belief of the present generation. Among those who are most attentive to religious instruction, the opinion has been quite general & perhaps is still prevalent that to understand the book, abstain from gross vices, & perform some externals of religion, constitute all that is required to fit a person for the enjoyment of God.

"The appearance of the school has been pleasing, & the efforts to enjoy the benefit of it truly commendable. During the winter the average number was about 75, & the attendance very regular. This summer it has hardly exceeded 75.

"The last year was particularly unfavorable for agriculture on account of the drought & frost. Crops were small, but as the reason was known, it did not operate to discourage & the present season there has been a little increase upon what was done last year. It may however, be questionable whether agriculture can become general on account of the frost.

"Probable expense for the year £120.

The printing department, Mr. Rogers, reports as follows:

"Since I have had any connection with this department, a small book of 52 pages has been printed with the assistance of Mr. Hall, a copy of which accompanies this report. 800 copies were printed & 250 have been bound.¹¹⁷ A room in Mr. Spalding's house has been occupied with the press & type, but it is too small to do any thing in to advantage.

"A large font of Pica type has not been opened. It is the type needed for printing school books, but cannot be opened for want of cases, six pairs of which are needed. In order to do any thing to advantage, a suitable building is needed, together with the furniture as recommended by Mr. Hall."

The number of cattle, horses &c belonging to the mission as reported is as follows:

At Lapwai — Mr. Spalding, 19 cattle, 7 of which are females.

Mr. Gray, 6, 2 of which are females.

4 disposed of out of the mission.

Horses, Mr. Spalding, 30, & Mr. Gray 12.

Sheep 26, Swine 6.

At Kamiah — 9 cattle, 3 of which are females; 5 horses, one mule, 3 swine.

Tshimakian — 13 cattle, 7 of which are females; 14 horses, & 7 mules.

Waiiletpu not reported.

Total at the three other stations

77 Cattle, 19 of which females

61 Horses

8 Mules

26 Sheep

9 Swine

In behalf of the mission, I remain My Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

A. B. SMITH

¹¹⁷ Spalding in his inventory of the goods lost at the Lapwai station because of the Whitman massacre itemizes the Nez Perce books at hand at that time. In the list is the following: "200 Copies Elementary Book, Native . . . \$45.00." No indication is made as to whether these were bound or not. The *Check List of Idaho Imprints, 1839-1890*, of the *American Imprints Inventory, 1940*, lists only five copies of this work known to be extant.

Four Letters from Smith to Walker

Four letters written by A. B. Smith to Elkanah Walker during 1840 are extant. These bear the dates February 22, April 27, June 10, and October 12. The latter has a postscript, with its ominous note, written on October 19. We owe the existence of these letters to Mrs. Walker's habit of saving her correspondence. After her marriage to Elkanah, she preserved her husband's letters as well. This file of correspondence from various members of the Mission which accumulated under Mrs. Walker's watchful eye included some eighty letters from Whitman to Walker. When the Walkers were forced out of Tshimakain following the Whitman massacre, they took with them these letters. In time they passed into the possession of their youngest son, Samuel T. Walker, who inherited the old homestead at Forest Grove, Oregon.

*Some time in the early thirties a book-collector from Portland, Oregon — Frederick W. Skiff — purchased the collection. He tells of this experience in his book, *Adventures in Americana*, which was published in 1935. Soon afterwards Skiff sold part of his acquisition, including the Smith and Whitman letters, to a New York dealer in western Americana, Edward Eberstadt, who in turn sold them to William R. Coe, a well known collector of Americana. Later Coe presented his matchless collection to Yale University where it is now made available to qualified students.*

In his letters to Walker, Smith writes much more intimately than he did to Greene. Looking over Walker's shoulder and reading these same letters, we gain a deeper appreciation of the desperate situation which Smith faced at Kamiah. Walker had undoubtedly stressed the importance of Smith remaining at his post. To Walker there was something disgraceful about running away from an appointed task. Deep in his heart Smith felt the same way — and yet, with an invalid wife on his hands in an isolated mission station, the future seemed hopeless.

A new complication arose with the coming of Father Peter J. DeSmet, s.j., on the first of his five visits to the Oregon country during the years 1840 to 1863. Father DeSmet visited the Flathead country in July, 1840, where some of the Nez Percés, including Lawyer, heard him. The coming of a Roman Catholic missionary was a most disturbing factor for the members of the Oregon Mission of the American Board.

KAMIAH Feb. 22nd 1840

DEAR DR. I have before me your three letters of Sept. 22d, Oct. 29th, & Nov. 25th. The first only I have answered, but I have mentioned them all here as I have been looking all over together to notice the variety of sentiments contained in them & the apparent change of mind from the time of writing one to the time of writing another. In the first you seem discouraged & think you might as well be at home as here, but in the following letters you express quite a different sentiment. In the next you are decided that it is best that we should leave this station & in the last think we had better remain, & it is difficult to act in accordance with sentiments so changing & changeable.

But what I wish to take notice of particularly is a paragraph in your last letter & lest you should have forgotten it, I will here quote it. You say:

“But let me be plain & I want you to be the same. This mission has had troubles on your account & I fear that the wound is not wholly healed & for you to run off & leave us would be unjust. . . . Furthermore you are in the field of your choice & one you was determined to have & if you cannot be satisfied with your own choice when & where will you be satisfied? nor am I able to see what more you can want & I hope you will be contented to remain where you are or go to some other station in the mission.”

Now I ask, is the language of this paragraph gentlemanly, kind & christian? Imagine yourself in my situation, alone with a sick & feeble wife, subjected to do your own wife's washing as I have sometimes been, & your hands so tied that you had little or no opportunity of doing good & yourself just ready to sink under your despondency, & should receive such language as this from a Christian brother, I ask if you would consider it the language of kindness & Christian sympathy? Is this the way to cheer & encourage the desponding? Is this the way to render me contented to remain in this field. Is this the way to heal the “wound” which you say you fear is not wholly healed? If so then I have a wrong idea of Christian kindness & sympathy.

But you say you wish me to be plain with you. I shall therefore express myself plainly respecting some expressions of this paragraph. You say “This mission has trouble on my account.” If it is true that I am a trouble to this mission, as that would seem to imply I still am, then is this a strong reason why I should be out of the mission, & how can it be “unjust” on my part to rid the mission of one that is a trouble to it?

But I would take another view of the subject. I suppose you refer to the difficulty between the Doct & myself. I see not what occasion you have to bring such an accusation against me or how it is at all to your point unless it be to infuse feeling. It occurs to me that this accusation

comes with an ill grace from you. Do you not yourself need to wash your own hands in innocency before you accuse me in this matter? Do I not know the part you acted in producing a separation between the Doct & myself? how much you said to influence his mind against me? of your telling him that "I would sink a man in order to swim myself & the like? Because I am brought into difficulty by your means, in part at least, & endeavor to extricate myself, is it Christian kindness in you to accuse me of being a trouble to the mission?"

You say you fear that the wound is not now wholly healed. As for the matter between the Doct & myself, mutual concessions have been made & there has been mutual forgiveness, so that I know not that there is any hard or unkind feeling existing between us or our families. If there is a wound unhealed it must be somewhere else. Perhaps it is between you & myself. If so what more is there for me to do in such to have it healed? Have I not acknowledged both to yourself & Mr. Eells that I had done wrong & that I was sorry for it. But you never told me that you would forgive me & perhaps you think my sins against you have been unpardonable. Neither have I ever heard you acknowledge that you had done wrong. Of this I will not accuse you. God is witness & your own conscience. As to "running off," I do not expect to go by stealth, but have made known my situation to the Board & wait for their decision.

Respecting my unwillingness to accept the concessions of the Indians, I think you have a very wrong notion. These same Indians had lied to me so many times in the same way that I wished to make them understand that they had forfeited their word & were not to be believed, & this is the whole amount of my unwillingness to accept their concessions. One of them came & gave me his hand some days afterward & said he done [?]. I asked him for how long. He said he did not know. I am not convinced that I took a wrong course in this matter.

Thus I have endeavored to be plain with you as you wished & I wish to bring no railing accusations against you & I should not have said what I have had not your remarks seemed to demand it.

Mr. Clark is still with us.¹¹⁸ His society has been very pleasant & I must say that I find not the fault in the man which you seem to imagine. For ought I can see he has as sincere a disposition to do good as any of us. As for apprehending any difficulty from him, we have no reason to, for he will not disturb the mission nor settle any where I presume in the region of it. He is certainly a quiet, peaceable, harmonious man & withal a gentleman.

I remain, yours truly,

A. B. SMITH

¹¹⁸ The Rev. and Mrs. Harvey Clark, independent missionaries who arrived in Oregon in the fall of 1839, spent a part of the winter of 1840-41 with the Smiths at Kamiah.

KAMIAH, April 27th, 1840

DEAR BROTHER Yours of March 19th rec'd in due time, tho' I must confess I had almost despaired of hearing from you again.

As to my having the *Blues* which you speak of in your letter, I do not think that I have been more discouraged than the condition of the people & the situation of the mission would naturally discourage any one. Our prospects of usefulness among this people come so far short of what was represented to us that it would naturally discourage us. It is doubtless true that the "Indians are the most promising race of people in the world," not however because they are worse than other heathen, but because of their peculiar situation & the difficulty of doing them any permanent good. Certainly we can expect no good short of a long & persevering course of instruction. I have but little hope of the adults. Their habits & prejudices are all fixed & it is difficult to bring the truth so to bear on their stupid degenerated minds as to produce any effect or even to warrant the hope that the Holy Spirit will make it effectual. I can conceive of the Spirits operations only as making effectual the truth that is plainly brought before the mind. If then we fail in presenting the truth to the mind, I know not what reason we have to expect the interposition of the Spirit to convert the soul.

There are other things which discourage me here. They are hinted at in your remarks about Mr. Gray. Probably you have heard but little of the proceedings at the station below me. I am so near as to hear every thing, & I can assure you that I am sick & dishearted from this source. I will not attempt to give you a description, but I think it is certain that Mr. S's course has been as you say not only "unjustifiable," but even worse than that. I know not what to think. Often do I feel that all is in vain that we are attempting to do & that this mission will prove an utter failure. The Indians are affected in no small degree by proceedings there. Nothing is kept from the Indians by Mr. S. Where this matter will end I know not. This matter of course must come up at the next meeting. It . . . wisely demands our attention for the honor of the mission of the A.B.C.F.M. is concerned. I hope you will not on any account absent yourself from the next meeting. I hope you will be there with *your nerves* braced up & prepared for serious discussion & for any business that may come before the meeting.

As to any word which means to forgive I find nothing as yet. I doubt whether the people have the idea, any farther than *forget*. Their usual way when they get mad is to separate till they get over it or *forget* & then they are on good terms again.

If any concessions are made, the offender *takes back* what he has said or says "*Waho watsu*" & that pays the debt with them — more frequently however an Indian will say "*Waho watsu*" without taking back any thing & this he will think full pay for all the abuse he has heaped on you.

The word you mentioned "*tama*" if I read it right the Lawyer says means the same as *wat* in Nez Perces, a negative used in asking a question as are you going &c?

Kind regards to Mrs. W. & the rest of your family.

Yours truly,

A. B. SMITH

Just rec'd letters from home. My br. writes that the mission at S. Africa is entirely broken up. Some of the miss. have gone to W. Africa and some returned to the states.

KAMIAH June 10th 1840

DEAR BROTHER Yours of the 28th ult together with the call for a meeting came this morning.

Respecting the remark you made to me about supporting me in case circumstances should have been such as to have compelled me to withdraw from the Board, I have no recollection of mentioning it to any one except my wife & I did not know till the receipt of your letter that it was known. Mrs. S. says that in conversation with Mrs. Whitman after their return to Waiiletpu, in which Mrs. W. undertook to make it appear that you & Mr. Eells felt unkindly toward us & had made many unkind remarks about us, she mentioned this remark of yours in proof of your good feeling towards us. This is probably the way it which it has got out. I do not remember that I charged Mrs. S. to keep it secret.

As to your remarks having any influence on me in respect to my leaving W. and coming to this place, it had none. I understood the remark only as having reference to me in case no arrangements had been made & not as relating to me after I was left at W. & the Dr. removed. I suppose the Dr. is the one who makes difficulty about this remark. Why he should I know not.

As to sermons, I feel very delicate about preaching as I have understood that my sermons have been very lightly thought of heretofore & considered as having "not one bright thought in them."¹¹⁹ I cannot therefore think that any one will be benefitted by my preaching & must therefore be excused. I shall be very happy to hear sermons from those who are more talented than myself.

Yours very truly,

A. B. SMITH

KAMIAH Oct. 12th 1840

DEAR BROTHER: Yours of the 22nd ult. came last week by the hand of Jack. He has returned to live with us again & tho' we needed his help so much, we really felt some regret at his return. He had been so stubborn & so insolent to Mrs. S. at many times that we found he would be a great trial to us. I however have the advantage somewhat

¹¹⁹ Evidently Walker had invited Smith to deliver a sermon at the Mission meeting to be held at Lapwai in July.

now for he is engaged to the Co for two years. He has come back an awful smoker, which is a nuisance to us & also makes us trouble from the Indians. He has not offered to smoke in the house, but I have found it necessary to forbid his smoking with the Indians on my premises & to forbid their coming here to smoke with him.

The difficulty of employing native help of which you speak, I find is becoming greater & greater, & I am determined to have as little of it as possible. I find constantly that some one is making trouble about pay, trying to persuade the people not to work for me, &c. They indeed show out much real depravity & it frequently comes under a garb calculated to deceive one who is unacquainted with Indian character; at other times it comes out unmasked. It does seem to me that the Indians are "waxing worse & worse" with fearful rapidity.

You say there are too many different parties to work long together without running against each other & when this does take place we may expect to see & hear "what will make our eyes smart & our ears tingle for the sadness thereof." Already I have begun to hear things of this character. They come from the buffalo region. A Catholic Priest from St. Louis has been in the buffalo country this season & from the accounts of the Indians, the Lawyer especially, he has already accomplished ten times as much as has been effected from the opposite quarter, & it gives me reason to expect that the principal point of attack from the Catholics will be from that region & not at Walla Walla. I suspect it is a contrived plan well understood by the priests who have been at Walla Walla & Colville. A considerable number, the Indians say, a great many children both Flat Head & Nez Percés have been baptized & have been presented with the image of the cross or other emblems of Popery.

But what is the saddest of all is that the priest has learned from some quarter what has been exceptionable in the conduct of Mr. Spalding & is using it with great effect in prejudicing the minds of the Indians against the mission. Some of these reports, I find, to be true on the Lawyers authority — some I know to be true & some false. One is Mr. S's taking a gun to shoot an Indian, wh. the Lawyer says is true & Mr. Lee at the rendezvous gave me a slight hint at this in saying that Mr. S. had even kept his gun loaded for fear of injury from the natives. Another is that Mr. S. caught a woman & put her out doors & injured her &c. This is also said to be true & was occasioned by the dog war. The woman came & complained about killing her dog. She was sick & was injured in the scrape & her husband thought she would die & threatened if she did die to kill Mr. S's wife, & that Mr. S. gave her a blanket to settle it. Another was Mr. S's striking the children because they did not read right &c. To hear of such things is indeed painful & we have reason to fear for the consequences. The report is that a Catholic establishment or more than one is to be made next season on

the mountain side of us & if this is done they will probably sweep the country. All who go to buffalo will fall under that influence. The priest holds out great temporal encouragement, & this is very flattering to the Indians.

The Lawyer saw him two days & he says they tried to get the cross on him. He heard considerable from the priest & says the priest inquired of him about the mission & according to his account, he defended the mission very well, tho' he did not deny the reports about Mr. S. According to his account he ridiculed the priest & his doctrines most thoroughly to the interpreter & of course it must have gone to the priest. When they pretended that the cross was God, he said it was only *Kiswi*, like the ring on his finger. He denied to the interpreter the saving efficacy of baptism & when the priest said it was bad for us to have wives, he in a sarcastic manner asked the interpreter how the priest came into the world? if it was not by means of a father & mother? When the priest pretended that when he got established, he should give the people a *plenty* of food, he said to the interpreter: "I am very glad, my servant, I will come here & do nothing & load my horses with provision & go home again." So the Lawyer tells his story. He has no faith in the priest giving so much. But after all he might fall a prey to Catholicism.

I hope when you get to Clear Water you will come up here. There is much I would like to talk with you about & I will have some things.

Mr. S. has recently had difficulty with the Indians & he says the chiefs will not sustain him. Old James¹²⁰ is trying also to drive away Joseph & Timothy & all who do not belong there. He as well as myself feels greatly discouraged. We have talked freely about selling out to the Methodists & are (—) that there are strong reasons in favor of it, such as their proximity to the field & the fact that so many of this people are now under their influence a part of the year.

From the movements on both sides of us there is strong reason to believe that our work here is almost done. What course to take is difficult to determine. I think it is important to consult respecting the propriety of giving up to the Methodists & come to some conclusion as soon as consistent.

Things have become more quiet here & I have asked for the privilege of remaining till spring telling them it is now winter & I cannot go. I expect we shall remain through the winter, but fear we may see much difficulty. Mrs. S. being feeble is seriously affected by these things. We feel that we are in the hand of savages & what they will do with us, we know not. . . .

I did think of writing something about the fasting every Saturday at the Station below. One of the Indians from this Station came from

¹²⁰ Old James was the leader of the opposition party to Spalding among the Nez Percés at Lapwai.

there last Saturday & told me that Mr. S. & Conner and several Indians were *haiakin* hungry, that day & it was so every Saturday, & asked me what I thought about it. I knew not what to say but finally answered him in the words of Christ on the subject of fasting in the sermon on the mount. When we come, we will talk about that more. I think of writing to Mr. S. about it.

I understand you have written to Doct. W. about selling out the mission to the Methodists. I wish you would write me what you think about it & also Br. Eells views on the subject. As to myself, if it could be brought about, it is my candid opinion that it would be the best disposition of the mission. I have recently suggested it to Mr. Greene as a possible course.

I think with you, if I must be a farmer, I may as well be a farmer at home. I believe too that had I remained at home I might have done two times the good I have done here or can do according to every appearance.

But the Lord had wise purposes in view in bringing us hither, & these purposes will hereafter be revealed to us. This then is our consolation & we ought to be willing to remain, however trying it may be till God's purposes in respect to us in connection with this mission are accomplished.

Oct. 19th. Since the above was written things have developed themselves here in such a manner as to show what we may expect from Indians. Last week on Tuesday the two principal men who pretend to own this soil came & insulted me with the most abusive language — demanding pay for the land & c & then in the most absolute terms ordered me to leave the place on the next day. After hearing their abuse for a time I began to think it was time to begin to think about moving & I told them I would go but must have time to get ready. I wrote to Mr. S. & the Doct that night & sent Thomas in the night & Mr. S. came on Thursday. On Wednesday the principal men came & the two villains came soon after, & such a scene I never witnessed in my life. The talk was principally between the Indians & it was warm, I can assure you. They seemed more like demons from the bottomless pit than human beings. The talk continued for several hours & it broke up. They threatened to tie them but were evidently afraid to do it. I have ascertained since that the Meoway [Meiway] as he is called set them on somewhat, & it was an attempt to force me to give them goods. He told them that he tied Mr. Pambrun & made him a slave & since that he had been a little good. I have some reason to think that they meditated violence on me from the fact that when Mrs. S. went out to call Jack, one of them undertook to hold the door to prevent his coming in, but I raised the latch & he was in the house very soon, & they soon went out of their own accord, ordering me to stop my work & leave the next day.

The Smith Diary: October 13 - December 5, 1840

Smith's Diary closes with the entries for October 13-19 and December 5, 1840. He is in trouble, having been ordered to leave by two of the sub-chiefs at Kamiah — Insinmalakin and Inmtamlaiakin. This was the outcome of the effort the Indians made to force Smith to pay for the land he was using and for his house. Smith was inclined to ascribe the difficulties to the inherent selfishness of the Indians. But the real issue was deeper than that. The Indians were caught in the middle of contending forces, like a grain of wheat between two mill stones. On the one hand was their former mode of life, on the other was the uninvited encroachment of the white men's civilization. The old was giving way to the new and the Indians were suffering in the period of transition. Some of the Indians dimly realized what was happening and were resentful.

The incident which Smith describes in his Diary under date of October 13th is reminiscent of what was also happening at Lapwai and foreshadowed what later took place at Waitilatpu. Indeed, even P. C. Pambrun, factor of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Walla Walla, had been tied and abused by the Indians, some of whom were involved in the effort to drive both Smith and Spalding from their stations. Actually the Smiths did not leave until the following spring and they could have remained then if Mrs. Smith had not been so ill and if Smith had had more of the stamina which characterized Spalding. Already discouraged and unhappy, this incident was all that was needed to convince him that he should go.

OCT. 13th. This has been a day of serious trial in respect to the Indians. We have, in the most absolute terms & in the most insolent manner, been ordered by the two principal men of this place to leave the station. They came this morning to the field where I was harrowing & making preparations to sow wheat, & Insinmalakin spoke about his back &c. I examined his spine & told him I would give him a blister. Every thing was very kind. He then spoke about some tallow he brought a few days since, which was more than enough to pay for the ammunition I gave him when he went to buffalo & I told him at the time he brought it that I would give him something more, either powder or something else which he might need. He said he needed a shirt & I

gave it to him. I was about to go out when Inmtamlaiakin stopped me & began to talk about pay for a few minutes work which he did last summer of his own accord. I laughed at him for his littleness & told him that I talked to the people every Sabbath & gave them medicine, but never asked them to pay me for it. By this time they began to be very warm & to talk very insolent about pay &c, said I never had paid them for the land, that the house was theirs &c. They demanded pay for the land. I refused to say anything about it, telling them that the land was given a year ago & they had promised to say no more about it, & now they had no business to say any thing further about it. They pretended that when they gave me the land they expected that I would give them goods & food, but I had not done it &c. They demanded in strong terms, but refused to say any thing about it. The former complained about the pay for his tallow, commanded me very insolently, to make a cap for him. I refused. He threw down the shirt & would not take it.

They then ordered me in the most absolute terms to leave on the morrow. By this time Mrs. S. was very much frightened at their rage & ran out to call Jack. He came but one of them tried to prevent his coming in. I seized the latch & Jack forced himself in. The order to leave was repeated several times with great insolence & I at length told them I would go, but could not get ready so soon. I must have time to get ready. They left the house & went away repeating the order. They evidently came on purpose to see what they could do & went away in an awful rage & we had reason to fear for our lives. During the whole I was enabled to conduct myself with calmness. It is evidently their intention to get me away with the hope that some other one will come who will give them more goods &c. This is their great desire. Probably it is their desire to have a Catholic for one has been in the mountains & promises the people a plenty of goods & food. There seems no way for us but to leave this place, for I see not how we can stay under such circumstances.

Slept but little during the night & this morning some of the chiefs came to talk with me. Soon the two individuals came. The door was locked. Insinmalakin ordered me to open the door. I asked him what he had come for. He made no reply but repeated the order again & again & began to threaten to break the door down. It was thought best to have the door opened & he & his brother came in full of rage & he began to talk very insultingly, at which some of them replied very earnestly & threatened to tie him & started to take hold of him. He was not tied, but the talk continued for a long time very warm & some of the time I felt that I was among a company of friends. Insinmalakin was very insolent & misrepresented to them about the conversation of yesterday. I told those present that there was no way for me to stay. I had been ordered away & if the land should be given to me again it

would do no good for he would take it back again as he had done before. His word could not be believed. The conversation at length ended & all went home, not in so much rage as they were yesterday. A considerable number of the people are very anxious we should stay, but a part are very indifferent & I think prefer to have us go home [for] a change which will bring them more profit. Our situation is somewhat critical.

Mrs. S. is in great fear & is nearly sick in consequence of it. Jack slept in the kitchen last night & does tonight. Today he has been sharpening his knife & tonight laid it by his side ready for an attack if they should break into the house.

15. People have been more quiet. But few have been about the house today. Mr. Spalding arrived at evening & we felt much relief. He has also had difficulty at his station with the Indians. He however left home on the receipt of my letter & came to our relief.

It appears that the two individuals who have made difficulty here were influenced by Atpashwakaiket. He told them that "he tied Mr. Pambrun & made him a slave & since that he had been a little good."¹²¹ The plan evidently was to drive me to their terms about giving out property &c.

16. Inmtamlaiakin with some others was in this evening & wished to obtain my favor. I told him I had no confidence in him, his heart was just the same. His pretensions were false & he would do just so again.

I talked for some time in the plainest manner possible respecting our object in coming here, the selfishness of the people, their hypocritical practices & told them they were fast going to perdition. I told Inmtamlaiakin how he & his brother were jealous because I had favored others, & showed him that I had given to others only when they had done something for me & that he had got nothing because he had done nothing for me. After this plain talk they left.

17. Very quiet today.

18. Sabbath. Talked to the people & used much plainness of speech.

19. Insinmalakin came this morning & tried to get initiated into my favor but I told him I had no confidence in his word & gave him back the tallow he brought me, but he would not take it, & went home.

DEC. 5th. 1840. For some days past have had much thought respecting the past history of this mission, its present condition & its future

¹²¹ See Spalding's Diary for October 14, 1840. Spalding states that "Blue Cap" was the one who ordered Smith to leave. The second Indian involved may have been Meiway (See "List of Persons,") although Smith here calls him Atpashwakaiket. Miss A. J. Allen in her *Ten Years in Oregon*, 175, tells of the incident when the Indians tied and beat Pambrun at Fort Walla Walla. Mrs. Whitman in a letter to her husband dated March 4, 1843, wrote: "Apashwakaik, the Nez Perce who was greatly displeased because he was not chosen high chief instead of Ellis." Hulbert and Hulbert, *Marcus Whitman, Crusader*, II: p. 280.

prospects. In view of the whole a feeling of discouragement & despondency hangs over me, above which I find it impossible to rise. Whatever view I take I come to the same result invariably.

In view of the circumstances attending our journey across the mountains, the necessity we were under of violating the Sabbath most of the time for 4 months, of performing such an amount of labor & enduring so much hardship & fatigue from day to day as to have no time nor strength of body or mind for reading, meditation & prayer; in view of this utter breaking up of all regular habits by this course & consequent declension of religious feeling, & the unhappy feelings & dispositions generated; in view of our situation since we have been in the country up to the present time — the constant secular cares resting on our minds, diverting us from the acquisition of the language & our appropriate work, so that amid the multiplicity of cares & labors we have found little time for the cultivation of piety in our own hearts; in view of the state of things in this mission — the differences of character, disposition, mode of thought & views as to the best mode of operations among the members of this part of the mission, rendering it apparently impossible to act in concert or to be associated together, & the divisions & unpleasant feelings which have existed & still exist in consequence; in view of the character & habits of the Indians — their small number, the difficulty of settling them & of having access to them, the difficulties attending the instruction of the children & other efforts for their improvement: in view of the difficulties of the language, presenting as it does one great blank of words & ideas which are most important in respect to a right understanding of the gospel — such as government whether human or divine, holiness & justice of God's character; law, its nature, sanctions & penalty, the nature of transgression or sin, thus having no foundation on which the atonement can find a resting place in their minds — no recognition of a priesthood & what is connected with it, rendering it impossible to present Christ to their conceptions as our great high Priest — no idea or words relating to judicial proceedings, making it impossible to hold up Christ before them as their judge; wanting almost utterly in general terms, the words generally being peculiarly definite & limited in their signification, so that we are in constant difficulty in giving religious instruction lest we express some circumstances we do not wish to, or express but a part of the idea & that in reference to particular circumstances or mode to which the word has reference, rendering it impossible so far as we can see at present to give a correct translation of the bible into their language; in view of these things I must say that I feel discouraged & disheartened & know not what to do.¹²²

¹²² Smith's Diary closes on this note of utter despondency.

The Crisis at Kamiah

One of the major complicating factors which contributed to the difficulties faced by the members of the Oregon Mission of the American Board was the long delays occasioned in the transmission of mails. Since Greene had the custom of marking on the outside of the letter the time when it was received in Boston, it is possible to learn how much time had elapsed from the date of writing to the date of reception.

The overland mail was much faster than the sea route. If a letter were carried by the Hudson's Bay express across Canada during the spring and summer, about seven months would be needed for delivery. Smith's letter of February 25, 1840, was sent that way and was received by Greene on September 21st. Whereas Smith's letter of August 5, 1840, which went by sea, was not received until October 2, 1841 — fourteen months later, or just twice as long. All of the following four letters written by Smith — September 3, September 28, October 21, 1840, and February 22, 1841,— were received by Greene on the same day — October 2, 1841. The first three went by sea, the last went overland. We should also remember that it took as long for a letter to go from Boston to Oregon as from Oregon to Boston. Thus it was possible for a full two years to elapse before the missionaries in Oregon could receive an answer to a question or advice on a problem. These long intervals meant that it was impossible for the Board to provide timely advice for the settlement of difficulties. Often when the answer reached the field, the matter which was once under discussion had long since been settled.

Moreover, there is evidence that Secretary Greene was more inclined to write a general letter to the Mission than individual letters to the separate members. Smith in his letter of August 31, 1840, stated: "Yours of October 5, 39 was rec'd. . . This is the only communication I have rec'd from you, directed to me alone since our arrival here." The first letter in two years!

The members of the Prudential Committee of the American Board met in Boston February 15-23, 1842, to consider the business of their missions. Greene laid before the Committee all of the letters that Smith had written against Spalding, three from Gray, and one each from Rogers and Hall. Whitman in his letters to Greene of March 27, and October 15, 1840, had made some restrained criticisms of Spalding —

but Smith and Gray were the main complainers. All together the letters totaled some 60,000 words, largely about "that man Spalding." Faced with the accumulated mass of accusations, the Board took the following action which was sent to the Mission in a letter written by Greene on February 25, 1842:

Resolved, that the Rev. Henry H. Spalding be recalled, with instructions to return by the first direct and suitable opportunity; that Mr. William H. Gray be advised to return home, and also the Rev. Asa B. Smith, on account of the illness of his wife; that Dr. Marcus Whitman and Mr. Cornelius Rogers be designated to the northern branch of the mission; [i.e., Tshimakain] and that the two last named be authorized to dispose of the mission property in the southern branch of the mission.

It should be noted that no word had been received from Spalding regarding the difficulties within the Mission. Without exception up to this date, his letters had been free from personalities. Spalding majored on the positive side of his work, usually giving an optimistic report of what had been done. Spalding was dismissed without ever having an opportunity to present his side of the case.

The last two letters written by Smith, from Kamiah, to Greene — October 21, 1840, and February 22, 1841 — follow. Both were among the letters submitted by Greene to the Prudential Committee. The last entry in Smith's Diary is dated December 5, 1840, and the closing sentence overflows with despondency ". . . in view of these things I must say that I feel discouraged & disheartened & know not what to do." That same spirit permeates the last letters written by him, from Kamiah, to Greene.

Smith undoubtedly had a real cause for alarm when he wrote on October 21st. The ugly incident of the 13th was still fresh in his mind. However, in this letter Smith made the serious charge that Spalding was mentally deranged. Here is the climax of all of the bitterness that Smith felt in his heart against Spalding. Although Smith, in his letter of February 22, 1841, intimated that he awaited "the decision of the Board" as to whether or not he should abandon the field, yet he had already decided to leave Kamiah. A few days after writing this letter to Greene, Smith sent a message to Spalding informing him that he planned to depart from Kamiah on April 12th. (See Spalding's Diary for March 26, 1841.) Smith's last letter from Kamiah to Greene constituted his apology for leaving the field.

KAMIAH, Oct. 21st, 1840

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, Ms.

MY DEAR SIR, When I last wrote you, little did I think that such trials were near at hand as have befallen us. But what has befallen us

shows plainly the instability of all things in a heathen & especially in an Indian country. Mr. Gray I understand has already communicated the principal facts to you. Suffice it to say that on the 13th inst. we were ordered in the most insolent manner & in the most absolute terms to leave this place. It has appeared since that it was an attempt on the part of the Indians to get property, & it was instigated somewhat by the man who was the principal actor in the affair of binding Mr. Pambrun at Walla Walla, a short time before the establishment of this mission. This order came from the two principal men who pretend to own the soil in this valley. The individual referred to told them, that "he tied Mr. Pambrun & made him a slave & since that he had been a little good." The attempt on him was for property, the same as upon me. They desisted however before they made an attempt to tie me. I am inclined to think however that they meditated violence from the fact that when Mrs. S. ran out to call our Hawaiian servant, who had returned to us but a few days before, one of them attempted to prevent his coming into the house. I seized the latch & Jack put himself in very soon. They soon left the house, repeating the order to leave the next day.

That same night I dispatched an Indian boy who came from Waiiletpu with the Hawaiian to carry letters to Mr. Spalding & Doct. W.

The next day the principal men came & soon after the two villians arrived & threatened to break down the door if it was not opened. Feeling that there were enough in the house who were friendly to protect me, the door was opened, & a talk commenced between them & those who were friendly. I never witnessed such a scene in my life. Much passion was manifested on both sides & it seemed to me that our house was filled with demons from the bottomless pit rather than human beings. Some threatened to tie them but it was evident none dared to do it. After several hours the scene broke up & they all went home.

This is the third time I have had difficulty with the same individuals within a year. No dependence can be placed on their word. They have given me the land again & again & as often taken it away & ordered me away, demanding pay for the land &c. I felt at the time that there was but one course for me to take & that to leave the station. Mr. Spalding came on the 15th & remained till this morning & yesterday the Doct. came, bringing horses to take us away. From them I learn that there are difficulties of a similar nature at each of the stations below, so that there seems to be a combined effort on the part of the Indians to force us to give them property. They seem to wish to take our clothes from our backs. Under these circumstances, it is the decided opinion of Doct. W., Mr. Gray, Mr. Pambrun, & the company of Independent missionaries who were at Doct. W's, that it would be best to vacate

this station immediately in order to show the Indians the effect of their conduct & to promote peace at the other stations. It is hoped that this course will silence the Indians & cause them to refrain from such attempts in future.

Mr. Pambrun too fears from the Indians at this time & has put his fort in readiness for an attack.

It is very trying to us to think of leaving our station especially at this season. We are now comfortably situated here & have an abundance to make us comfortable. The rainy season too has set in which makes it very unpleasant. It may, however, be more favorable in a few days.

An additional reason for leaving is Mrs. S's feeble health. Should we attempt to remain here during the winter under these circumstances, we have great reason to fear from the effect on her health. Her spinal difficulty remains & this causes such a nervous state of the system that it seems highly important for her future safety to be in a more quiet situation & where she may enjoy more society.

Our moving must be attended with some sacrifice, with some difficulty, as the river is now too small to go down in canoes. Our provisions must remain here for the winter & whether it will be plundered or not, I cannot tell. Every thing except our provisions we can take.

Such is the condition in which we are at present placed & what is before us we know not. Mr. Spalding was decided in the opinion that our leaving this station would have a favorable effect on the other stations, but seemed to hesitate only on account of the sacrifice & difficulty of leaving at this time.

The probability now is that we shall soon leave this place, & were the way opened for us we should feel it our duty to go to some other field with out delay. In previous letters I have given you a full account of our situation & of the obstacles in the way of our usefulness here. We have long been convinced that we ought to be in some other field, yet we have felt that we ought to wait the leadings of Providence before we should act decidedly. I have hinted this in previous letters & the time now seems to have come when it is necessary for me to request to be transferred to some other field, or be returned home.

I would say that it is still my desire to labor as a missionary of the A.B.C.F.M. & it is my sincere desire & hope that the Board may find it consistent to send me to some other field. The Sandwich Islands is a field where we think we might labor to great advantage & where Mrs. S's health would not be a serious objection. Siam is the field which early attracted my attention & it is the place where I should still like to labor, but I fear Mrs. S's health would not be sufficient for that field. We feel to leave ourselves in the hands of God & at the disposal of the Board, praying that they may be guided to make such a disposition of us as shall be most for the glory of God & advancement of his cause.

One subject more I must mention before I close. It is this. In view of

the situation of this mission, I am prepared after much thought on the subject, to give it as my decided opinion, that it is best for the Board to relinquish this field & give it up to the Methodist Board. The reasons for this opinion are independent of my own desire to leave the field. They are as follows —

1st. The course pursued by Mr. Spalding as represented to you in communications which you will have before you on the receipt of this. This will call for an investigation on the part of the Board, attended with great difficulty, & to avoid this it appears to me that the mission had better be given up to the Methodists & Mr. Spalding advised to return home. As to the communications they contain facts, which can be proved, still it may be that they have been made to appear in too strong a light. Mr. Gray may have been influenced too much by personal feelings & suffered himself to be too much affected by little things. I feel disposed to make all possible allowance for Mr. Spalding. His conduct has evidently been governed & modified much by the peculiarities of his mind, his peculiar temperament & disposition. He is certainly to be pitied. At times, he seems unable to control himself & this makes him a dangerous person in a mission.

He has been with us in this season of trial & manifested much kind feeling towards us. He eyes too now seemed to be opened & he sees the folly of his course. He now sees the results which others predicted & he seems to be almost in despair. He has given up the idea of remaining in the country if the mission is given up & has seemed much in favor of transferring this field to the Methodists.¹²³ The fact too that the Catholics have made an attack on the mountain side & are making use of Indian reports respecting his conduct to influence the Indians against this mission greatly affects him. He feels distressed in view of his situation & with the thought of returning home & says he knows not how he can live. It is my earnest desire & prayer that the Board will treat him as *tenderly* as the case will possibly admit of, & if possible get him back to his native land & dismiss him from the service of the Board without bringing him to any trial respecting his conduct here. From what I have seen & know of him, I greatly fear that the man will become deranged should any heavy calamity befall him. I have thrown out these hints thinking they might be of some service & here I will leave the matter for the wisdom of the Board to dispose of.

The above remarks I have just read to Doct. W. & he concurs in what I have written & says moreover that Mr. Spalding has a disease in his head which may result in derangement especially if excited by external circumstances.¹²⁴

¹²³ This was wishful thinking on Smith's part. See footnote 113.

¹²⁴ Smith's reference to Dr. Whitman should not be taken as a professional diagnosis. Whitman was not a co-signer of this letter. Smith's statement about Spalding being "deranged" should be read in the light of Smith's own unhappy attitude.

Respecting Mr. Gray, I would remark that in my opinion & I presume the opinion is general in this mission, that it would be better that he should return home rather than go to another field.¹²⁵

2d. Another reason for giving up the field is that it is limited in its extent & the prospects of success will not warrant the expense of the Board, especially if the operations of other missions must be curtailed in consequence of it. The people have all been numbered with the exception of a few below the forks of the Snake & Koos-koos-ki rivers. From this point upwards there are 1,837 inhabitants. All the Nez Perces below this point will probably not make up the number 2,000. The whole number Kayuses & all speaking this language cannot exceed 2,400. The difficulties in the way of success have been presented in previous communications. The fact now comes out plainly that the Indians cannot settle on & cultivate the lands of others. Consequently there can be but few about the stations.

3d. The proximity of this field to that occupied by the Methodists & the fact that these Indians in great numbers winter now at one of the Methodist stations & come under their influence, is a strong reason in our minds that they should have the field. If they pursue a different course from that pursued by this mission, it makes difficulty with the Indians & throws obstacles in the way. Some inconvenience has been experienced from this source already.

4th. Again this field was contemplated by the Methodists as I learn & the taking of it by our Board has by them been construed into interference on our part.

5th. Again, the Methodist system of operations by itinerating, we are now convinced, is better adapted to the present condition of this people than the course pursued by this mission.

6th. Again the Methodists by means of their stations below have the facilities for prosecuting a mission in this upper country independent of the H.H.B.CO. which we have not.

These are some of the reasons which may be presented in favor of giving up the field to the Methodists.

We have not been able to consult Messrs. Walker & Eells at this crisis, but they have written to Doct. W. that which leads him to think that they would advise to this course.

It seems necessary to appraise you of these things by the first opportunity that you might be the better able to judge what course would be advisable.

In the mean time Messrs. Walker & Eells will be consulted & if thought best, the subject may be laid before the members of the

¹²⁵ Once when it was proposed that Gray live with the Smiths at Kamiah, Smith is reported to have replied immediately in the negative saying: "It is as much as I can do to receive a visit from him." Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 253. Yet, Smith in his letters to Greene, had very little of a critical nature to say about Gray.

Methodist mission, so that we may be prepared for a decided step in time to write you by the express through Canada. The time required to receive an answer from our communications renders our situation somewhat trying & difficult. But for myself I feel that the honor & the interest of the Board are concerned & it is our duty to do what we can to extricate the Board from the difficulty in respect to this mission. The crisis to which we are brought is trying to us & it will be to you. For us to decide what course to pursue is taking great responsibility upon ourselves & we feel that we need the wisdom of the Board to advise under such circumstances. It is for the Board to decide in view of the facts presented & we have only to wait for their decision. May the Lord direct the Pru. Com.¹²⁶ & us, so that all things will result in His Glory & the advancement of this cause. With much esteem, I remain yours truly,

A. B. SMITH.

KAMIAH, OREGON TER'S. Feb. 22d 1841

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, MASS.

MY DEAR SIR. In my last to you of Oct. 21st, I mentioned the disturbances which had occurred at this station & the prospect that the station would soon be vacated. A canoe was made in order to take us down the river if it was found best to leave & in the meantime one of the individuals who made the disturbance left the place in order to spend the winter at the Dalles, & the other became quiet, so that we concluded we would remain through the winter, & invited Rev. Mr. Clark & wife who arrived last autumn in the country to spend the winter with us. They came & are still here & have been a great comfort to us in our lonely situation.

The Indians have been quiet but what they will do in future I know not. Whether they will permit us to remain or not I cannot tell. At the time of the disturbance it was the united voice of the mission that we leave the station, but since that time some have expressed a different opinion. What we shall do I know not at present. One thing is very certain. Our situation here is extremely unfavorable to Mrs. S's health. Last season she suffered much for want of society. Being feeble & able to do but little, her mind is left to prey upon itself, her spirits sink, & she often feels that our lonely situation is more than she is able to endure. Her health has been rather better during the winter, but is now beginning to sink again, & the prospect is that she will be no better than she was last summer. The spinal difficulty remains. The cause is not at all removed.

I also in the same letter mentioned some conversation wh. took place

¹²⁶ The reference is to the Prudential Committee of the American Board which today might be called the Steering Committee.

respecting the giving up this mission to the Methodists & some reasons which occurred to me in favor of such a course. That Messrs. Walker & Eells were in favor of such a course, as was supposed at the time, was a mistake, arising from Doct. W's misunderstanding their letter. They meant nothing more than what Mr. Walker had previously expressed to me, that if the Methodists should crowd upon us, it would not be best to contest the field with them, but let them take it. A letter was written to Messrs. W. & E. respecting it & they gave it as their opinion that it was not best to give up the mission & then the matter dropped.

With regard to their part of the field, there is no particular reason why it should be given up. Their movements so far as I know have been judicious & there may be a prospect of accomplishing some thing there if their efforts are continued. But it is evident that the work must be slow & the results small in the end. As they seem unwilling to leave their field, I hope they will be permitted to follow up their effort till the experiment is fully tried.

But it is far different in respect to this part of the field, & as Messrs. W. & E. have been rather unwilling to know the truth with regard to affairs in this part of the mission, they seem to be unable fully to appreciate the reasons.

The reasons as they stand in my mind I have given you & one principal one has respect to Mr. Spalding. This reason remains so far as I am able to see in full force & must remain. Facts you have already before you & I need not add more. I will only say that Mr. Rogers finds himself in deep difficulty at that station & is so discouraged that he will probably remain in the mission but a short time longer. He stated to me a short time since, that he had of late been more & more convinced by every day's experience of Mr. Spalding's & the incapacity & unfitness for the station wh. he occupies. With regard to this opinion you can judge for yourself from the facts already before you. I would here state that if Mr. Sp. should be recalled, the probability is that he would refuse to return home, but would if possible remain where he is. This was his avowed determination a year & a half ago. What he intends now I cannot tell.

You see now something of the situation of this part of the mission & can judge what are the prospects of usefulness. To this part of the mission belong the three original members of the missions, men so unlike to each other that they could never agree, & as for myself, I am different from them all, so it seems necessary that each one should have a station to himself in order to do any thing.

In view of these things, I have become utterly discouraged & can see no hope of success in the present mode of operations & with the persons at present engaged. If the field were worth holding I candidly believe it would be better to remove the whole of us & place a new company of able judicious men here who would take hold of the work

with discretion & prudence as well as zeal & with unity of feeling. As to the extent of the field, you have been already informed 2,400 is the extent of all ages speaking the Nez Perce language. No more than half this number came under the influence of this mission the past year, at any time as the reports will show. The "meeting house" wh. is yet to be built "that will hold 6000"¹²⁷ adults, would comfortably hold three such tribes. But I will say no more on this subject; you have heard enough already.

In the same letter, I made request to be transferred to the Sandwich Island mission, or to have permission to return home. The reason given is Mrs. S's feeble health & the great difficulty in this country of obtaining domestic assistance. One old servant has returned to us & has been engaged by the H.H.B.Co. for a year longer. After which time we have no prospect of any assistance. The difficulty of obtaining help is increasing. This together with the small prospects of usefulness here, has led me to the conclusion that it is not our duty to remain in this country. I have examined the subject again & again & this conclusion becomes stronger & stronger.

I lament the necessity of making such a request, & the circumstances which have rendered it necessary. The circumstances relative to this mission have had an influence in leading me to this conclusion. But these circumstances existed before my arrival here, i.e., the unhappy state of this mission, & it was out of my power to foresee or prevent them. Neither could the Board foresee or prevent. But the Lord in wisdom has suffered things thus to be, & he will doubtless overrule it to his own glory. He has in wisdom brought me hither & caused me to pass through trials, but I am satisfied that he has designed it all for my good. I had no reason to murmur at his chastisements. I have no reason to complain of the Board for sending me here. It was God that overruled & directed, & why he has thus done, if we see not in time doubtless we shall in eternity. His ways are all right, & in his government may we rejoice. I feel concerned for the honor & the interests of the Board in respect to this mission, but the Lord is wiser than men & whatever he shall direct will be for the best.

I have stated my convictions of duty & my requests & wait for the decision of the Board. If it is the wish of the Board that we go to the Islands, & Mr. S's health is such as to render it advisable, we are ready to go. If it is their advice that we return home, we shall acquiesce.

With much esteem, I remain Yours Truly.

A. B. SMITH

¹²⁷ Spalding in his letter to Greene of March 3, 1839, wrote: "But this season, God willing, we propose to put up a brick church . . . sufficiently large to accommodate 6,000." Parts of this letter including this quotation appeared in the *Missionary Herald* for Dec. 1839. Evidently Smith received a copy of this issue. The most reasonable explanation of the fantastic number — 6,000 — is that Spalding's handwriting seemed to indicate an extra zero where only the figure 600 was intended. A building to accommodate even that smaller number was a visionary project.

The Smiths Leave Kamiah

A. B. Smith and his wife left Kamiah on April 19, 1841, by canoe for their approximately 400 mile trip by water down the Clearwater into the Snake and then into the Columbia River to Vancouver. Sarah Smith was unable to travel by horseback. Smith sent his goods and livestock overland under the direction of his faithful Pakatas. The packtrain reached Lapwai on April 20th. In disposing of his few cattle and horses, Smith left none with Spalding but presumably turned all of them over to Whitman.

Spalding's Diary, beginning with the entry for March 25th, shows that there was much sickness that spring at the Lapwai station. Mrs. Spalding was seriously ill for about a month; then "little Henry"; and finally Cornelius Rogers. Spalding sent for Dr. Whitman on April 17th. Whitman arrived at Lapwai on the morning of the 21st, just before Asa and Sarah Smith reached that point. Although Spalding noted that Mrs. Smith was unable "to sit up much," yet he confided in his Diary "I am fully persuaded that this is not the principal reason of Mr. Smith's leaving the Mission."

Whitman wrote to Greene on March 28, 1841, but was strangely silent on Mrs. Smith's ailment. He merely commented:¹²⁸

I have not been disposed to speak of others but I feel it my duty to say of Mr. Smith, that Mr. Clark who wintered with him says he has not been endeavoring to perfect himself in the language preparatory for laboring among the people but on the contrary altogether neglected it & has been taking up a course of study in order to prepare himself for preaching in the States. He is set on going home.

In the following letter, Smith says nothing about any continued hostility of the natives at Kamiah but rather indicates that the chief reason for their departure was Mrs. Smith's health. We today would certainly agree with him on this point.

WALLA WALLA, April 29th, 1841

REV. D. GREENE,
BOSTON, Ms.

MY DEAR SIR My last to you bears date of Feb. 22d which was sent by the Express through Canada. In that letter among other things, I

¹²⁸ Hulbert & Hulbert, *Marcus Whitman Crusader*, II: p. 218.

mentioned that Mrs. Smith's health was beginning to decline. Soon after I wrote her health began to decline more rapidly so that by the first of March she was completely prostrated & from that time to the present she has been confined almost entirely to her bed. Her decline was so rapid as to give me some fearful apprehensions respecting her, but at present she remains much in the same state in which she has been for some weeks past & I hope that by judicious medical treatment she may be relieved in some measure. A cure is more than I expect. Her spine has become so much affected that her whole system has been brought under its influence & she is now in an extremely feeble state.

Soon after I wrote you last, it became evident that it was our duty to leave Kamiah & put ourselves in a situation where we may have the benefit of medical assistance. Accordingly we left that place in a large canoe which I had prepared for the purpose on the 19th inst. & arrived here the 27th. We had no further disturbance from the Indians. Whether they will take possession of the place there or not, we cannot tell.

It is thought best for us to go to Vancouver to spend the summer & put Mrs. S. under the care of the physician there. We expect to leave this place in a few days for Vancouver, & should it be found advisable for Mrs. S's health we may take passage for the Islands in the autumn.

Our situation in this country is becoming more & more difficult on account of Mrs. S's health, & I feel that it is necessary for me to urge the request which I have made in previous letters to be removed to the Islands or to our native land.

Respecting the situation of this mission, perhaps it is not necessary for me to add any thing at this time. Facts enough doubtless have been given to show you the state of things here. I will only say that I am becoming more & more strongly convinced that this part of the mission can never prosper with the persons at present engaged. I see no other course for us to take now, but to wait & see what disposition the Board shall make of this part of the mission & those concerned in it.

My connection with this mission has indeed been replete with trials, but I am led to feel that the Lord is chastening us for our good & that he will at length bring us out of great tribulation with our robes washed & made white in the blood of the Lamb.

Mrs. S., I would remark, in her sickness finds *much* consolation in the hopes of the gospel.

With much esteem, I remain yours truly,

A. B. SMITH.

P.S. I would further remark that my own general health is good, yet on account of a disease of the vocal organs, it has become necessary for me to suspend public speaking entirely for the present.

I have an elongation of the uvula which will probably not be cured without a removal of the part.

SMITH TO WALKER, MAY 3, 1841

When Elkanah Walker learned that Smith was about to leave the Mission without having received authorization from the Board, he wrote to Smith urging him to remain. He suggested that perhaps the Smiths could live at some other place if Kamiah were too isolated. Undoubtedly his letters revealed his feeling that a stigma of disgrace was attached to anyone who took unauthorized leave from the field to which he had been appointed. The following reply from Smith was written at Walla Walla on May 3, 1841, and reveals more poignantly than any other letter, the very difficult situation which he faced at Kamiah. The original is in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino and is here used with permission.

DEAR BRO.

Since I last wrote you I have rec'd three letters from you. I have considered the reasons you have presented to induce me to remain in the field & I must say that I remain of the same mind. I have not come to any hasty conclusion, but have decided after at least one whole year of careful examination of the subject & looking at it in every light in which it can be viewed.

The first & principal reason & the principal one which I have presented to the Board is Mrs. S's health. About this I have written to Mrs. Eells all that is necessary to write. I will only say, imagine yourself in my situation with your wife prostrate by a chronic disease, with little or no hope of recovery, yourself [tear in page . . .] the necessity of having the care of everything in the house as well as out of [. . .], the necessity of taking [. . .] to mind your own clothes, of making your own butter, baking & perhaps washing & making your bed, sweeping & of doing the almost numberless & nameless things which are necessary to be done in keeping house, & even if you have a servant still having all the care & much of the labor upon you. In such a situation, I ask, would you feel it your duty to remain in this country?

As to the encouragement to labor in this part of the mission, I cannot see nor feel thus. I have not time now to go into the subject fully but I must say that it is my opinion that this part of the mission is *past hope*, whatever may be the prospects of your part. I have represented the situation of this part of the Mission to the Board as fully as I thought necessary & what course they will see fit to [. . .] time alone can determine. I believe [. . .] company of men *through-out* [. . .] of the mission is needed in order for any hope of success.

As to my last letter, I have only to say that I had no wish to excite "anger," only to let you know that I felt grieved at the manner in which you wrote me. What your feelings were, I could tell only from your letter. As to the acknowledgment you made, I have no remem-

brance of hearing it. I remember to have heard you say that you came to the meeting with the determination that if any one had any thing against you, you would confess it when it should be made known to you. I thought it not my place to bring any accusations against you & from your conduct toward me I supposed that all past things were buried & not to be called up again & I should have said nothing had it not been for the manner in which you wrote me. I felt grieved that you should thus write under such circumstances. But I feel to forgive this with everything else that has past & wherein I also have offended to hope to be forgiven.

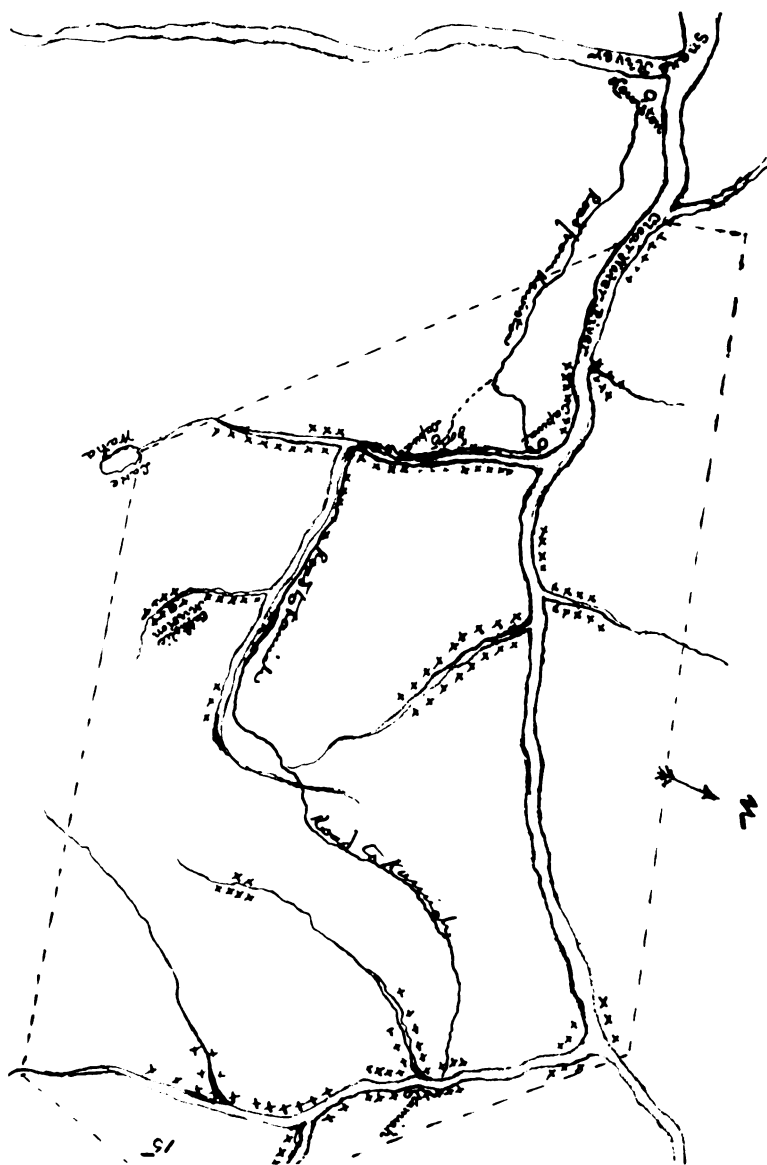
I regret that it is impossible for [. . .] accept your invitation to visit your place. Mrs. S. cannot be moved, only in a boat, & it is not safe nor proper for me to leave her in her present situation.

We have decided to go to Vancouver to spend the summer & in the autumn shall take the course which Providence shall mark out for us. As to any law of the Board respecting a missionaries leaving his station without the consent of the mission of which you speak, I know of none. The law respecting a missionaries going home is the only one I recollect which touches the case. But, be it remembered, I have left the station & visit Vancouver with the consent & advice of a majority of the mission, and the thought of leaving the mission is a matter of rejoicing to *one* of the members of this part of the mission & he says the troubles of the mission are short lived.

Mrs. S. is unable to answer Mrs. W's letter & I have to request that when she writes again she will write in a manner to soothe rather than aggravate [?], for she can have no idea of the amount [. . .] of suffering produced by mere mental [. . .]

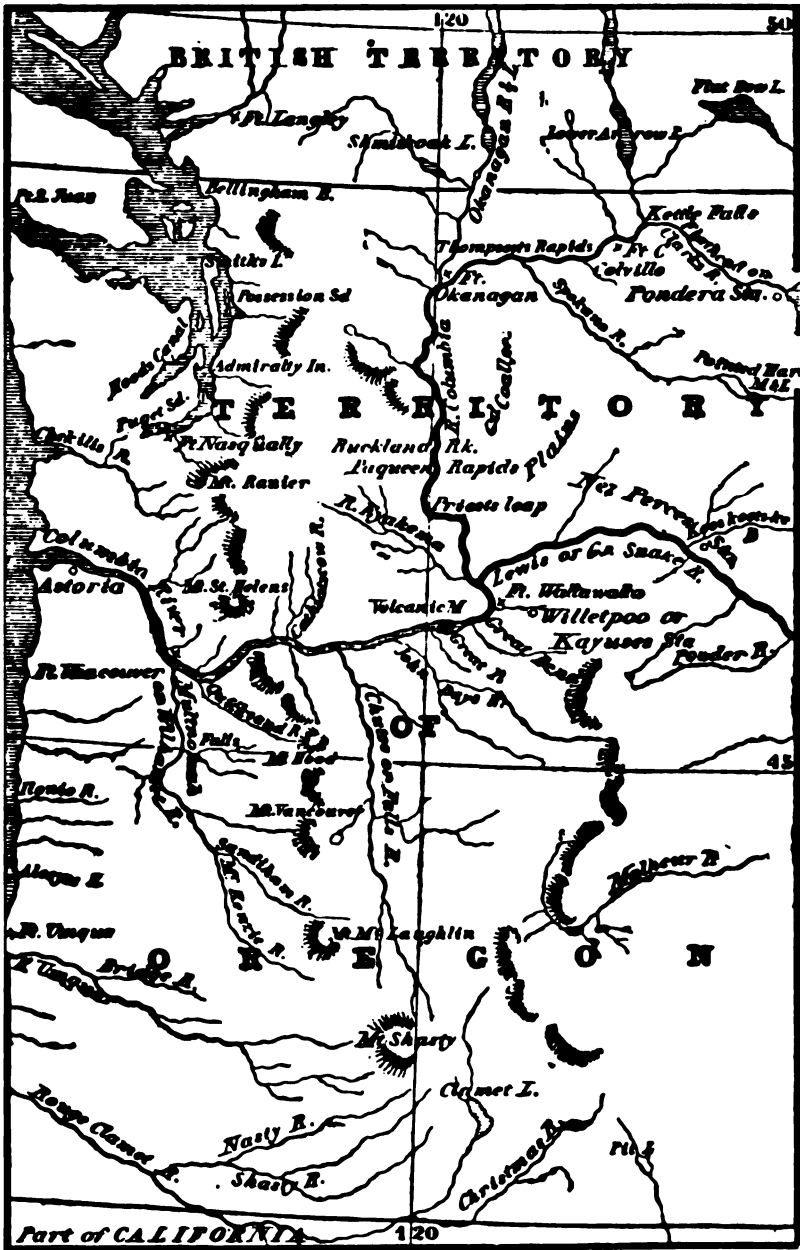
Yours truly

A. B. SMITH.



**OUTLINES OF THE NEZ PERCE INDIAN RESERVATION
AND THE 60-MILE ROAD FROM LAPWAI TO KAMIAH**

Drawn by a Presbyterian missionary about 1885. From archives of Presbyterian Historical Society, Phila. The modern highway No. 95 from Lapwai to Cratignont, and No. 12 on to Kamiah, follows in general the old Indian trail. Old Lapwai is now called Spaulding. The X's evidently indicate Indian dwellings. The river shown entering the Clearwater at the north-east corner is the North Fork. The stream entering at Kamiah is Lawyer's Creek. The Roman Catholic Mission, now known as Slickpoo Mission, was founded in 1868.



TERRITORY OF OLD OREGON

Whitman's station at Wailatpu (here spelled Wilettoo) and Spalding's mission (here indicated as Nez Percés Sta.) are shown. The artist evidently knew nothing about the location of Tshimakain near Fort Colville or about Kamiah on the Clearwater or Koos-Koots-ky River. From *History of American Missions to the Heathen*, 1840, p. 317.

The Smiths go to Hawaii

Smith wrote to Greene from Fort Vancouver on June 2, 1841. He reported that he and his wife had remained at Fort Walla Walla for about two weeks. They left for Vancouver on May 17th. In his letter is the following:

We came all the way by water, a distance of about 400 miles. From Kamiah to Walla Walla, we were not under the necessity of making any portage, tho' Mrs. S. remained in the canoe. From Walla Walla to this place, we made three portages differing in length from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Here Mrs. S. was carried on a hammock suspended on a pole & carried on the shoulders of two men. The boat was carried on the shoulders of men except at the Cascades where it was let down empty by means of cords.

We have here the medical attention of Doct. Barclay, an English Physician of thorough education, of whose medical skill we have formed a high opinion. He is giving attention to Mrs. S's general health as well as to her spinal difficulty & already she begins to show a little improvement. She has now been confined for more than 3 months almost entirely to her bed, unable to sit or walk but very little. I hope to see her become much more comfortable than she now is, but a perfect cure of her spinal difficulty is beyond my expectations. The exposures of this country have proved very unfavorable in her case. I feel that it will be very unsafe for her to remain in this country another winter.

I am under medical treatment for an elongation of the uvula, which will probably require an operation before I shall be able to preach with any comfort.

In a letter to the Board, dated August 2nd, Dr. Forbes Barclay reported that Mrs. Smith was suffering from "a spinal affection and that a very distressing one," while her husband's ailment was "an elongation of the uvula with a morbid state of fauces & epiglottis so much as to impede his articulation." Dr. Barclay performed a minor operation on Smith to correct the condition. The Doctor recommended that they go to the "salubrious climate" of the Hawaiian Islands for their health. Finding it inconvenient to wait for definite word from the Board, Smith proceeded with his plans to go to Hawaii. Passage was booked on an American ship which left Vancouver on July 31st. However, when the ship reached Astoria, the vessel was sold to the

United States Navy to replace the *Peacock*, of the Wilkes Squadron, which was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia on July 18, 1841. The Smiths were obliged to disembark. They secured accommodations in the home of the Rev. and Mrs. William W. Kone of the Methodist Mission at Astoria. There they remained for several months. Some time in November passage was booked on another vessel bound for the Islands. Writing to Greene from Honolulu on February 5, 1842, Smith explained:

It was three weeks after we embarked before an opportunity presented of crossing the bar at the mouth of the river & after a long & tedious passage of 35 days in consequence of calms & head-winds, we arrived at this place on the 25th ult. The usual passage is only from 20 to 25 days.

Mrs. Smith suffered considerable on the passage & found herself somewhat weaker on arriving here than when we embarked. The motion of the vessel often was very tiresome to her, & caused much pain in her spine.

Smith reported that the climate in Honolulu was proving to be beneficial to his wife's health. Regarding his prospects for work in the Sandwich Islands Mission, he wrote: "The brethren here seem anxious that we should remain rather than go home for they feel the need of more laborers & there is much work to be done." Smith requested that the Board permit him to stay in the Islands. Dr. J. P. Judd, who was the doctor of the Mission, attached a note to Smith's letter recommending that they be allowed to remain. Judd wrote: "I have freely expressed my opinion to them as I now do to you, that the health of Mrs. Smith is more likely to be benefitted by a residence in this climate, than by a long sea voyage and a residence in the rigorous atmosphere of the U.S."

Writing on March 10, 1842, Smith reported that his wife had shown definite improvement. "It is now very evident," he wrote, "that it has been the cold, damp, chilly atmosphere of the winter season in Oregon that has been so injurious to her health. I have many fears respecting her, should we return to the cold climate of New England." By this time Smith's throat difficulty had cleared up sufficiently to permit him to preach once each Sunday.

The Board approved the application for transfer and the Smiths remained in the Islands as missionaries for the next three years. They were stationed at Waialua on the island of Oahu.

Subsequent Developments in the Oregon Mission

Two copies of the action of the Prudential Committee taken during its meeting of February 15-23, 1842, dismissing Spalding and closing the Lapwai and Waiilatpu stations, were sent to Dr. Whitman — one by the overland route by the hand of Dr. Elijah White and the other by sea. Dr. White had served as a member of the Methodist Mission in Oregon from 1838 to 1840. He then returned to the States and in the summer of 1842 went back to Oregon as the first Government Agent to the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. Dr. White with a party of more than one hundred Oregon immigrants, the vanguard of an ever-increasing annual influx of white people to the Pacific Northwest, reached the Whitman station about the middle of September. White delivered to Whitman the fateful order from the Board. Whitman at once called a special meeting of the Mission to consider what should be done.

White also delivered a letter from Greene to Spalding dated February 26, 1842, which was the day after Greene wrote the general letter to the Mission giving the action of the Board. This letter, given in full in Appendix 1 of this volume, explains to Spalding the reasons for the action taken. Greene suggested that the Spalding family return to the States by the overland route "if the circumstances of your family will admit it." This was an amazing suggestion to have been made as by 1842 there were no more returning fur caravans. The days of the mountain rendezvous were over. How did the Board expect Spalding to escort his wife and two little children, Eliza and Henry, over the 1,700 miles or more of mountains and Indian country which separated Walla Walla from the western frontier?

The five men of the Mission — Walker, Eells, Spalding, Gray, and Whitman — met at Waiilatpu on Monday evening, September 28th. Gray presented his resignation which, after some debate, was accepted. This meant that the three main critics of Spalding — Rogers (who had left the Mission in the late spring of 1841), Smith, and Gray — had now been separated from the Mission. E. O. Hall of the Sandwich Islands Mission had been but a visitor to Oregon and had returned to his field. Whitman and Spalding had composed their differences during the preceding summer. The situation within the mission, therefore,

had greatly changed and in the opinion of the four men did not warrant the harsh action involved in the Board's order.

The four men were unanimous in their conviction that it would be disastrous to abandon Waiilatpu and Lapwai. These stations were strategically located, especially Waiilatpu. Already it was evident that this would be the first main outpost on the Oregon Trail within Oregon for the immigrants. Whitman must remain there. Agriculturally, Tshimakain was the poorest of the three stations. Nor had the natives there been as responsive as those at either of the other two stations. But the question remained — was Spalding and his family to be sent back to the States?

Whitman took the lead in insisting that this part of the Board's order should not be obeyed. The Board did not know the true situation nor was it aware of more recent developments. Whitman proposed that he return to the States and make a personal presentation of the matter and ask for a cancellation of the order. Walker in his Diary noted that the matter of Whitman's proposed trip to Boston was discussed on Wednesday, September 28th. Walker and Eells had planned to start early on Thursday morning for their homes at Tshimakain and were reluctant to approve so big a decision on so short a notice. However, Whitman was urgent and on the eve of the departure of Walker and Eells induced them and Spalding to sign the following Resolution:

Resolved, that if arrangements can be made, to continue the operations of this station that Dr. Whitman be at liberty and advised to visit the United States as soon as practicable, to confer with the committee of the A.B.C.F.M. in regards to the interests of this Mission.

Thus permission was granted for Whitman to make his memorable trip East. His first business, his main business, was to get the Board to rescind its drastic order of February 1842, which would have dismissed Spalding and closed the southern two stations of the Mission. Both Walker and Eells wanted time to write full letters of explanation to Greene and it was understood by them that Whitman would wait for such letters before leaving. However, after Walker and Eells had departed from Waiilatpu for Tshimakain, Whitman, realizing that winter would soon be closing in on the Rockies, became impatient and left on October 3rd. The letters of Walker and Eells, each dated October 3rd, with some notes made by Walker in his letter as late as October 10th, arrived too late to be carried by Whitman.

In the meantime the second copy of the Board's order addressed to the members of the Oregon Mission reached Honolulu after an unusually fast sea voyage a few weeks after the overland letter had arrived at Waiilatpu. Smith took the liberty of opening the letter before it was sent on its way to Oregon. He was undoubtedly deeply

pleased to learn of the action taken. Writing to Greene on October 24, 1842, he commented:

I have opened the general letter to the members of the Oregon Mission. It is indeed painful to think of the decision of the Pru. Com. or rather the circumstances which led to this decision. Those circumstances have been the source of the severest trials connected with our residence in connection with that mission. Timely action on the part of the mission might have prevented perhaps a measure or modified at least the result, but for this the mission as a body were not prepared.

I see not how the Com. could have come to any other decision in this trying case. It may be the case, however, that had the Com. known the result of their last general meeting i.e., the one held in May 1842 their decision might have been modified. Before this reaches you, you will doubtless have heard that there has been an investigation of the case & that harmony has been restored in the opinion of the brethren. The brethren expressed more confidence that hereafter there would be a different state of things than I can possibly feel.

I may be unbelieving, but in my mind the difficulty is of such a nature as cannot be removed by confession or by coming to a thorough understanding at a general meeting. In my mind the difficulty lies in the very elements of character & is in fact at least the man's misfortune. He is certainly to be pitied, but I could not feel safe in trusting him after witnessing what I have of the developments of his character.

By October 24th, of course unknown to Smith, Whitman was well east of Fort Hall on his famous ride over the Rockies. He reached Fort Hall on October 18th, and by November 1st was at Fort Uintah with Miles Goodyear, the Iowa boy who went out to the mountains with the Whitman-Spalding party of 1836. In view of Smith's long hostility to Spalding, he must later have been astounded when he learned of Whitman's readiness to undertake such a long and hazardous journey largely on Spalding's account. This astonishment must have increased when he learned that the Board had reversed its orders; that Spalding was permitted to remain; and that during the remaining years of the Mission, an inner peace and a spirit of cooperation characterized the work of its members.

More About the Smiths

The Smiths had no children. Following the death of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Locke of the Sandwich Islands Mission in 1842 and 1843, the Smiths took under their care the three Locke girls, Lucy, Martha, and Mary. The two older girls were adopted by the Smiths and the youngest was later placed in the home of a relative.

After three years in the Hawaiian mission, Smith's voice failed again and he felt that a change of climate was necessary. He therefore withdrew from the Mission and returned to the States. The Smiths with the three Locke girls sailed from Honolulu on October 15, 1845, going via Hongkong and the Cape of Good Hope. Smith's Diary contains about twenty-four pages of notes made intermittently on this voyage. The ship anchored in the harbor of Victoria on November 18th. He noted that the booming city of Hongkong, then less than four years old, already boasted of a Chinese population of about 25,000. Visits were made to Canton and Macao. The ship left Hongkong on January 21, 1846, for Cape Town which was reached on March 12th, fifty days out of Hongkong. The Smiths arrived in the United States on May 4th, being the first and only members of the Oregon Mission of the American Board to encircle the globe.

Having recovered a moderate use of his voice, Smith accepted a call to a church at South Amherst, Massachusetts, in November 1846. There he remained for a little over a year. On March 22, 1848, he became pastor of the Congregational Church at Buckland, Massachusetts, where he remained until August 1, 1859. There at Buckland the frail Sarah died on May 27, 1855, at the age of 41. It is reported that she died "of consumption." In June of the following year, Smith married Miss Harriett Eliza Nutting of Amherst, who was twelve years younger than his first wife.

In January, 1860, Smith moved to Southbury, Connecticut, where he served as pastor of the Congregational Church until May, 1871. He then moved to Rocky Hill, Connecticut, where he carried on part-time church work as a supply pastor.

Smith lived to read about the great revival among the Nez Perces and Spokanes, which began with the return of Spalding to his old mission field in the fall of 1871. The religious press of that day carried a number of references to this spiritual awakening and reported the

fact that Spalding and his associate, the Rev. Henry T. Cowley, had baptized over 1,000 Nez Percés and Spokanes. Undoubtedly Smith read about this revival and marvelled.

Among the successors to the veteran Spalding, who died in 1874, was the Rev. George Diffenbaugh, who was appointed a missionary to the Nez Percés by the Presbyterian Church in the fall of 1878. He remained on the field until 1888. Among the best known of the Nez Perce missionaries after Spalding were the McBeth sisters. Miss Sue McBeth arrived in the fall of 1873, and Miss Kate in 1879. Inspired by the stories he read about the Nez Perce revival, Smith wrote to Diffenbaugh for details. Diffenbaugh referred Smith to Kate McBeth. Shortly before her death in 1948, Miss Mary Crawford, also a missionary to the Nez Percés and a niece of the McBeth sisters, sent some of her books to the author. In the pages of a Nez Perce hymnal was the original letter from A. B. Smith to Kate McBeth with a pencilled notation on the outside: "Old Missionary. Sent away from Kamiah." The letter follows:

ROCKY HILL, CT. March 10, 1882

MISS KATE MCBETH

DEAR MADAM: Some time since I rec'd a letter from Mr. Diffenbaugh in answer to one of mine making inquiry in regard to my old field Kamiah, in which he gave me your name as teacher at that station. He spoke of sending you papers for use in your work. I have just put up a small bundle to go by mail. Whether such papers are to be read among the Indians was not mentioned. I am not aware that you have access to any others in that field.

This suggested the question whether you were instructing the Indian children in the English language or their own. This is what must be done eventually with all the Indians if they are to be incorporated with the white people as fellow citizens, for it would be next to an impossibility to create a literature for them in their own language. There are so few speaking the same language.

Please inform me in regard to your work — to what extent this has been carried in the native language & what has been done in instructing them in the English language. Those whom I knew as children 40 years ago are now the men & women you have to do with. James, the Lawyer's son, I well remember as a little fellow practicing with his little bow & arrow in his father's lodge. I am glad to hear that he is now a useful man & also in regard to others mentioned by Mr. D. who said that they remembered me. Please remember me kindly to them & also to Ims-tom-wai-kim if he still lives & the Lawyer's wife also if still living.

Hoping to hear from you in due time & with warmest desires for success in your labors among that people, I subscribe myself, Yours in the bonds of the Gospel,

A. B. SMITH

What memories of those rugged and difficult days spent at Kamiah during 1839-41 must have flooded Smith's mind as he wrote that letter. He recalled the old controversy as to whether instruction should be given in the native or in the English language. He remembered his old teacher, Lawyer, his wife, and their little boy James. Although Smith did not mention another son, Archie, he no doubt learned from Kate McBeth's reply that Archie Lawyer was ordained to the Gospel ministry by the Presbyterian Church in 1881 and was then the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Kamiah (Indian).

Smith mentioned Ims-tom-wia-kim, in all probability the same Insinmalakin who ordered the Smiths to leave Kamiah in October 1840. This seems to have been the same person as Utes-sen-ma-le-kin who went to Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1868 with Timothy, Lawyer, Jason, and the Indian Agent, Dr. Robert Newell. Dr. Newell's Diary, kept on that trip, tells of Utes-sen-ma-le-kin dying in Washington of typhoid fever on May 25th, and of his burial the next day in the Congressional Cemetery. The author of this work has located his grave.

Smith's letter to Kate McBeth, of March 10, 1882, reflects a mellow spirit. The passing of the years had softened the former bitter feelings and now, in his old age, Smith wanted to be remembered kindly to some of his old friends.

In 1883 the Smiths paid a visit to relatives at Sherwood, Tennessee, where he served temporarily as pastor of a new church just coming into existence. Upon the conclusion of their visit, the Smiths returned in July to their home at Rocky Hill, Connecticut. But the good reputation he left behind brought a demand from the people in Sherwood for his return. Even though he was then seventy-four years old, he still possessed such vigor of body and alertness of mind that the people at Sherwood wanted him for their pastor. So in November, 1883, the Smiths moved to Tennessee and in January following, a community church was formally organized. There Asa Bowen Smith spent the last two years of his life. He died on February 10, 1886, at the age of seventy-six years and about seven months. Of the original thirteen members of the Oregon Mission, only three survived him. They were William H. Gray, who passed away on November 14, 1889; Cushing Eells, who died on February 16, 1893; and Mrs. Elkanah Walker, who lived until December 4, 1897. The second Mrs. A. B. Smith returned to Rocky Hill, where she died on May 22, 1886.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Biographical material about the Smith has been secured from A. C. Hodge's pamphlet, *Memorial Sketches*, a copy of which is in the files of the American Board, and Myron Eells, *Father Eells*.

Henry Harmon Spalding



HENRY HARMON SPALDING

From a photograph taken about 1871. Courtesy of his grandson, H. H. Spalding of Spokane, Washington.

Introduction to Spalding's Diary

The Diary of Henry Harmon Spalding, 1838-1843, here published for the first time, throws additional light upon the controversy which rent the Oregon Mission of the American Board during the years 1839 to 1841 inclusive. Spalding was remarkably faithful in making almost daily entries for the three years beginning in November, 1838. His entries for 1842 were more irregular, and ceased for that year after April 22nd. Thus Spalding's Diary says nothing about the Mission meeting held in September, 1842, when Whitman was given permission to go to Boston. He made only a few entries for February and March, 1843.

More important, perhaps, than the light the diary throws upon the unfortunate controversy is the detailed information contained therein regarding Spalding's every-day activities. Here we see him at work, diligently putting into practice those basic principles of missionary policy to which he was so completely dedicated. Although Spalding was the most criticized member of the American Board's Mission in Old Oregon, at the same time he was also its most successful worker. Of all the Protestant missionaries to Old Oregon, no one was as effective in civilizing and Christianizing the natives as he. The perspective of history has proved that his basic policies were sound.

Spalding's Diary, now on deposit in the archives of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, begins with an entry on November 26, 1838, on his thirty-fifth birthday. He had been in the field for a little over two years and was well settled at Lapwai. The reenforcement of 1838 had arrived and the members were in the process of becoming assimilated. The Walkers and the Eells were planning to go to the Spokane Indians. The Smiths for the time being were to stay with the Whitmans. Gray and his wife had settled with the Spaldings at Lapwai because no one else wanted to live with them.

SPALDING'S EARLY LIFE

Spalding began his diary with a short biographic account of his early life. This sketch has proved to be most helpful as a guide to further research regarding his youth. The fact that Spalding was born out of wedlock and was "brought up from the age of 14 months in a stranger's

house" undoubtedly had a psychological effect upon him when he became old enough to appreciate his unnatural situation. Writing to his second wife in May, 1871, Spalding referred to his "unfeeling mother." A visit to Wheeler and Prattsburg, Steuben County, New York, where he spent his youth, had evoked bitter memories. He recalled the harsh treatment received at the hands of a foster father and how, at the age of seventeen, he had been cast out of the house with the odious epithet: "Bastard!" ringing in his ears. No wonder the boy was overcome with "bashfulness" when he attended Franklin Academy at Prattsburg.

Henry Harmon, a son of Howard Spalding, was born at Wheeler, New York, on November 26, 1803. When he was a babe fourteen months old, he was "bound out" to a local family where he probably remained until he was seventeen. These are years of obscurity, for we know practically nothing of the influences which shaped the personality of the lad who gradually realized that his lot in life was that of being "worse than an orphan." The indications are that he had a hard time. Years later his pastor, the Rev. James H. Hotchkin, wrote saying that Henry had been "inured to hardship from infancy."

Perhaps some time in the winter of 1820-21, Henry left Wheeler and went to live in the home of Ezra Rice at Prattsburg, about six miles north of Wheeler. There he lived for about five years, working for his board while attending the school which Rice taught. His educational opportunities were so limited that when he was twenty-one, according to his own testimony, he could "read so as to be understood & write after a copy."

At Prattsburg Henry came under the influence of the Presbyterian Church and its pastor, the Rev. James H. Hotchkin. On Sunday, October 2, 1825, he was baptized and received into the membership of the church. He was then about twenty-two years old. In the summer of 1825 Henry enrolled in Franklin Academy in Prattsburg, where he remained until the summer of 1831, with the exception of several winters spent teaching school. He was able to get the equivalent of the first two years of a college course in the Academy. During the winter of 1828-29, Henry decided to study for the ministry. He entered Hamilton College at Clinton, New York, in the fall of 1831. However, he was not happy there and changed to Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio, late that year. There Henry found a more agreeable situation. The students at Western Reserve were expected to spend at least two hours a day in manual labor in shops owned by the college. This served a two-fold purpose. The students were able to earn 6¼¢ an hour and at the same time learn a trade. In one of the shops was a printing press which Henry learned to operate. Years later, while carrying on his missionary activities at Lapwai, he blessed the day that had sent him to a manual-work school.

Before Spalding left for Western Reserve College, he fell in love with Eliza Hart of Holland Patent, New York. It is quite possible that Eliza was attending a Female Seminary in Clinton at the same time that Henry was enrolled at Hamilton College. This we know, Eliza entered a girls' school in Hudson in the fall of 1832, when Henry was taking his senior work at Western Reserve.

Henry Spalding was graduated from Western Reserve with the B.A. degree on August 28, 1833, and on October 13th he and Eliza were married. He was then nearly thirty years old and she was twenty-six. The Spaldings moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where Henry entered Lane Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian institution, of which the famed Dr. Lyman Beecher was President. Here also Henry found it necessary to engage in manual work in order to meet living expenses. The Seminary had a manual-work department which included six presses. Again Henry had opportunity to work at the printer's trade.

After spending two years in study at Lane, Spalding decided to offer his services to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as a missionary to the American Indians. This meant that he would forego his senior year at the Seminary. The Presbyterian Church was divided in 1837 into two parts, the Old and the New Schools. The New School branch continued to support the American Board until about 1870. Thus it happened that Spalding, a Presbyterian, went out to Old Oregon under the auspices of a missionary agency which is now Congregational.

AN OLD LOVE AFFAIR

When Spalding wrote to the American Board on August 7, 1835, he offered to go to "any part of that portion of the vineyard of Christ over which the Lord has appointed you stewards, where your wisdom shall direct." In this letter Spalding expressed a willingness to go to the Osage Indians, a field then considered to be the most difficult of all the assignments the American Board could give. This willingness reveals Spalding's pioneering and self-sacrificing spirit. His friends who recommended him for appointment spoke of his "ardent piety" and his "strong and vigorous constitution." One wrote: "Few men are willing to labor more abundantly or endure more fatigue or make great sacrifices than he." In anticipation of the appointment as a missionary under the American Board, Spalding was ordained by the Presbytery of Bath (later a part of the New School Presbyterian Church) on August 25, 1835. On October 25th, Eliza gave birth to a stillborn baby girl. Sometime that fall Spalding received notification of his appointment to the Osages.

During the winter of 1835-36, Spalding learned that he had been under consideration as a possible associate of Dr. Marcus Whitman to open a new mission under the American Board in far-away Oregon.

Dr. Whitman and the Rev. Samuel Parker had gone as far west as the Rendezvous over the Continental Divide, in the summer of 1835. There they met with such a favorable reception from the Nez Perce Indians that Whitman decided to return for reenforcements. Parker continued on the exploring tour. Whitman brought back two Indian boys with him, both sons of chiefs, in order to give them as much education as possible in the few months they would be in the East. Whitman had promised to return to the Rendezvous in the summer of 1836.

Spalding at first rejected the idea, not because he was afraid to go to Oregon but because he learned that Whitman was engaged to Narcissa Prentiss. Spalding had once been in love with Narcissa. He had proposed and had been rejected. Being hurt either in a real or an imaginary way, Henry harbored a grudge against her.

Why should a rejection of a proposal for marriage have created such a problem in the mind of Henry Spalding? Perhaps a study of their respective backgrounds will shed some light upon the question. Narcissa had grown up in Prattsburg and attended the Academy and the Presbyterian Church when Henry was also there. She came from one of the best families in the community. Her father was for a time an associate county judge and thereafter known as "Judge" Prentiss. Narcissa was beautiful and gifted with a fine soprano voice. She was talented and popular. Possibly when Henry proposed, some reference was made to his background — or perhaps he imagined it. Being extremely sensitive on this point, he may have seen an insult when none was spoken or intended. Years later, Harriet, the youngest sister of Narcissa, wrote regarding Spalding: "He was a student when a young man in Franklin Academy, Prattsburg, the place of our nativity, and he wished to make Narcissa his wife, and her refusal of him caused the wicked feeling he cherished toward them both."¹ The reference is to both Marcus and Narcissa Whitman.

When Spalding first heard that he was being considered as an associate of Dr. Whitman, and knowing that Marcus was to be married to Narcissa, he declared publicly: "I do not want to go into the same mission with Narcissa, for I question her judgment." A. B. Smith, in a letter written from his mission station at Kamiah on September 3, 1840, passed on this bit of gossip to Secretary Greene of the American Board. Smith had evidently gotten his information from Whitman.

During the winter of 1835-36, Whitman sought earnestly to find associates. He knew that it was inadvisable to take his wife to Oregon without at least one other married couple to go with them. No white woman had then ever crossed the Rockies. Many who had been out on the mid-west plains and knew something of travel conditions advised against such an idea. George Catlin, the famous painter of Indians, who had crossed the western plains in 1832, when asked whether it

¹ Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 84.

was advisable to take white women over the Rockies, replied that he would not take a "white female into that country for the whole continent of America."

Whitman, however, who had been to the Rendezvous in 1835, believed that it could be done and Narcissa was willing to go. But they had to have another couple. Name after name suggested by the American Board had been followed up without success. One after another the candidates for the mission field declined when they learned of the proposal to take women overland to the Pacific Coast. By the 1st of February, 1836, Whitman was getting desperate. He felt the urgent necessity to return to the Rendezvous that year. Parker was expecting him. He had promised to return the two Indian boys to their families. The Nez Perces had been promised that missionaries would arrive that year.

In his pressing need for associates, Whitman thought of Spalding again. He consulted with the Board and was told that the Board was willing to approve a change of destination for the Spaldings should they be willing. Time was running out. Whitman hastened to Prattsburg, arriving on February 13th, only to find that the Spaldings had already departed for their work among the Osage Indians. They were riding in a light spring wagon loaded with their baggage. Eliza's parents had given the wagon to the couple several years before as a wedding present. This was the famed wagon which, reduced to a cart, became the first wheeled vehicle to break the Oregon Trail from the Rendezvous to Fort Boise. Whitman learned that the Spaldings were intending to spend Sunday at Howard, a village about fifteen miles distant from Prattsburg. Mounting his horse again, he followed and found the Spaldings in the inn at Howard.

There Whitman pled his case. Undoubtedly the old love affair between Henry and Narcissa was discussed. Perhaps it was there agreed that when the two couples got to Oregon, they would separate and each have a different station. Although Spalding for the time being allowed the call to duty to rise above personal prejudices, yet deep in his heart the old bitterness remained.

Thus was laid the basis of the personality difficulties between Whitman and Spalding which had far-reaching consequences in distant Oregon. W. H. Gray, who went out to Oregon in 1836 with the Whitmans and the Spaldings, said that the matter came up several times for discussion during the westward trip. Upon their arrival in the Columbia River Valley, the Whitmans settled at Waiilatpu and the Spaldings went to Lapwai 120 miles away. After the reenforcement of 1838 arrived, Elkanah Walker asked Spalding why he had gone so far from Waiilatpu to establish a separate station. In a letter to Greene, dated October 14, 1840, Gray reported that Spalding replied: "Do you suppose I would have come off here all alone a hundred & twenty miles if I could have lived with him or Mrs. Whitman?"

FIRST WHITE WOMAN TO CROSS THE ROCKIES

Once the decision had been made for the Spaldings to go with the Whitmans, a decision in which Eliza joined wholeheartedly, plans were made for the journey. Whitman stressed the necessity of being in St. Louis by the end of March, in order to make arrangements to go with the Fur Company's caravan. It would not be safe for the mission party to cross the plains and the Rockies without such protection. Spalding agreed to drive to Pittsburgh and take the first river steamer for Cincinnati, where he and his wife would await the coming of the Whitmans. In the meantime Whitman would return to Angelica, New York, where the Prentiss family lived, and be married as soon as possible. He and his bride would then hasten on to Cincinnati.

The proposed "unheard of journey," as Narcissa once called it, which involved the taking of white women over the Rockies, held no terrors for any of the four concerned. Their contemporary accounts are strangely silent on the importance of the achievement. Years had to pass before the significance of the event was noted and appreciated.

Mrs. Spalding, in her diary, tells of the "tedious journey of two weeks" which took them from Prattsburg to Pittsburgh. There Spalding found it necessary to sell his horses. Accommodations were secured for themselves and their baggage, including their wagon, on a steamer leaving on Monday, February 29th. The Spaldings reached Cincinnati on March 4th. The newly-wedded Whitmans arrived on the 17th. The two couples, with the two Indian boys whom Whitman had taken east the previous year, left Cincinnati by steamer on March 22nd and arrived in St. Louis on the 29th. By the 7th of April they were at Liberty, in western Missouri. Spalding figured that this point was 1,900 miles from Prattsburg and about half-way to their destination in Oregon. The last half of the journey was harder by far for it involved overland travel. According to the custom of the time, the women used the side-saddle when riding horseback. The presence of a wagon made it possible for the women to ride in it when they grew weary of being on horseback.

William H. Gray joined the mission party at Liberty. He had received an appointment by the American Board as a mechanic, and was single. Gray had aspired to be a doctor but was found by his teachers to have been "an extremely dull scholar." One of the letters of testimony regarding him received by the American Board described Gray as being much inclined "to do good 'on his own hook'." This trait of individualism was later to cause much difficulty to the members of the American Board's Mission in Old Oregon.

The mission party of five crossed the plains and the Rockies during the summer of 1836, in company with the caravan of the American Fur Company under the command of Captain Thomas Fitzpatrick. Since Whitman had made the trip to the Rendezvous with this caravan

during the previous summer, contacts had been established and experience gained which made it possible for the mission party to enjoy the needed protection of the caravan on its westward journey. On July 4th, the caravan crossed the Continental Divide through the South Pass, the famed gateway to Oregon. Today a small monument in the Pass bears tribute to the fact that Mrs. Marcus Whitman and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding crossed the Rockies at that place. They were seven years in advance of the first great covered-wagon train that rolled through the same pass on its way to Oregon in 1843.

On July 6th the caravan arrived at the Rendezvous, held that year on a branch of the Green River, in the vicinity of what is now Daniel, Wyoming. Spalding estimated the distance from Liberty, Missouri, to be about 1,300 miles. Since they had been traveling sixty-six days, this means that they averaged about twenty miles a day. Spalding's wagon was taken intact to the Rendezvous. While not the first wheeled vehicle to cross the Rockies, it became the first to go further west. Later reduced to a two-wheeled cart, it was taken as far as Fort Boise where it was abandoned, because of the condition of the horses.

The members of the Whitman-Spalding party were given an enthusiastic welcome at the Rendezvous by the Nez Percés. The two boys whom Whitman had taken East, Richard and John, were reunited with their families. As was the case with the Indian lads from various tribes in the Pacific Northwest, who were sent by the Hudson's Bay Company to a mission school at Red River (where Winnipeg, Canada, is now located), the boys who spent several months living with the white people in New York State acquired considerable prestige among their people because of the experience. The first Head Chief of the Nez Percés was Ellice (or Ellis), who had spent four years in the Episcopal mission school at Red River. He was made Head Chief in December, 1843. Following his death in 1848, Richard succeeded to the office.

SPALDING BECOMES ENTHUSIASTIC

The warmth of the welcome extended to the members of the Whitman-Spalding party by the Nez Percés was far beyond anything the missionaries had expected. Learning of the approach of the caravan with the mission party, some of the Nez Percés rode out two days to meet them. Among them were two chiefs who subsequently played important roles in the life of the Mission. They were Tack-en-su-a-tis, also called Rotten Belly, the father of Richard, and Hol-lol-sote-tote, also known as Lawyer. Spalding reported that for want of a good interpreter, their talk had to be relayed from the English through the Iroquois and Flathead languages before being turned into Nez Perce. It is quite possible that Lawyer, who spoke both the Flathead and Nez Perce tongues and who knew some English, was one of the interpreters. Gray, writing years later in his *History of Oregon*, tells of a meal that

the missionaries had with the two chiefs and states that some twenty-seven years later Lawyer referred to that dinner as "the time when his heart became one with the *Suapies* (Americans)."

The Nez Perce delegation escorted the missionaries to the Rendezvous and insisted that they pitch their tents near the Nez Perce encampment. The whole village of Nez Perces, undoubtedly numbering into the hundreds, formed in line to greet their new friends. For the first time the Indians were seeing white women. Many of the Indian women, having heard that white women greeted each other with a kiss, proceeded to welcome Narcissa and Eliza in this manner. Since the missionaries had made arrangements to travel to Fort Walla Walla with McLeod and McKay, of the Hudson's Bay Company, they moved their tents on July 14th to the vicinity of McLeod's and McKay's camp. The whole Nez Perce camp, as though fearful of losing their missionaries, likewise made a move to the same vicinity. Some of the Nez Perces, including Lawyer, insisted on accompanying the missionaries to Fort Walla Walla. Lawyer was most helpful in getting the wagon, reduced to a cart shortly after the party left the Rendezvous, through to Fort Boise.

The curiosity of the natives was unbounded. Whitman, writing to Secretary Greene from the Rendezvous, mentioned their interest in "our Females, cattle, and wagon." The Indian women fingered the clothes of Narcissa and Eliza. Some of the Cayuse Indians were also at the Rendezvous that summer and were just as eager to have the missionaries settle with them as were the Nez Perces. In a letter to some members of her family, Narcissa told of how a quarrel broke out among the native women. "The Nez Perces women said we were going to live with them, and the Cayuses said, No, we were going to live with them. The contradiction was so sharp they nearly came to blows." Both tribes were finally satisfied when they learned that the Whitmans would live with the Cayuses and the Spaldings would go with the Nez Perces.

The small herd of seventeen cattle, which the missionaries had driven all the way from Liberty, Missouri, were the first cattle to be driven over the Rockies through to Oregon. Two were eaten en route; two calves were lost; five head were left at Fort Boise; only eight succeeded in making the long trek to Fort Walla Walla. Never before had the Oregon Indians, who were at the Rendezvous in 1836, seen the white man's cattle. While the native women were examining the clothing of the white women, the native men were admiring the strange animals. The wagon likewise, called a "land canoe," excited much attention.

On July 8th, two days after they arrived at the Rendezvous, Spalding wrote a 3,000 word letter to Greene in which he gave an enthusiastic report of their reception by the natives. The letter was carried back

to civilization by the returning caravan and extracts, amounting to more than 1,000 words, appeared in the March 1837 issue of the *Missionary Herald*. Whitman also wrote a long letter to the Board, about 2,000 words, in which he gave a detailed description of their travel experiences. Spalding gave more attention to the favorable reaction of the natives.

Spalding's next letter to the Board was written from Fort Vancouver on September 20, 1838. This letter ran to eighteen long, closely written pages. He described the journey across what is now southern Idaho and their arrival at Fort Walla Walla on September 3rd. The missionaries left for Fort Vancouver on September 6th, going down the Columbia River by canoe. They arrived on the 12th. Appended to Spalding's letter of the 20th was a Journal, which covered the period from September 21st to October 31st. In this Journal he gave a detailed day-by-day account of the return trip which he, Whitman, and Gray took to the upper Columbia country.

The men left Vancouver on September 21st. On October 4th and 5th they explored likely locations in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla and selected Waiilatpu as the best place for the Whitman station. On October 8th Whitman and Spalding left Fort Walla Walla for the Clearwater Valley, in what is now northern Idaho, to select a site for the Spalding station. A party of Nez Perces accompanied them, including Tack-en-su-a-tis who showed great enthusiasm over the coming of the missionaries to his people. The Lapwai Valley appealed to Spalding, and a location was selected on October 12th. Lapwai, in the Nez Perce tongue, means butterfly. The party returned to Fort Walla Walla on the 15th. Whitman and Gray began building the Whitman home at Waiilatpu while Spalding returned to Fort Vancouver to escort the two women back to Walla Walla.

Greene took some 6,000 words from Spalding's letter of September 20, 1838, and from the Journal for the October, 1837, issue of the *Missionary Herald*. Among the selections of the Spalding letter quoted was a passage in which Spalding prophesied the coming of a railroad, and another in which he praised Tack-en-su-a-tis. Spalding wrote in regard to the wonders of Soda Springs:

Perhaps in the days when a rail-road connects the waters of the Columbia with those of the Missouri, this fountain may be a source of great gain to the company that shall accomplish such a noble work. . . .

Regarding the chief, he wrote:

He also gave us a horse at the rendezvous, and said he would stick by us. He came with us to Wallawalla, and we found him as good as his word. He was always the first on the ground in time of trouble. When at Fort Hall we told him he had better go with his people to the buffalo ground and furnish himself with

meat for the winter. No, he said, he would trust to that; he wished to go with us, and render us all the assistance in his power in getting to his country. "I shall go no more with my people, but with you: where you settle I shall settle." He was indeed of great service to us through the whole journey. . . .

He is very strict in his observance of morning and evening prayers, and in the observance of the Sabbath. I believe if there is one in the darkness of heathenism that wishes to do right it is this chief. He is always ready and anxious to hear something about God and the Bible; says he is but a little boy in knowledge, is liable to do wrong, but wants to know how to please God. His conduct to his Flat Head wife has undergone a material change since being with us and observing how we treat our wives.

When the October number of the *Missionary Herald* appeared, Asa Bowen Smith was planning to go to Siam as a missionary of the Board. However, shortly after his ordination on November 1, 1837, the Board notified him that it was unable to open a new field in Siam but that instead it would consider sending him to Oregon. Smith turned to his file of the *Herald* and devoured everything it contained about the Oregon Mission. Since extracts from Spalding's letters had been given more space than material from any other person, naturally Smith was moved by these glowing accounts.

The December issue of the *Herald* contained about 3,500 words from Spalding's letter of February 16, 1837. By this time Spalding was waxing more and more enthusiastic over the prospects of the Mission. He told of the return trip from Vancouver with the women. He stressed the degraded condition of the Indians and mentioned the corrupting influence of unprincipled white men who sometimes supplied liquor to the natives, and playing cards, thus encouraging gambling. Spalding wrote:

So the Devil is found in sheep's clothing even on the Rocky Mountains. They tell me they have sometimes given a horse for a pack of cards, which they were told was positively the word of God. . . .

Spalding related the events attendant on the arrival of himself, his wife, and Gray at Lapwai and of the work done to establish themselves. Chief Tack-en-su-a-tis was most cooperative. Although the Indians were not accustomed to manual labor as were the white men, the Chief took an ax and set the example for his men to aid in cutting logs for a cabin. By the time Spalding was writing, he boasted of a house "eighteen feet by forty-two completed, with the exception of two doors, two windows, and a part of the under floor." Eighteen feet of one end was reserved for the Spaldings' use, the other part for a school room and place of worship.

Mrs. Spalding opened a school on January 27th with a most encouraging response from the Indians. Spalding reported:

Usually about one hundred attend the school. Several are now able to read a little with us, at morning and evening prayers. As soon as one gets hold of a book, who is able to spell out a few words, he immediately searches out the name of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. . . The beginning certainly appears favorable. . .

Judging from the present, this people will probably acquire the English, before we do the Nez Perce language, though we flatter ourselves that we are making good progress. If so, by the time we are ready to reduce their language to writing, it will not be deemed expedient.

SMITH CRITICIZES SPALDING

These were the letters which A. B. Smith later claimed were so misleading. Writing to Greene on August 27, 1839, Smith referred to Spalding's rosy account of the rapidity with which the natives were learning English and the consequent probability that it would not be necessary to translate the Scriptures into the Nez Perce tongue. Smith commented: "This was a most pleasing & taking idea in the States, but after witnessing what has been accomplished towards instructing the people in the English language for three years, I must say it appears folly in the extreme & I wonder that I should ever had had any confidence in such an opinion."

As can be noted by consulting Smith's letter of February 6, 1840, to Greene, he made a number of references to extracts of Spalding's letters which appeared in various issues of the *Herald* in 1837. Regarding the hopeful report of Tack-en-su-a-tis' attitude to the missionaries and to the Christian message, Smith reported: "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. he has become his enemy & proves to be a very wicked man. . ." Smith's conclusion was: "I am confident that if Mr. S. had had more experience, a better knowledge of human nature & less imagination, he would have written different from what he did."

Undoubtedly Spalding was too optimistic in his first reports to the Board regarding the prospects of the Mission. In many ways the Indians were like little children with some new toys. Their first interest was keen. They were enthusiastic about having the white teachers come to live with them. They were ready to promise anything. However, when they gradually realized the difficulty of learning a new language and when they came face to face with the serious problems involved in readjusting century-old habits to the white man's new ways, the first flash of enthusiasm faded. Smith, on the other hand, when he became disillusioned over the possibilities of the field, was inclined to turn upon Spalding and blame him for the predicament in which he found himself. Since Smith, in his letter of February 6th

to Greene, was able to quote page references in the 1837 numbers of the *Herald*, it appears that he had either taken careful notes of what Spalding had written or had taken those numbers of the *Herald* with him to Oregon.

In the spring of 1839, during Smith's first year in Oregon, another incident occurred which gave him more ammunition for his blasts of criticism against Spalding. Having no need for a small printing press, the members of the Hawaiian Mission voted to send it to their colleagues in Oregon. E. O. Hall arrived with the press at Walla Walla in April, 1839. Now it so happened that "an Association of Gentlemen" had begun the publication of a periodical at Honolulu called the *Hawaiian Spectator* in January, 1838. The July issue began a series of articles on the history of the Oregon Mission of the American Board by Hiram Bingham, the leading figure in the Hawaiian Mission. Bingham quoted from letters he had received from Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman and from Henry H. Spalding. The October number devoted twenty-seven pages to this history and carried a long extract of a letter which Spalding wrote on October 9, 1837, including the following which Spalding claimed was part of a speech of appreciation delivered by one of the chiefs:

We love to give you meat and fish, make houses or fence, or travel with our horses for you, that you and the good woman may make books and teach our children and tell us how to worship God. We do not sell you meat. We know you are far from your people and have but little.

Our beaver are gone by which we purchased blankets, but skins are better, and we see you wear them, and we will do so contentedly. We wish you to stay in the house as much as possible and think, for you know how, and make books and tell us how to worship; for like the people of the Sandwich Islands, we have one and all thrown away our bad hearts. We do not know but the devil will bring them back again, but we are fully determined not to listen to him any more.

Undoubtedly Hall carried with him his file of the *Hawaiian Spectator*. It had given him an introduction to some of the people he would meet and an intimate glimpse into the work of the Mission. Hall remained in Oregon for about a year and before leaving for Hawaii showed the copies of the *Hawaiian Spectator* to Smith. In Smith's letter to Greene, of February 6, 1840, he made special reference to the quotation from Spalding's letter given above and commented on the Indian's philosophy of giving. "They always give expecting as much or more in return," he wrote. He implied that the rosy picture Spalding had painted of the generosity of the natives was due to a misunderstanding of their nature. Spalding was too gullible.

The October issue of the *Spectator* also included extracts from a letter Spalding had written on August 7, 1837, to the Rev. Leslie Smith

of the Hawaiian Mission. In this letter Spalding described the visit of three chiefs to his home at Lapwai in June of that year. One of them had come from the Spokane tribe and had seen a picture of Jesus, which Spokane Garry had received from Spalding. Garry was one of the Indian boys from the Northwest who had attended the Red River Mission school 1825-29, and 1830-31. The possession of this picture by Garry had inspired the old Spokane chief to travel to Lapwai to see if he could get one. Spalding must have given Leslie Smith a vivid and highly imaginative account of an incident which took place at the close of a Sunday worship service. Since Spalding had been at Lapwai for only six months, we have reason to wonder how he was able to understand all that was said. While the address undoubtedly contains some striking figures of speech which are pure Indian in their concepts, yet much of it was but an overflow of Spalding's gifted imagination. When Hiram Bingham read the letter, he was so impressed that he wrote the following introduction to the speech for the *Spectator*:

At the close of the service, this aged chieftain poured forth his ardent feelings in a torrent of true aboriginal eloquence, exhibiting fine sentiments, in striking and appropriate figures, some of which are beautiful and sublime. I recollect no Indian speech on record which I value more; and it is with much pleasure I select and copy its translation for the press. Through more than half of it there is, to my ear, a vein of poetry, slightly resembling that of the Hebrews, but without the distinctive parallelism, which will perhaps be interesting to those who are looking in that quarter for the lost ten tribes. In the absence of rhyme, and of the regular succession of feet, it resembles Hawaiian poetry. It will perhaps bear to be pointed as blank verse impromptu, though its force is not probably increased by it. We could hardly have expected more pious language, had he been converted on the spot at once; yet Mr. S. says nothing of his conversion, nor of offering him baptism, but of his desire of instruction, and will probably look at his life, or works corresponding with fair words.

With that introduction Bingham proceeded to arrange the prose which Spalding had written into the form of blank verse. The speech is reminiscent of another famous speech which Spalding was the first to give to the world, which was supposed to have been delivered by one of the four chiefs who visited St. Louis in the fall of 1831 in search of Christian missionaries and the Bible. The speech, with Bingham's rearrangement, is as follows:

I saw the painting you gave to Spokane Garry,
And my heart told me to come and see you.
What I now see and hear is new to my eyes and ears.
I see you come and sit down with the people,
Old and young, men and women, as though you
loved them.
I see you give books to your children.

I hear them read with you.
 I see these good books. (The paintings.)
 I have heard you explain them;
 I have heard you sing and worship.

It is not a small thank you I return for all these things.
 It is one of mountain size.
 I have eaten all your heart.
 I never before heard the name of Jesus Christ:
 This news is a bright morning sun,
 Rising over a near mountain.
 It has gone down into my inward parts,
 Where I shall hold it fast.

A dark cloud hangs over all my land;
 Every eye is closed;
 Every ear is stopped.
 We have sometimes heard a little said,
 About half the length of a finger,
 About one God at some of the forts.
 We always took great care to make it fast about
 our persons,
 But in riding a short distance we invariably lost it;
 And never find it on our back track.

But now it is very different with me.
 The pack I have corded up since yesterday is immense:
 The strap cuts deep into my forehead;
 The load presses heavy on my shoulders;
 Even now I am obliged to raise my hands to the straps,
 To give support to my neck, which already begins to bend,
 But I will carry it all home, and occupy many days.

In pouring out its contents before my people,
 I will soon drive away the darkness,
 Which has hung over my country from before the
 days of my fathers.
 There will soon be day light.

I would be glad if your heart
 Will let me have one of your paintings,
 Which will from time to time refresh my minds;
 And like the daily sun prevent the dark night
 From coming down again upon the land.
 My people can look upon this book,
 And their hearts will go up to Jesus Christ,
 My heart is glad to hear of this good Being;
 I wish my people to know who he is,
 And where he is, and what he did while on earth.
 This they would learn from the paintings,
 When they see him healing the sick;
 Raising the dead; extended on the cross;
 And finally ascending to heaven in a cloud.

Since Greene probably did not have a copy of the *Hawaiian Spectator*, Smith could not easily make reference to Spalding's remarks printed therein without copying the article in whole or in part. However, this was not necessary as Spalding had written to Greene on February 17, 1837, another long letter in which he had described this use of pictures in preaching and teaching. About 3,500 words of this letter had been published in the December, 1837, issue of the *Herald*, a copy of which Smith must have had before him when he wrote to Greene on February 6, 1840. Smith commented:

Again, pp. 499 of the same volume, Mr. S. mentions the use of paintings in giving instruction. I wish to make a few remarks respecting this mode of giving instruction. I never have employed this method at all but I have witnessed the influence of it on this people. I consider it extremely dangerous for a missionary while he understands the native language very imperfectly, to make use of this method.

Smith considered the enthusiasm with which some of the natives cherished the pictures to be nothing more than "mere superstition."

Extracts from other Spalding letters appeared in the October, 1838, issue of the *Herald*, a copy of which made the long trip by sea around Cape Horn to Fort Vancouver in 1839 and was in Smith's hands when he wrote on February 6, 1840. Here again Smith criticizes Spalding's extravagant statements, as where Spalding described his visit to Fort Colville in the spring of 1837. Spalding had written: "I shall probably be followed by hundreds, and perhaps thousands, for several days on my way home, to hear something about Jesus Christ every night." Such expressions, said Smith, would give "a wrong impression regarding numbers." Smith, in his letter of February 6, 1840, quoted early in this volume, calculated that in the whole area which included the Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Spokane tribes, there could not have been more than 3,000 souls. Spalding was clearly mistaken when he suggested that "thousands" might be following him home. Smith felt that other motives than that of desiring to hear the Gospel could have inspired a group of the natives to follow Spalding on the homeward trail.

All of this is part of the background which prompted Smith to write his letters of criticism to Secretary Greene during 1839 and 1840. If Smith had been the only one critical of Spalding, perhaps the American Board would have taken no action. But by February, 1842, when the Prudential Committee met, letters of criticism of Spalding had also been received from Gray, Rogers, Hall, and even from Whitman. The evidence seemed overwhelming. Drastic action was necessary. Hence the order dismissing Spalding and making the other changes previously mentioned. [A copy of the letter from Secretary Greene to Spalding which explained the action of the Board is given in Appendix I of this volume.]

If the members of the Prudential Committee had had the opportunity

to read Spalding's Diary, which follows this introduction, perhaps some different action would have been taken. Spalding was guilty of over-optimism, of exaggeration, and on occasions of poor judgment. No doubt at times he was stubborn. But in the over-all picture, these were but minor matters when compared to his industry, his continued faith in the saving power of the Gospel, and his perseverance in the face of difficulties.

IMPORTANCE OF SPALDING'S DIARY

In turning from Smith's Diary to Spalding's, we note a change of atmosphere. A heavy cloud of pessimism enveloped Smith. It permeated his Diary and most of his letters to Greene and to his colleagues. The opposite was true of Spalding. He was an optimist. He had a program. He believed it was possible to civilize and to Christianize the savage. The longer Spalding lived among the Nez Percés the more insistent he became in his endeavors to settle them. Time and time again he exceeded the directives given him by his colleagues in order to hasten the civilizing process.

Although Spalding's Diary is important because of the indirect light it throws upon the quarrels within the Mission, yet the chief importance of the diary is to be found in the fact that herein is revealed Spalding's underlying philosophy of missions. By the time Spalding began his diary in November 1838, he had become somewhat disillusioned regarding his earlier hopes and impressions. He became more realistic and after 1839 his letters to Greene became more temperate and factual. Smith would have found much less to criticize in the later letters of Spalding than he discovered in the earlier ones.

These were days of transition for the Indians. With the coming of the white men, the old order was passing. The buffalo and other wild game were being decimated. Hunting and root grounds were being turned into farms and ranches. Spalding saw with the eye of a prophet that the time was inevitably approaching when the Indians could no longer depend upon the hunt for food. They would have to adjust to the white man's ways or perish. Spalding never lost sight of his main objective which was to Christianize the natives. The aids of civilization to him were not an end in themselves but a means to the ultimate end — that of making the natives Christians.

We see Spalding at work in the pages of his diary. We see him in his home where he is ever a considerate husband and a loving father. His diary has a number of tender references to his little girl, Eliza. Spalding was indefatigable in his physical labors and versatile in his skills. With help he was able to construct and operate a gristmill, a saw mill, blacksmith shop, and a printing shop. He knew some of the simple practices of medicine. He was able to construct irrigation ditches, build houses, farm, raise his own vegetables and some fruit, care for his

ever-increasing herds and flocks, and at the same time learn an Indian language, translate a part of the Bible into that tongue, compose hymns for the natives, teach school, take long itinerating trips, and faithfully preach to the Indians Sunday after Sunday.

Spalding was bold and fearless in his dealings with the natives, and yet kind and considerate. The rough elements could not bluff him. Indeed we have reason to be amazed at the fearlessness with which he and his wife threw themselves upon the mercy of the natives. Whereas Spalding had some difficulties in getting along with his white colleagues, there is evidence that he was greatly loved by the majority of the Nez Percés. This is seen especially when he returned to Lapwai in his old age. When he baptized over 1,000 of the Nez Percés and Spokanes, he was but reaping the seed he had sown years earlier.

In the perspective found in the passing of years, we can say that no Protestant missionary to Old Oregon was as successful in civilizing and Christianizing the natives as Henry Harmon Spalding of Lapwai.

The Spalding Diary*

NOVEMBER 1838

26. Mond. The Lord in great mercy has added another to my unprofitable years. Today leaves me 35 years on my way from the cradle to grave, the house appointed for all living. But oh how soon the journey has been passed. How few or how many remains to be added none can know. The Son of Man cometh in such an hour as ye think not. Fourteen years ago¹ I was in the broad way that leads to hell preferring it to the straight & narrow way that leadeth to life & peace. The following winter, *i.e.* the winter of 1825, I spent with the man, Ezra Rice, Esq., a Universalist, with whom I had lived the 4 previous years, worked for my board & went to a common school which he taught. Here I commenced the rudiments of English Grammar & Arithmetic, could read so as to be understood & write after a copy. During this winter I had some serious impressions occasioned by lonely reflectings, but they were not lasting. The next summer I spent at Franklin Academy, Prattsburgh, Steuben Co. NY, my native place. Made good proficiency in my studies, boarded 3 miles from the Academy & worked every Wednesday for my board, also to avoid speaking & writing composition, as I was too bashful to meet these duties.

Having passed from death into life, as I hope, I united with the Presbyterian church in that place on the first Sabbath in Aug.² The next winter I taught my first school in Benton, Yates Co. NY. The next summer I attended Franklin Academy again, boarded at the same place, viz. Richard Hulls, but spent my Wednesday at the Academy, in a regular campaign against bashfulness. I can not say that it was an honorable one to myself, though I made great inroads upon the enemy. Still for many years he showed himself an unconquered enemy.³ The next winter I taught school in the neighborhood of my young days, now the town of Wheeler, Steuben Co. where I was brought up from

* The original spelling and punctuation has been retained as much as possible.

¹ Writing on his 35th birthday, Spalding refers back to 1824 when he was 21. He was then living at Prattsburgh.

² The record book of the church shows that he was baptized on October 2, 1825, and was received that day as a member on confession of faith.

³ Here is a reference to Spalding's feeling of inferiority. This inferiority complex may account for some of the personality difficulties which later caused friction with his co-workers in Oregon.

the age of 14 months in a stranger's house but a fathers. The next summer was divided between school teaching in Penn Yan, Yates Co. & working on the farm. The next winter, I taught school in East Bloomfield, Ontario Co. Here I resolved, the Lord giving me strength & grace, to devote my life to work of Missions. Accordingly in the spring of 1828, I entered the above named Academy commencing a course of study preparatory to the great & responsible work to which I purposed to devote my life. This resolution interfered with others more of a worldly nature which of course were broken. That summer I applied to the American Education Soc for aid which was granted.⁴ This with the little money I had obtained by school teaching, & the kindness of many friends in P., not forgetting self boarding & manual labor which I practiced most of the time, enabled me to leave for college in the fall of 1831 with about \$150. I entered the Junior Class in Hamilton College, Clinton, NY. But the hostile spirit against Education students made it necessary for myself & some others receiving aid of Am Ed Soc to change our relations. One class mate Luman Gilbert, a Sophomore David Watson & myself repaired to Western Reserve Col, Hudson, Ohio, the two latter through a stormy & dangerous sea on Lake Erie during the last days of Nov. where we narrowly escaped a watery grave. That dear brother as also the one that accompanied me from P. to Hamilton Co. viz. Mr. Willis Hopkins, are now I trust in heaven.

In the fall of 1832, I visited my friends in Prattsburgh & traveled as far East as Utica. In the fall of 1833 I graduated with 6 others. On 12 Oct 1833⁵ the Lord gave me a companion who has ever proved a most worthy & beloved wife, in the person of Miss Eliz. Hart of Trenton, Oneida Co, NY. The same fall we moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, & I entered Lane Seminary.⁶ Here, blessed with good health, by the labor of our hands, as the rules of the Education Soc. would not allow it to render aid to a married student, sustained ourselves comfortably, purchased a small but valuable library, worth say \$150 dollars, & were enabled to give some \$30 dollars a year to benevolent purposes besides reserving enough to defray the expenses of our journey to NY in the summer of 1835.

⁴ The American Education Society, founded in 1815, was organized by the Congregational Church in Boston for the purpose of "educating pious youth for the Gospel ministry." The Society opened its membership and its aid to Presbyterians. The New School party within the Presbyterian Church cooperated with the Congregationalists in this and in other activities. The Old School party objected. This matter became one of the reasons for the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837 into the New School and Old School branches. Spalding belonged to the former.

⁵ Spalding had a poor memory for dates. Actually he was married on October 13th. See Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 52.

⁶ Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati was a Presbyterian institution which began in 1829 as a college of arts but which, in 1832, became a theological seminary. Dr. Lyman Beecher was president when Spalding studied there.

We visited our friends in Trenton, Oneida Co. & in July returned to Prattsburgh, was ordained to the gospel ministry in Aug by the Bath Presbytery ⁷ which had its session at Big Flatts, Tioga Co & soon after Mrs. Spalding & myself were appointed Missionaries of the American Board and designated to Boudinot among the Osage Indians.⁸ Being too late in the season to attempt the journey we proposed to delay till spring. In Oct the Lord most righteously chastised us for our sins, in taking back the moment he was about to give us a little one. Mrs S's sickness was protracted & severe but the Lord in infinite love restored her to health & in Dec met our dear friends in Trenton once more & spent a few weeks most happily & perhaps not altogether useless, previous to leaving in Feb. See journal from that date.⁹

God of mercy grant I most humbly beseech thee, that if I may live to No. the days of another year they may all be filled with usefulness.

27 Set fire to the coal pit.

29 This is the anniversary of our arrival in this field. Two years have been taken from my missionary life since we took our abode in this valley for life. The last year has been one of considerable interest to the Mission in general & not a little to this station. As it regards the Mission in general, there has been a church formed consisting at first of 6 members (see journal for Aug. 18) is now increased to 16 (see j for Aug. 19 and Sept. 2)¹⁰ Also a Temperance Soc. including all connected with this Mis many connected with Ft Walla Walla, Mr Pambrun Pres.¹¹ Have received letters from the Board limiting our Mission to \$1000 a year. Have also received a reenforcement by the return of Mr. Gray from the States, consisting of himself & wife, Rev Mr Walker & wife, Rev Mr Smith & wife, Rev Mr Eells & wife & Mr

⁷ Spalding was ordained by Bath Presbytery on August 27, 1835.

⁸ The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1812 as a Congregational enterprise but several other denominations, including the Presbyterian, cooperated for twenty-five years and more. The Boudinot station among the Osages was named after Dr. Elias Boudinot, one-time President of the American Education Society and a member of the American Board. The Osages were then considered to be among the most difficult of all the Indian tribes for missionary work.

⁹ The earlier journal to which Spalding here makes reference has never been located.

¹⁰ Spalding is here referring to entries, under dates given, made in the Record Book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon. *Minutes Synod of Washington*, 1936.

¹¹ Pierre Pambrun, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of Fort Walla Walla. Whitman's station at Waiilatpu was about twenty-five miles up the Walla Walla creek from Fort Walla Walla. The missionaries had close associations with those at the Fort. Mrs. Pambrun was an Indian woman. The Temperance Society was organized on September 2, 1838, shortly after the arrival of the reenforcement. The missionaries evidently asked Pambrun, who was a Roman Catholic, to serve as President, with the hope of thus enlisting his sympathies in the effort to restrict the use of intoxicating liquors, especially by the natives.

Rogers.¹² Mr Gray's return confirms the report that he was attacked by the Sioux on his way to the States last season, his Indian associates killed, & his property taken, & himself wounded twice in the head. As it regards this station, The Lord has blessed us with abundance of the fruits of the earth, about 2000 bushels of potatoes, corn, wheat, peas, &c plenty. Br. Gray & wife & Mr. Rogers have been associated with us, have also 3 hired men two of whom are for the Blacksmith shop & employed by the Mission. Have moved from the upper to this place.¹³ Done considerable building. The health of my family except Mrs S a few weeks last summer has been usually good, for which we would render thanks to Almighty God. The angel death has been permitted to our family of Indian children & lay his cold hand upon our two oldest girls, but we have good evidence to hope it is well with them now; both were baptized. I have made two journeys to Walla Walla & Weiletpoo. The first alone in May on business, the next in Aug with my family to hold a protracted meeting at Doct Whitmans station. In April the Rev Jason Lee of Willamette Mission paid us a visit on his way to the States.¹⁴ In June Doct Whitman spent a week with us,¹⁵ in the same month Mr McDonald & lady with their children spent a week with us very pleasantly.¹⁶ Lord grant in great mercy that if he sees fit to spare my life an other year in this field, it may be marked with more faithfulness to his holy cause. Oh may we see souls flocking to Jesus as doves to their windows.

DECEMBER 1838

Dec 2 Sabbath. Speak of the Samaritan woman, & apply it to all present. Joseph¹⁷ speaks most affectingly, urging all present to give their hearts to Jesus Christ without delay.

¹² See the Record Book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon for Spalding's account of the reenforcement of 1838. *Minutes Synod of Washington*, 1936.

¹³ Spalding first located on the Lapwai Creek about two miles from where it joins the Clearwater. Here a mission house was built during the winter of 1836-37. However, he found it advisable to move to the Clearwater, where a second mission house was erected in the summer and fall of 1838. This became his main station. The site, now known as Spalding to distinguish it from Fort Lapwai, located about four miles up Lapwai Creek, is now an Idaho State Park.

¹⁴ Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel, were sent out to Oregon by the Methodist Church in 1834. They were the first Protestant missionaries to cross the Rocky Mountains. In April, 1838, Jason Lee visited the Whitmans and the Spaldings on his way back to the States. For account of this visit, see Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 181.

¹⁵ Whitman went to Lapwai to help Spalding get timber for his new mission house.

¹⁶ Archibald McDonald, a Scottish Presbyterian, was the Hudson's Bay official in charge of Fort Colville on the Columbia River, about sixty miles north of the present city of Spokane. McDonald was twice married. His first wife, the daughter of a Chinook chief, died in 1824. The following year Archibald married Jane Klyne, a half-breed, who was highly respected by the missionaries.

¹⁷ This is the first mention in Spalding's Diary of Old Joseph, one of Spalding's first converts, who joined the mission church on November 17, 1839. His Indian name was Teutakas and he was the first Nez Perce whom Spalding baptized. His son, also called Joseph, was the famous leader of the Nez Perce uprising of 1877.

3 Mr. Rogers starts up the river for timber. Mr Gray works at the school house. Myself & men hull out the coal, not a good burn.¹⁸

6 Quite sick last night, but the Lord in mercy interposed & I am today much better. Mr Rogers returns with a good quantity of timber.

9 Sabbath Explain the ten commandments again. Meet in the new house. God be praised for this great kindness. Many Sabbaths have met with this people in the open air, more probably than my head will allow me to do again, but now he has given us a house which with a little more labor will be comfortable. May we in this house count souls flocking to Jesus as doves to their windows: Oh my soul pray for this.

10 Conner¹⁹ wishes to be liberated from his engagement to work a year, agrees to pay me for the goods obtained. I consent, take property to make me secure.

11 This morning Conner & Ebberts move down the R. & commence building for themselves. Should think the former somewhat serious. God grant that he may become a new man.

16 Sabbath. Speak of prodigal son. Ebberts serious. O Lord in great mercy bring into thy kingdom all these mountain men.

17. Short Hair starts with letters designed for the States. Conner calls to night. Very much distressed. Talk & pray with him in bro Rogers room both of us urge him to submit immediately. C prays. Oh thou Friend of sinners, appear unto him the one altogether lovely. Oh bring this man who has spent so many years in sin to sweetly at the foot of the Cross.

18 Conner calls early. Says he has found peace of soul is happy. O God of grace, how good art thou. Let this be but the beginning of a glorious day. May we, Of our gracious Redeemer, as Brainard did,²⁰ see these hard hearted savages in the dust weeping for sin. Soon see them in great Nos flocking to Thee. Levi arrives with letters from Doct. Whitman & wife. Doct. W. & Rev. Mr. Smith propose a journey to this place on the return of Mr Pambrun.

19 Visit Conner in company with bro Rogers. C appears well. Faith in Jesus strong. May he not fall. Abbert anxious. Luke calls (—) says 7 years ago he cried many days for his bad heart²¹ has

¹⁸ See also Spalding's Diary for January 14, 1839, where Spalding makes another reference to coal. Some low grade lignite coal has been found near Lapwai in pits half-a-mile north and east of Arrow Junction, along the south side of Potlatch Creek, and at Cottonwood Creek.

¹⁹ See "List of Persons" at the beginning of this work for identification of mountain men, Indians, and others mentioned in Spalding's Diary.

²⁰ David Brainerd was a Presbyterian missionary to the Indians of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 1744-47. Soon after his death the famous Jonathan Edwards published Brainerd's Memoirs. This volume was widely read and inspired many to give their lives in missionary service.

²¹ The idea that the Indians are always so stoical as not to express religious emotion is wrong. Spalding repeatedly refers to the natives being so overwhelmed with grief for their sins that they wept. See descriptions of the Nez Perce revival of 1871-3 in Drury, *A Teepee in His Front Yard*, 55-6.

not since till I gave him a scripture cut representing Moses giving the Law to the people. That night he slept none. Gracious Saviour, thou wilt not quench the smoking flax. Hast thou not designs of mercy concerning this people. Come, O come, thou Heavenly Dove. To day open my school in the new house. A great No present.

20 Williams commences hoes to day.²² Bless the Lord Oh my soul for his goodness to us in relation to the Blacksmith Shop.

21 Ebberts commences work in the B Shop. Short Hair returns from Doct Whitman's with Mina. Letters from Doct. Whitman & wife & Rev. E. Walker & Mrs. Eells.

23 Sabbath. Good No present. Speak of the death of Stephen. Seem to feel more anxious for these immortal souls than usual. Before the Sermon closed Timothy²³ was before the stand in tears. Conner gives a brief history of his wicked life & concludes by saying he hates now what he once loved & is determined to serve & love no one but Jesus Christ in future, speaks in NZ P. After which Timothy commenced but soon was overwhelmed with grief & cried aloud. Before we closed many more were before the stand, men & women & the scene, the most awful & interesting I have ever witnessed, continued many waiting for the speaker to close, many deeply affected, till I rose & said those before the stand were all that could speak till evening. Conner prayed at the Bible class which is attended with the English hearers every Sabbath afternoon, this 3 Sabbath. Many speak at Ev prayers. Some children. Late in the Ev the girls are found in tears. They came with Joseph to my room. He urges them most affectionately to give their hearts to Jesus Christ & be good children. O God of love what a Sabbath this has been. Evidently thou art amongst us & we knew it not. I feel deeply the want of a more perfect knowledge of this language, the habits of thought of this people, & the difficulties in the way of their becoming Christians. O teach me & lead them to the Lamb of God.

24 Awoke last night by the weeping of Apollos, went down, talked & prayed with him. br R & Mrs S came down. He slept none through the night, is yet distressed. O Thou Friend of sinners may he soon find relief where only it can be found. I-hol-hol²⁴ starts with letters for

²² Spalding was a firm believer in the idea of teaching the Nez Percés the arts of agriculture. See Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 217, for a picture of Spalding, showing him holding a Bible in one hand and a hoe in the other. On April 21, 1838, Spalding wrote to the American Board: ". . . while we point them with one hand to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, we believe it to be equally our duty to point with the other to the hoe, as the means of saving their famishing bodies from an untimely grave."

²³ Timothy, or Timosa, was baptized with Joseph by Spalding on November 17, 1839. Joseph failed in later years to keep up his Christian profession, but Timothy remained as one of Spalding's most devoted followers. Timothy was one of the first Nez Percés to build a cabin and begin farming. He was friendly to the whites.

²⁴ Bancroft in his *History of Oregon*, 1: p. 660, mentions an Indian by the name

Doct Whitman & others to come if possible to assist in the contemplated meeting to commence next week. Ev. Appollo says his heart felt like a new one when the sun began to go down is about (——) Oh my soul pray for his conversion, & that he may not be deceived. Luke & Timothy come to house for conversation. Soon after leaving James & others come. O thou Sanctifier of the hearts of men, leave not one heart unmoved, but cause that this valley of dry bones may soon be filled with life & the songs of redeeming love. The brindle heifer found this morn. with a calf.

25 Kill our hog to day. Very fat. Thank the Lord for this mercy.

26 Distribute some pork among the principal men.

29 Saturday. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer preparatory to commencing our meeting to morrow, great Nos have arrived, house quite too small. Converse with Conner on the subject of prayer, hope he may prove a shining example of Almighty grace.

30 Sabbath. Great Nos. present. Speak of the temptations of Christ on the mount. Considerable feeling. Some weeping, a few speak, perhaps one hundred. among the Nos Richard,²⁵ Bates wife, James' brother, and many other desperate cases. Stephen & Meiway's brother with several others appear well. Evidently the Lord is here. Oh may the power of the Holy Ghost become all powerful, subduing every obstinate heart.

31 Quite ill this morning, take medicine, exercises of the day painful, at evening many speak but not as much interest as last eve. I speak in the afternoon of the 5 wise & foolish virgins & in the eve of the house-holder who went into a far country leaving his servants to watch till he returned, commending each to be faithful to his charge.

JANUARY 1839

1 This day commences a new year. May it be a new year to this interesting people, who seem to be taking the kingdom of heaven by violence, & may it be a new year in the history of our hearts. Oh may there not be left at the end of this year one soul in this whole tribe to oppose God. May my soul agonize in prayer for this. Too unwell to meet with the people.

2 Much better this morning. Thank the Lord of my soul for his goodness. Interest among the people continues.

3 Speak on temperance to day obtain many signatures to the pledge of total abstinence.²⁶

of Ishalhal who helped kill Mrs. Whitman at the time of the massacre, November 29, 1847; or the name might be an abbreviation for Ish-hol-hol-hoats-hoats, or Lawyer. See "List of Persons."

²⁵ Richard was one of the two Nez Perces whom Whitman took East with him in 1835 and who returned with the mission party in 1836.

²⁶ Copies of the original treaties drawn up between the Government and the Nez Perces show that the illiterate natives would "sign" by making a mark and then some white man would write his Indian name along side. Spalding undoubtedly used this same method of obtaining "signatures" to the pledge of total abstinence.

4 While giving a preparatory lecture in Engl., Doct. Whitman arrives, & as I had just commenced, postpone till tomorrow. Doct started on tuesday,²⁷ brought many letters from Willamette & Vancouver friends.

5 Conner gives in his relation at church meeting in Eng & NZ P,²⁸ also Joseph, Luke, Timothy, & Stephen. In the afternoon give a lecture in Eng from Mt 5 48 "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." with a view of celebrating the Lords Supper to morrow. Deep interest at the Native meeting this eve. Loud weeping & many confessions.

6 Sit down around the Lord's table.²⁹ Oh my soul what a privilege

7 Observe this day in unison with thousands scattered over the earth as a day of fasting & prayer. Had the monthly concert in the forenoon.³⁰ Oh Lord may we even we experience answers to the prayers of our Christian friends at home in the conversion of a great multitude. Oh may the world soon be delivered from the bondage of sin.

8 Many people leave for their respective countries.

9 Williams wife left him last night. Joseph & others go after her.

10 Doct. Whitman starts for home. May the Lord protect him.

11 Williams wife is whiped 70 lashes. Indians come nigh whipping him.³¹ Black sow appears well.

13 Sabbath Speak of Daniel

14 Fire second coal pit. Sell 20 hoes for 5 horses.³²

²⁷ That is on January 1st. It took Whitman three days to make the 120 mile trip from Wailatpu to Lapwai, a trip that can easily be made today with an auto in three hours. Judged by modern standards, the efficiency of the missionaries was greatly reduced by the great amount of time spent in travel.

²⁸ Conner, who was married to a Nez Perce woman, was evidently used at times by Spalding as an interpreter. Spalding's reference—"gives in his relation"—probably refers to Connor giving a testimony regarding his relationship to Christ.

²⁹ Present at this first recorded Protestant communion service in what is now the State of Idaho were the Spaldings, Whitman, the Grays, Cornelius Rogers, and Conner. The other two mountain men, Ebberts and Williams, were also present but in all probability were not admitted to the Lord's Table.

³⁰ The "monthly concert" refers to a monthly scheduled meeting of prayer and fasting which was held in "concert" or in agreement with other Christian groups throughout the eastern part of the country. This custom may have been the beginning of the World Day of Prayer now widely observed by Protestant Christians of many denominations on the first Sunday of January.

³¹ Smith, in his letter to Greene of September 3, 1840, refers to this incident and blames Spalding for it. Smith accuses Spalding of having married Williams and the native woman. There is nothing in the Diary to indicate that Spalding ordered the whipping. However, Smith definitely states that Spalding "caused a woman to be whiped 70 lashes."

³² Spalding writing to Greene on July 10, 1838, reported that "some 70 or 80 families have cultivated more or less." Again on March 5, 1839: "We are turning our hoes into horses which are to be sent into the lower Columbia & exchanged for iron which will be made into hoes again for the same purpose & in this way

20 Sabbath. In morn George brings in letters from Doct. Whitman & others. Ermatinger is expected soon from Fort Hall Doct. Whitman & wife are expected at the Big Valley to spend a few weeks in obtaining the language.³³

21 Mr. Rogers & Conner start for Wielatpoo & Walla Walla

31 Mr. Rogers returns from Doct. Whitman's. Weather has been very cold for a few days. Brindle heifer takes (—)

FEBRUARY 1839

2 Conner returns with letters from Rev. Mr. Leslie & Mrs. N. F. Smith,³⁴ Willamette & 2 from P C Pambrun, Esq W W. The former has lost his all of a worldly nature by fire which consumed his dwelling & every thing in it about middle of Dec. But he's more than made up for this loss by the outpouring of his gracious Spirit upon the people of his charge. The work commenced the last day of Dec & was going on at the date of the letter Jan 8 1839. 20 were then numbered as the subjects. Among them Mr L & wife have the unspeakable joy of numbering their three daughters, 4 of the principle settlers from the States, the remainder school children & half breeds. God be praised for this unspeakable mercy. May the work not stop till every hardened sinner in that vicinity not excepting the poor red man, shall bow sweetly to the Prince of Peace. This glorious intelligence is the more interesting to us as these heavenly visitations were at the same time that the Lord appeared for our joy & rejoicing in the conviction & as we trust conversion of some in this vicinity. May the work go on hand in hand. Certainly it is the best of all preparations for the Catholic priests³⁵ now in the country & who are expected, one to go soon to the Willamette, the other or the same to come into this region. The Lord in great mercy watch his own cause in the dark regions.

we hope to supply the nation in a few years with means (though simple) of cultivating their lands. The desire for hoes is far beyond my expectation. I looked for a strong desire to cultivate this spring but I did not dream of the present enthusiasm. We gave 4 hoes for a horse, but our stock was gone in two days, & now they would gladly give a horse for a hoe, a horse with us is about \$6.00. Yesterday a gun was brought for a hoe. I found one, gave it not forgetting the scripture, "they shall beat their swords into plow shares & their spears into pruning hooks." Today we have bought with potatoes & corn, old axes & enough [old iron] to make 50 hoes."

³³ See Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 211, for an account of the Whitman's trip to the Tucannon.

³⁴ Mr. Leslie was a Methodist missionary in the Willamette Valley. The identity of Mrs. N. F. Smith is not known.

³⁵ Spalding was especially strong in his anti-Catholic feelings. Later, after the Whitman massacre, this became almost an obsession with him. Writing to Greene on October 2, 1839, Spalding stated: "One of the priests who arrived in this country from Canada last fall . . . collected the Cayuse & Walla Wallas in that vicinity & spent several days in speaking against our proceedings & proclaiming himself to be the only man of God in this country & that all others are false teachers & ought not to be regarded."

3. Sabbath. Speak of the birth of Christ & the arrival of the wise men from the east, the worship they paid to the infant Saviour & not the mother, or her husband.

4. First Monday in the month, observe the concert of prayer as usual.

8. Start letters to Wioletpoo & to Doct. Whitman on the Tukanon giving notice that the expected meeting will be held at Doct W's encampment on the T. 14inst. Also one to Mr. Pambrun inquiring how far it is expected I am to suppress the trade of beaver by Freeman furnish to a greater or less extent & sent here by those over whom I have no control, i.e. by the Co. themselves. At evening Richard returns with a letter from Doct. Whitman stating that he is to start for home on the date of the letter, i.e. 7th.

10. Sabbath. Great numbers have collected, house too small. Speak of the Pentecost, request immediate submission to Christ, & illustrate by a boat passing down the narrows of a river hemmed in by impassible rocks, now the current is increasing in rapidity & now the smoke of the unexpected falls is seen, a death struggle is made to turn the boat & stem the rappid but all in vain. Just at this fearful moment a boat passes up along side by a strong cable well manned; those in the boat which is carried down before the mighty current, are urged by their friends above to leap aboard the upward bound boat. The application was well understood I should judge.⁸⁶ God in infinite mercy grant that many of these interesting people may enter the Ark of safety while it is day. Draw them Oh Lord with the cords of thy love and they will run after thee. For surely they seem ready to take the kingdom of God by force. At evening there was much weeping & some 80 or 100 speak.

11. Shall brother Gray & myself start for Wioletpoo & leave this people at this interesting time? It thought not best. At eve as usual there is much feeling. Oh Lord thou who knowest all hearts tell me what to do in relation to this people. May they not be left to take conviction for sin or pretensions for genuine conversions, & may I do nothing contrary to thy holy mind.

13. Rev. Messrs. Walker & Smith arrive today, bring letters from Wioletpoo & Walla Walla. Mr. W. has come with a view to get out the Mill Stones.

14. Start an express for Doct. Whitmans & Rev. Mr. Eells, also Messrs. Walker, Gray & Rogers start up the river in search of stones.

15. The brethren return home from up the river. Packatas, Green Cap & many others arrive. Also the Lawyer with a letter from Mrs. Whitman.

⁸⁶ Spalding, who was an eloquent speaker, was here drawing upon the experience of going through the cascades and rapids of the Columbia River for an illustration for his sermon. Such a vivid illustration taken from the contemporary life of his hearers would surely have had a strong appeal.

16. Purchase a quantity of cords, parfleshes [parfleche]⁸⁷ &c, with potatoes. The Pambrun cow is found with a calf.

17. Sabbath. Great multitudes present. Parable of the Sower, the Subject.

18. Messrs. Walker, Gray & Rogers with a no. of Indians start up the R. for Mill stones. Mr. Smith starts for Green Cap's country to search a location.

21. Messrs. Walker, Gray & Rogers return without stones, have been too much injured by fire to work. Mr. Smith returns, has found a favorable location. The man sent Doct. Whitman return. The Doct. & wife & Mr. Eells are to be here tomorrow. God give us wisdom to do all our business as shall most promote his cause in this country. Some difficulty with a man.

22. Doct. Whitman & wife & Mr. Eells arrive about noon. Started from home late Tuesday 19. 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.⁸⁸ A very little matter indeed to cause such a difficulty. Our special meeting is called to order, myself in the chair & Mr. Walker, Sect. Considerable business done, adjourn till tomorrow. Bill of supplies arrives from Vancouver by express.

23. Meeting opens as usual with prayer & reading of the last minutes.⁸⁹ Several resolutions passed. Not to marry a white man to a

⁸⁷ A parfleche or, as Spalding spelt it, parfleshe, was a leather or skin bag used by the Indians to carry their provisions or belongings on horseback.

⁸⁸ Even the women of the mission had their disagreements. Mrs. Gray, writing from Lapwai on February 23, 1839 to Mrs. Walker, at Waiilatpu, gave the following account of how Mrs. Whitman had offended her: "The second day after our arrival at W. 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 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." The first Gray child, John Henry Dix, was born March 20, 1839, so Mrs. Gray was about two months pregnant when she reached Waiilatpu. Evidently such a fact was supposed to be kept a secret as long as possible. Spalding gave a different version as to how the fact became known.

⁸⁹ This was a special meeting of the Mission. The annual meeting was usually held in the summer or early fall. One of the main reasons for this meeting, held in February, 1839, was to settle differences which had arisen between Smith and Whitman. Writing to Greene on October 15, 1842, Spalding said in retrospect: "Mr. Smith declared he would leave the Mission rather than be connected with Dr. Whitman, and when it was found impossible to associate the two together, Dr. Whitman consented to leave the station to Mr. Smith and commence a new one on the Tukana, where he would be central as physician." The idea of having

native except he be a candidate for admission into the church.⁴⁰ Not to have in our employ or to furnish supplies of any kind to any free man who interferes with at all the Beaver trade. A long debate on a resolution to remove Mr. Smith from Wioletpoo, adjourn till Monday morn.

24. Sabbath service as usual in Nez Perces, great nos. present. Mr. Walker & Eells not present. Speak of Nebucadnezor. Bible class interesting.

25. Meeting commences as usual. I find it difficult to rid ourselves of the men [?]. Debate continues on resolution to remove Mr. Smith. Withdrawn. Another comes up to remove Doct. Whitman from Wioletpoo to commence a new station in the region of the Paluse that he may be more central as the physician of this Mission. Much debate, passed. One to permit myself as soon as possible to itinerate among the Nez Perces, also Mr. Gray shall have charge of the Blacksmith shop, mill & farm at this station. Should a printing press come on, it shall be at this station. Library to be at this station and myself librarian.⁴¹ All property direction to this mission shall be divided by the Prudential Comt. All property directed to any individual in the Mission shall be at the disposal of that individual. Doct. Whitman a comt. to write to the Board on the subject of our having an agent in London to pay our drafts that we may not lose \$140 on every \$500.

26. Our meeting closes. Give Messrs. Walker Eells & Smith a quantity of parflashes, cords, &c. The above named start for Wioletpoo. Mrs. Spalding nearly exhausted.⁴² Her feeble constitution cannot endure many more such shocks.

27. Little E. very sick, probably our sins will make it necessary for our Heavenly Father to chastise us by the removal of this dear babe.

the only doctor in the Mission more centrally located weighed heavily with the Spaldings, the Walkers, and the Eells. Mrs. Whitman was not at Lapwai when the matter was discussed and, although the women had no vote in the official business meetings, she evidently strongly opposed the idea when her husband told her. When the Whitmans decided not to move, the Smiths were all the more determined to do so.

⁴⁰ The reference here is clearly to Spalding's marrying Williams, his blacksmith, to a native woman.

⁴¹ The author received from Samuel T. Walker, the youngest son of Elkanah and Mary Walker, eight volumes which were marked by Spalding as being a part of this Columbia River Library. One of these volumes, a copy of *Pilgrim's Progress*, is in the museum of San Francisco Theological Seminary. The other seven volumes are in the library of Washington State College. Spalding numbered each volume, perhaps in order of accession. One book now at W.C.S. bears the number of 464 which gives an indication of the size of the library.

⁴² All seven men of the Mission were present at this meeting. Most of the work preparing the meals, etc., fell on Mrs. Spalding as Mrs. Gray, being but one month from her confinement, was unable to help much. We should remember that none of the mission families then had a cook stove. All cooking was done over the open fire of a fireplace.

Her constitution is evidently very weak, consequently her teeth are slow in coming.

28. Ellice arrives as usual with a war party. One of his men, the Red Bear, breaks or opens the window abruptly.

MARCH 1839

1. James starts for Wioletpoo.

2. Eliza a little better. Doct. Whitman leaves for home, with an agreement to meet Mrs. Whitman, Mrs. Spalding & myself at the mouth of the Potahha next Thursday.⁴⁸ Doct. spends the Sabbath at the big river.

3. Sabbath, great nos. present.

5. Cold & stormy, delay start to Paluse as expected.

6. Great quantities of iron purchased of the Indians for potatoes and corn. Start for Paluse about noon, very windy, camp opposite Red Wolf band.

7. Start early, cross the river, exchange a few horses at Red Wolf's band. Crossed the long divide, exceeding strong wind in our face, camp on Potahha just above Walla Walla trail. James comes into camp with the sheep sent by Mr. Smith.

8. Start early, rain with wind. Mrs. S. not able to ride fast, find plenty of good land on the P. some 12 miles above the mouth and [. . . ?] arrive at Doct. Whitman. Camp early. He has been to the Paluse and returned. Messrs. Walker & Eells not yet arrived though they started last Tuesday. A beautiful location at this place, great quantity of good land.

9. Start early for the Paluse, Doct. & Mrs. Whitman & myself. Mrs. S. too feeble to ride. I take little E. who seems much benefited by the journey; about 8 miles to the mouth of the Tukanon great quantities of good land. About 4 from mouth of Tukanon to Paluse, arrive early. Messrs. Walker & Eells arrived last night. Have all things ready to start. All well so far. May they have a prosperous journey. They leave soon. Doct. & myself examine the Paluse, not favorable for a location. No land, no fish. Start for our camp, arrive late. Several Indians.

10. Sabbath. Quite a congregation.

11. Rain. Talk with the people about Doct. building in this vicinity. Mrs. S. starts with the packs. I delay with little E. to talk with the people. Doct. is quite undecided. I leave him & start late, rain increases in our faces. Ride hard, come to camp sometime after Mrs. S. Snows.

12. Horses and cow gone, snows fast, find the horses late, but no cow. Start, cold wind & snow in our face, very tedious in passing the divide. Indians go ahead and kindle a fire in valley. See the cows track,

⁴⁸ In agreement with the vote of the Mission, Whitman decided to look for a more central location. The Pataha was a creek which flowed into the Tucannon. Whitman planned to explore the country north of what is now Dayton, Washington, and west of Pomeroy.

find her at mouth of the stream. Cross S.R. [Snake River] and come up on the N. side of the C.W.R. [Clear Water River.] Reach home about sundown, all things well. Mrs. Spalding & myself extremely tired.⁴⁴ Oh my soul bless the Lord for his preserving care over us during this journey and over every thing at the station.

13. Speak with the people respecting a man, the same that caused difficulty 21 ult. who raised his whip over Mr. Gray's head. Man not being present, the subject is delayed till eve. At eve I require the chiefs to speak. They exhibit fear as in the former case. Soon begin to speak of whipping Mr. Gray. Later on Meiyway takes the lead. He once helped tie and abuse Mr. Pambrun. Others express the same & I leave without worshipping with them.⁴⁵

14. Chiefs hold out. James & others command all to abstain from work on our premises. Multitudes threaten to tie & whip me. It is very well for us that it is all wind. I give notice that our coal & potatoes from the old house are to be brought today. Some 100 notwithstanding the threats of James, turn out with horses, all down in good season.⁴⁶

16. Chiefs hold out still, what the end will be I know not. Late in eve chiefs come, say they have done wrong, ask pardon, promise to whip the man, wish me to commence worship with them again. I consent.

17. Meet with people as usual. Explain the ten commandments.

18. Last Sat. eve a letter arrived from Doct. Whitman. They reached home safe 14 inst. The Doct has selected a location near the mouth of the Paluse which pleases him. May the Lord bless and prosper him in his commencement & may he be a great blessing to that people & to this Mission by his medical skill & christian counsel. Work at fence.

19. Continue to work at fence, make good progress. Multitudes here.

20. Mrs. Gray labors came on, is delivered safely of a fine son about noon. Finish fence around the middle lot about 35 acres.

21. Mrs. Gray is doing well. Start George & Stephen for Mr. Gray. Corn also some potatoes & peas to Mr. Smith for seed.

⁴⁴ The Spaldings were obliged to take with them their daughter, then only sixteen months old, and a cow. They left Lapwai on March 7th and did not return until the 12th, being obliged to camp out every night, sometimes in cold, windy, and stormy weather. Altogether they must have traveled about 150 miles. They had to ford the Snake River on the return trip as they came back on the north bank of the Clearwater.

⁴⁵ Spalding seemed to have been perfectly fearless in dealing with the Indians. Meiyway is one supposed to have caused trouble for Smith at Kamiah. As a form of punishment, Spalding refused to conduct the worship services.

⁴⁶ James, or sometimes Old James, was a prominent sub-chief in the Lapwai Valley who later led the opposition party against Spalding. Spalding still had the loyalty and support of the majority of the natives in his vicinity.

22. Make fence at the upper station. James works hard, so much for his threatenings. What is the character of Indians? (Pambrun heifer has calf.)

23. Make fence above the race. Doct. Whitman & Mr. Smith arrive at eve.⁴⁷

24. Sabbath. Speak of the rich man & Lazareth. Marry Aaron & Naomi. Isaac's son & Crudea's daughter.⁴⁸

25. Doct. Whitman & Mr. Smith wish advice as to their future course but after long consultation come to no conclusion. They leave late.

26. Make yoke. Start some iron to Messrs. Walker & Eells.

27. Yoke Rud [?] and big steer, work well till yoke breaks. Marry Jared & Betsy, friend of Red Wolf & Crudea's daughter. Start iron & letters to Walker & Eells. Spotted yew [?]

29. Commence plowing. Oxen weak.

31. Sabbath. Speak of rich man & Lazarus. Marry Denias & Rhoda, James' son and relative of Crudea.

APRIL 1839

April 1. Last eve letters arrived from Doct. Whitman & wife. Doct remains at his old station. Everything seems to be settled. Hope it will remain so & that they may work together. Prepare irons for Doct. & Mr. Smith.

2. Start Doct. & Mr. Smith's iron. Load a bag of peas to the Doct & a bag of corn meal. Attend a funeral.

3. Conner arrives late to make a mill for Doct. W. & Mr. S.

7. Sabbath. Speak of Pauls shipwreck.

8. Conner & Thomas leave for Wioletpoo. Sowed Barley & peas last Thursday. Plant corn & potatoes & some garden vegetables.

10. Zachariah arrives from the Buffalo country. Looks hearty. Jacob returns with a letter from Doct. W. He expects to go to Buffalo. All going well at Wioletpoo.

⁴⁷ Gray in a letter to Walker and Eells written on March 26, 1839, from Lapwai, stated: "Dr. Whitman & Mr. Smith were here last Saturday and Sabbath. Monday we talked on their affairs and advised them to settle their difficulties between themselves, and for both to be more decided and do what was as near right as possible. If they both wished to stay at Weilletpoo, to stay, and if they wished to go, they could go. . . I wonder the Dr. does not bring up Mr. Smith before the Church to settle his difficulty." Spalding was not the only person in the Mission who found it difficult to get along with Smith. Evidently by this time, Mrs. Whitman had persuaded her husband not to think of moving. This meant that Smith would have to go if we wanted to be alone — and yet the Mission had voted against his moving.

⁴⁸ Spalding's first entry in his Record of Marriages is for this date: "Aaron & Naomi, Isaac's son." Here we see his custom of giving Biblical names to the Indians. He had two more marriages the same week. A wedding ceremony by a Christian missionary was indeed something new for the Nez Percés. For some of the natives, at least, old customs were gradually giving way to new.

11. John's father arrives. John is yet alive but very low.⁵⁰
12. Plant some garden vegetables at the middle garden. Considerable rain after a severe draught.
13. Plant some corn & potatoes. Mr. Gray completes the corn mill. Letters arrive from the Doct. & Mr. Smith. They think of traveling. Thomas arrives with Mr. Gray's cow. A letter arrives from Mr. Walker. He wishes potatoes. They were 16 days reaching their place from Wioletpoo. Mr. Rogers finishes the barley, about 9 bushels sowed.
14. Sabbath. Speak of Philip, the eunuch.
15. Start Mr. Walker's potatoes.⁵¹ Letter arrives from Mr. Pambrun requesting a plough & clevis mended. Heavy rain last night & considerable today, for which we would be truly thankful.
16. Start Mr. Pambrun's clevis. Rain.
17. Express arrives with letters from the Isls. & the Willamette. Mr. Hall & wife have arrived safe at Vancouver, for which O my soul be thankful to the Lord. He has brought a press, type, paper &c. May this acquisition to our means be turned to the best account for the glory of God & the salvation of these benighted tribes. Mr. Hall is expecting to leave Vancouver in company with Mr. Ermatinger about the 15th, & to be at Walla Walla about the 1st of May, where he expects to meet me with horses & a boat for Mrs. Hall, & the effects. Mrs. Hall is not able to ride or walk by reason of ill health from an affection of the spine.⁵² Rev. Mr. Leslie writes that the work of the Lord is going on in his vicinity, 27 have been received on trial among are several of the principle settlers. Also that the Catholic Priests disregarding all law & propriety are marrying over those whom Mr. Lee, Mr. Beaver, & himself have heretofore married. Also that they baptize over again. That they do not recognize him as a minister of the gospel.

Letters from the Sand. Isls. state that God is still carrying on his good work in the Isls. 5,000 or 6,000 have been added to the churches during the year. But the Catholics aided by the A. & British consuls as

⁵⁰ This John may have been one of the Indian boys whom Whitman took East with him in 1835.

⁵¹ On September 15, 1838, Spalding in a letter to Greene estimated that he had that year raised 800 bushels of potatoes. Walker, who visited Spalding shortly after the arrival of the reinforcement in Oregon of 1838, wrote in his Diary for October 8: "Mr. S. has a fine lot of potatoes; and I think he will have 1500 bushels, 500 to the acre. I never saw any that turned out so well." See Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 202. Spalding was well prepared to furnish potatoes to his colleagues. He also used potatoes as payment to the Indians for work they did for him.

⁵² Mrs. Hall suffered from some chronic illness of the spine and was unable to sit up much. We are amazed to read of the long journeys these missionaries sometimes took with sick wives. Mrs. Hall had to be carried at times in a hammock. She made the trip from Fort Walla Walla to Lapwai in a canoe. Yet she gave birth to a baby girl at Wailatpu on November 3, 1839.

well as the French Gov. are making strenuous efforts to possess themselves of the Isls. Oh Lord protect thine own cause & our dear brothers at the Isls.

18. Start the Doct. express with letters to Wioletpoo & Walla Walla. Plant potatoes.

19. Finish planting potatoes, about 120 bushels in all. Sowed 6 bags of peas, have sowed 7 in all.

20. Sow onions & other garden vegetables. Snows on the mountains.

21. Sabbath. Commemorate the dying love of our ascended Lord. Baptize Mr. Gray's babe by the name of John Henry Dix.

22. Last evening had some talk with Meiway, Isaac's son, & Rotten Belly. Today they leave. I do not know that I ever felt discouraged in the least before in relation to this people. Really I fear they will all prove to be a selfish, deceptive race of beings. Surely many of them appear like another race of beings from what they did when we first came among them. But Oh merciful God disappoint our fears & make them realize to us our former hopes. Oh come with thy blessed Spirit to enlighten these dark minds. Show them what sin is, what selfishness is, what gratitude is, & what holiness of heart is.

23. Make preparations to leave tomorrow, God willing, for Walla Walla to meet our dear brother & sister Hall.

24. Start with my dear wife & our little Eliza for Walla. Williams, George, Short Hair & W's brother accompany us. Take most of my horses & a cow. Go down the N. side of the C.W.R. Meet Baptiste Doreon with a letter from Mr. Pambrun, cross S.R. above Thackus [?] country and camp.

25. Start early, pass the valley of Pataka & camp on Tukanon. High wind & some rain.

26. Cold in the morning but warm during the day. Pass Krkrmarsh [?] planing on Tushee, sell him 4 hoes for a horse, camp on Kaper [?].

27. Start early, ride slow, little E. not able to ride fast, arrive at the Docts. early. All well. 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. May the Lord continue this peace. Mr. & Mrs. Smith expect to leave soon for the Lawyer's country to spend the summer in the language.⁵⁸

28. Sabbath. Mr. Smith preaches in the forenoon, celebrate the Lord's supper in the afternoon.

29. Doct. receives a note from Mr. Pambrun late, that Mr. Ermatinger, Mr. & Mrs. Hall have just arrived.

⁵⁸ Although the Mission had voted definitely that Smith was not to start a new station, no action was taken forbidding him to go into the heart of the Nez Perce country for language study. Thus Smith found a good reason for leaving Wailatpu.

30. Doct. & Mrs. Whitman, Mrs. Spalding & myself start for Walla Walla, Mr. & Mrs. Smith prepare to leave. We arrive at Walla Walla early. Find Mrs. Hall able to sit up some but not to ride or travel far. All things have arrived in safety. Start an express to Mr. Gray for horses. Mr. Forister who came up with the boats leaves for Vancouver. Receive letters from Rev. Messrs. Bingham & Smith, Honolulu, & Rev. Mr. Leslie, Vancouver, who had just returned from Nesqualle on Puget Sound where he left Mr. Wilson to commence an establishment. Oh Lord prosper them in their undertaking. 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 \$400.⁵⁴ What does this say for the fears of the church in relation to the cause of Missions? Will the Lord in great mercy reward them a thousand fold in spiritual blessings. Perhaps the heathen will take the work of converting the world into their own hands.

MAY 1839

May 2. Sampson arrives with the canoe & a note from Mr. Gray. Doct. Whitman & wife left yesterday for home. Mr. Hall accompanied them.

4. James & others arrive with horses for our packs. An express arrives from Vancouver.

5. Sabbath. I gave a short lecture from Jon III but few present understanding English. I also speak in Nez Perce to a good no. Mr. Hall also speaks in Hawaii to some 8 or 10 in the Co. service except the man & woman with him.

6. Doct. Whitman arrives. Start our packs by the Indians. Start the canoe with Mrs. Hall. Leave letters for the States with Mr. Ermatinger, who expects to start for Fort Hall about 10 inst. Mr. Hall, Mrs. Spalding & myself leave about noon. Pass up the R. overtake the canoe above the forks, camp on a plain.⁵⁵

7. Start the canoe, breakfast on the sand, one of the Colville express returns after a horse. Attempt to pass a point but find it impossible,

⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that some of the materials sent by Mr. Bingham of Honolulu to the members of the Oregon Mission were contributions by the native Christians. The American Board began its Hawaiian mission in 1820.

⁵⁵ The Spaldings left Lapwai on April 24th for Waiilatpu in order to escort the Halls and the printing press back to their station. Since they had to take their little girl and a cow with them, they traveled rather slowly, making the 120-mile trip in less than four days. Word arrived at Waiilatpu on the 29th that the Halls were at Fort Walla Walla. Because of Mrs. Hall's physical condition, the Halls did not then go out to the Whitman station but preparations were made for them to go to Lapwai by canoe. The canoe was started on May 7th and did not reach Lapwai until the 13th. From the Diary we learn that the canoe was large enough to have a sail, which was evidently used some of the time. However the trip up stream against the current of the Columbia, Snake, and then the Clearwater Rivers, meant slow going.

pass over the mountains & camp near a lodge. Obtain a little salmon.

8. Breakfast before we start, make a cutt off, leave the trail & seek the river, canoe soon heaves in sight. Take dinner. Mr. Hall being far ahead did not turn with us, but returns just as we are about to ketch (?) up. Pass a long distance under the bluffs near the water, finally cut a high point & camp on the plains below.

9. Breakfast before we start. Make a long cut off over a plain leaving a high rock at the left in between us & the river. Pass a high point & come onto the plain opposite to the Paluse. The canoe aided by a fair wind is up with us. Cross the Tukanon at the mouth & prepare to cross the river, wind high & dangerous but the Lord brought us safe over. Meet a few natives. Make long cut off, wind high, pass through & camped in an old camp. Several ducks for supper tonight.

10. Wind favorable, pass rocks, cut off a long point. Noon in the hot sand by an old fishery. Mrs. S. takes the canoe, pass the Granite Mountains. Camp opposite some lodges. Very favorable to obtain mill stones at the Granite Mts. for a mill at the Tukanon.

11. Pass Krkrmachnim land. Some corn. In the afternoon pass a piece of corn & potatoes well watered, just at night another belonging to Simon. Camp by another owned by Simon. Simon's brother comes to camp.

12. Sabbath. A large No. collect early, attend worship with the people about noon. Very hot today. God be blessed for this day of rest.

13. Got a salmon from Simon's brother. Good wind. Noon opposite Thaku's [?] land, hear that the packs have all arrived home. Many horses sore. Mrs. S. takes the canoe, good wind, soon out of sight. With great difficulty pass the high point, leave the cow, too weary to travel. Canoe ahead when it entered the C.W.R. Soon after it entered the C.R. it came nigh upsetting in a squall, pull down sail & pole. Take Mrs. S. onto her horse & leave the canoe behind. Arrive home just before sundown, the canoe soon after. All well every-thing safe. Thank the Lord Oh my soul for his goodness during this journey, for his watch over everything during my absence. Mr. G. has planted some 8 acres of corn. Frost has done some damage for the Natives. One mare has foaled making 4 more coalts. The white cow has a heifer calf, the sow has lost her pigs. Mrs. S. health much improved also that of Eliza. She has now some 8 teeth, bless the Lord for goodness to this dear girl. May her life be prolonged to glorify the God of Abraham.

14. Look at the grain, all very good. Thank the Lord.

16. Printing up.⁵⁶ Oh what cause for thankfulness for this donation from a people who were but a few days ago in depths of sin.

18. Small prooff sheet off.

19. Sabbath. A good no. present. Speak of the sower.

⁵⁶ This printing press was the first American press to be established on the Pacific Coast. Smith later criticized the eight-page primer which was the first item to be printed as being very inaccurate.

23. Start an express to W.W. with letters. Resolve to build a dobie printing office.

24. Strike off 400 copies of 8 pages of the first book in Nez Perces. Thank the Lord O my soul for this successful beginning. Will the Lord take this new means of usefulness into his own hands & ever direct it for good.

25. Plough & hoe my corn & potatoes over the stream. Doct. Whitman arrives late, with a letter from Doct. McLoughlin dated London Oct. 1838, also several letters from Mr. & Mrs. Hall from friends at the S. Islands. No ship from the States consequently no letters for us. Much disappointed, hope another ship may come to the C.R. [Columbia River] before the year ends, as a ship is daily expected at the Islands from the Sts. which will doubtless bring letters for us. Mr. Hall's letters say the work of the Lord is still going on at the Islands. A principle chief (a woman) has died since he left.

26. Sabbath, but few present. Speak of the birth of Christ.

27. Mr. Gray quite unwell, also Williams & Edwin. Doct [&] others construct a rolling plain [?] for Mrs. Hall. May it prove of great service.

28. Doct & Mr. Hall start for Mr. Smith's who is now with his wife in the upper country. Jacob's son returns with a letter from Mr. P. No send [?].

29. Plough & weed potatoes up at the old house. Breast lame from a fall received last Sabbath.

30. Doct & Mr. Hall return from Mr. Smiths. Much good land in that region.

JUNE 1839

1. Doct returned home yesterday. Hard rain with thunder. My gray very sick. Williams better. Pain in my breast a little easier. Thank the Lord for the health of our dear little girl. She has now 9 teeth. May she be spared through the rich [?] of God to be a useful helper in this Mission.

2. Sabbath. Speak of the men who built, the one on a sandy foundation & the other on a rock.

3. Receive a thermometer from Mr. Hall. Much rain has fallen of late. Build a fence around the corn. Continue weeding potatoes.

4. Layout building spot. Look for the hogs. Rain. Mr. R. cuts coat.

5. Mr. Gray & wife leave for Mr. Smiths.⁵⁷ Send Mr. S. my bull. Plow potatoes at middle piece. Messrs. Hall & Rogers, with Mina & Conners lay the foundation for printing office. George returns from Wieletpoo with letters from Mr. & Mrs. Walker. They are expecting to visit us about 11 of this month. Plough potatoes at middle field.

⁵⁷ The Grays went to Kamiah where Henry helped Smith build the rude cabin which was to be the Smith home for the summer. The fact that the Grays were in Kamiah for only two or three days meant that only the simplest form of a cabin was erected.

6. Messrs. Hall & Rogers work at dobies.⁵⁸ Mrs. S. & myself ride to old place, continue at the potatoes, green peas & turnips.

7. Heavy rains, greatest quantity of water I have known to fall since I have been in this country.

8. Plow corn, looks well.

10. Sabbath. Speak of the birth of Christ, baptism, &c.

11. Mr. & Mrs. Gray return.

12. Finish the corn. Moses father brings a letter for Mr. Hall & Mrs. Smith from Spokane. Doc's saw arrives by Cayuse. Plow potatoes at old place. Apply blister to my breast.

13. Mr. and Mrs. Walker arrive, 4th day from home all well.

15. Ride to the old house but suffer much from pain in breast. Green peas.

16. Sabbath. Good No. present. Speak of marriage feast, observe the communion in the afternoon.

18. Mr. Walker & myself start for Mr. Smith's ride but a short distance, the pain in the breast occasioned by the fall becomes so intense that I am obliged to abandon the idea & turn back. Mr. Rogers takes my place. After reaching the house I take calomel, 17 grs. Mr. Gray cuts & bleeds. May the Lord in great mercy interpose & prevent the formation of an absces.

19. Continue weak, breast easier.

20. Messrs. Walker & Rogers return, 7 hours from Mr. Smith.

21. Letter arrived from Doct. Whitman last night with 4 Am hoes. Doct's health quite poor, not able to labor.

23. Sabbath. Good no. present.

24. Mr. & Mrs. Walker start for home, take 4 chickens. Collect horses for Mr. Rogers & while catching, an Indian appears on the opposite bank stating that Doct. Whitman's little girl Alice Clarrissa is drowned. On receiving the letter it proves too true. Yesterday about 2 p.m., she was missed & soon after found under the bank dead. The letter immediately started & arrived in about 25 hours. We start a note for Mr. Walker. Mr. Hall leaves for Wioletpoo with Edwin for guide. Mr. R. takes 7 of our animals for Buffalo is to leave tomorrow. 6 p.m. Mrs. Spalding, Eliza & myself start our canoe for Wioletpoo to mourn with our deeply afflicted brother & sister.⁵⁹ Pass swiftly down the C.W. several rapids, but nothing difficult. Near the forks send back for Mrs.

⁵⁸ Spalding was experimenting with adobe bricks. He found from experience, however, that they were not as satisfactory in that climate as logs or sawn lumber, for building purposes.

⁵⁹ Because of his physical condition, Spalding was unable to ride overland and had to take a canoe. They traveled all of Monday night, June 24th and were thus able to arrive at Fort Walla Walla on the evening of the 26th. The funeral, which Spalding conducted, was held the next day. From other sources we learn that this tragedy was the occasion of softening the hearts of both the Whitmans and the Spaldings toward each other. Sorrow drew them together, and certain misunderstandings were confessed and cleared up.

Spalding's sadalle (?), it arrives at 11 oclock, reach the Wolf's stream break of day, bad rapids just below. Breakfast at Simon's land. Men sleepy, wind comes from ahead, make slow progress. Come to a stop noon, remain till about sundown, then move down a little ways & camp above the great rapids.

26. Start early pass the rappids without difficulty, also the narrows above Paluse. At Paluse exchange canoes, take a fourth man. Pass several rappids, but none bad, reach C.R. about sundown & Walla Walla 8¼ much exhausted with anxiety. Mr. Pambrun returned today from the Docts. They expect to keep the corpse till tomorrow. Retire late to rest.

27. Start early for the house of our brother & sister. Mr. P. accompanys us. Riding caused considerable pain in my side. Arrive at the house 10 a.m. Mrs. S. much fatigued. Mr. Hall arrived Tuesday about the time he left on Monday. Our dear brother & sister appear remarkably reconciled to the afflictive Providence which has removed from them their dearest earthly treasure, a very healthy active lovely child two years three months & nine days of age. But she was a child of promise & of prayer & we trust He who most kindly took little children in his arms & blessed them, has in infinite mercy taken her to himself. Her parents feel that their sins have made it necessary for their Heavenly Parent thus sorely to afflict them. And Oh may all the parents of this Mission be admonished by this Providence & by agonizing prayer keep our children always in readiness to go when He who gave shall come for them. Mrs. Whitman very humbly remarked, "It has been a great pleasure to take care of our little one thus far & I can cheerfully give her up." Her countenance by this time is much changed. In the afternoon the funeral was attended not by a great retinue nor with a splendid equippage, but by a few sincere mourners, the parents, Mr. Hall, Mr. Pambrun, Mrs. Spalding & myself with a few domesticks. I spoke from 2 Kings iv:26. After the corps was interred east of the house, the first of our little no. who found a grave in these dark regions. Who is to be second. Oh my soul who is to be second. Mr. Pambrun returns home at eve.

28. Remain to comfort the hearts of our afflicted friends.

29. Ride out a short distance. A letter arrives from W.W. stating that the Brigade⁶⁰ was above the shoots, Thursday. My horses arrive late.

30. Sabbath. Attend Bible class. Speak to the people present, but few.

JULY 1839

July 1. Doct. Whitman, Mr. Hall & myself rode to Walla Walla,

⁶⁰ The annual Hudson's Bay Brigade or Express was on its way from Fort Vancouver to Eastern Canada. The Express frequently carried mail for the missionaries and some freight to and from Fort Vancouver.

the boats had arrived early in the morning. Messrs. Ogden & Black are accompanied by Mr. Demere, one of the Catholic priests, who came out last fall. He is on his way to Colville to perform some offices upon his subjects at that fort, is to go from this place by land. Messrs. Ogden & Black are both quite elder men, both Chief Factors I believe, the latter is stationed some 300 miles N. of Okanagon on Thompson's River which runs N. & empties into Fraizers which discharges into the Pacific some 400 miles N of the C.R. Mr. Ogden has charge of several posts from 200 to 600 miles N still in what is called New Caledonia on the northern-waters of Fraizer River. Raises some grain at his southern post, is to build a flour mill next season. Says the natives of that country are remarkably friendly & would offer a favorable field for a Mission. The Brigade brought up for our Mission 4 large kegs of molasses & 1 piece of paste board which were left at the Dalls by Messrs. Ermatinger & Hall. Received a letter from Mr. Douglas & Rev. D. Lee.

2. Start a few of our packs. The boats 8 in no. leave about 3 p.m. The C. Priest is to leave tomorrow. We start 3½. Reach the Doct. late. Doct & wife conclude to accompany us home.

3. Mr. Hall, Mrs. Spalding & myself start about 4 p.m. for home. Doct & wife expect to start tomorrow as his hours are not to be found. We camp late on Latakksnimer.

4. Start early. Take breakfast about 10. Stop again on branch of Tushee. Camp late on Pataha. Levi comes in late says the Doct is probably at the spring.

5. Start early, take breakfast on head of Thadu valley. Doct. appears in sight as we are about to start. After they breakfast, we all start & reach the S.R. 6 p.m., cross & camp. Mr. Hall goes on home.

6. Start early & reach home about noon. Corn & garden near the house looks well. Everything else is dried up.

7. Sabbath, but few present. Speak to the people, also the Doct.

8. Doct. & Mrs. Whitman & myself start late for Mr. Smith's.⁶¹ Camp in Jacob's valley.

9. Soon after starting Mr. Hall overtakes us, started early from home. Pass through considerable timber, see red clover & strawberry vines. Noon half way down a most difficulty Mt. Doct. receives letter from Mr. Smith by a native stating that he is dissatisfied with the old alphabet & wishes to adopt the one recommended by the Board. So it appears we are all of one mind. Pass the gulf which I should think about 40 miles from C.W. ride over [. . . ?] looking country, but see much mountain grass which betrays coldness & reach the top of the Mt. about Mr. Smith 6½ & after much difficulty in descending, arrive at the house sunset. Mr. Smith's little garden will produce

⁶¹ This was Spalding's first visit to Kamiah. Since the distance to be covered was sixty miles, the party took two days for the trip.

nothing from drought, but he can irrigate, timber handy for building, & plenty of apparently good land. He is living in a very open house without floor or windows, much to the injury I think of Mrs. Smith's health. His food pudding & milk is quite too simple I think. It is duty to be self denying but a missionaries life is more than gold & silver. Mr. S. has made good progress in the language. But this can be accomplished without exposing health.

10. Settle upon the alphabet recommended by Mr. Pickering & the Board, the one used at the Sandwich Islands.

11. Last night a wolf⁶² bit a fine coat for me but the wound appears slight. Start 3 p.m., camp in big valley about 20 miles.

12. Start early, coat very lame. Doct & wife & Mr. Hall ride on & leave myself & Timothy to come on with the coat. We get her near Jacob's valley and leave her & the mare, reach home 7 p.m.

13. Send Edwin for the coat & mare but he finds it dead where we left it.

14. Sabbath. After worship with the people, observe the Lord's supper.

15. Make preparations to move into the little dobie shop that Mrs. S. may be more relieved from care & more retired & in a cooler place. Her health is too feeble to be incumbered with the care of so great a family & she feels unwilling to be a burden on Mrs. Gray. Besides the time for my leaving the house is already arrived, though Mr. Gray has not yet built me a house according to promise.⁶³ When that will be I know not.

16. Move into our adobe, find it quite comfortable. Doct & wife start for home late. I make preparations to leave tomorrow for Joseph's country.⁶⁴

⁶² Spalding had considerable trouble with the wolves attacking his animals—especially the sheep. Writing to Greene on October 2, 1839, Spalding requested "A quantity of strychnia or Nux Vomica sufficient to kill 1000 wolves. . . ."

⁶³ See entry for February 25th. By the vote of the Mission, Spalding was to turn over all secular activities at Lapwai to Gray and concentrate on itinerating among the Nez Percés and language study. According, therefore, to that agreement Spalding was to turn over his house to the Grays and move into a smaller house which Gray was to build. The plan did not prove to be successful and finally Spalding had to resume the management of the secular affairs at Lapwai.

⁶⁴ As the Mission had instructed Spalding to make some itinerating trips, he decided to visit the Grande Ronde Valley in what is now the State of Oregon. This was the home of Old Joseph. Later this was some of the territory granted to the Nez Percés in the treaty of 1855. However, the Treaty of 1863 negotiated at Lapwai took away this valley from the Nez Percés. The Wallowa Valley was especially a bone of contention. The Wallowa River leading from Wallowa Lake was a tributary of the Grande Ronde. In 1873 President Grant gave these lands back to the Nez Percés but two years later revoked this order. Old Joseph died in 1872. When the Government tried to force Young Joseph's band on to the Lapwai Reservation, the Nez Perce uprising of 1877 broke out. This was the historic valley which Spalding visited in the summer of 1839.

17. Start with George & Edwin, ride to Meiway's country, cross S.R., camp at mouth of small stream, where Timothy & Levi people have arrived. 18 miles today, very warm, two springs in the plain some 6 m. from S.R. Good land on this stream can be watered easily. Suffer much from sick head ache.

18. Rise early & after worship start, rise the Mt. not difficult. Cross a beautiful plain, but very dry, come to a small stream pass up to the pines & campe 11½, 17 miles today. Several men go for game. Timothy kills a large wolf which is roasted & eaten. The manner of roasting wolves, bears & the like is as follows, a hole is dug deep, a large no of heated stones placed in the bottom & leaves placed above these on which the animal cut into pieces is placed, & over the meat leaves & bushes are placed and the whole covered with earth to keep the heat in. A large white bear was closely pushed but made his escape after showing his teeth to the foremost.

19. Start at 6, apparently good land, pine timber come to top of Mt. [. . . ?] N. inclosure of Grand R.R. 1½ hours in descending, meet Joseph's people, cross R. & camp at 9 a.m. only 9 miles today. This R. is half as large as C.R. A short man brings me a piece of meat soon after we camp. One black tailed deer is brought in. I have a piece. Get some important words.⁶⁵

20. Remain in camp as it would to keep horses in the pine woods. 19 men go for game. Spend most of the day in the shadow of a great rock close by the water. Get many important words. 6 wild goats killed, 1 buck & 1 brown bear. The goat is an animal of this country something larger than the tame goat, short, coarse, bright hued colors. Short tail, female with small tho male with large sloped horns, meat very good.

21. Sabbath, compose a hymn.⁶⁶ Get many words. Meet with the people in Joseph's lodge, very hot. Explain the commandments.

22. Start at 6½, rise the difficult Mt. on the S. side of the G.R.R. take a view of the forks of Salmon R. opposite & above perhaps 30 mi.

⁶⁵ Spalding was adding new Nez Perce words to his vocabulary.

⁶⁶ Spalding liked to sing, and not only translated some Christian hymns into the Nez Perce tongue but also composed some new ones. He proposed the publication of a small Nez Perce hymnal, before the annual meeting of the Mission held in the fall of 1839, and received permission to proceed with the project. As a result a hymn book of 42 pages was printed on the Mission press in "1842"—although his Diary for March 6, 1843 shows that he was still working on the forms. The author knows of two later hymnals which have been published. In 1872 the Rev. George Ainslie, a Presbyterian missionary, arrived at Lapwai. He became quite proficient in the Nez Perce tongue and published a Nez Perce catechism, the Gospel of John in Nez Perce, and a small hymnal with 47 hymns. In 1897 another Nez Perce hymnal appeared with 29 hymns. Some of the hymns translated or composed by Spalding are still being sung by the Presbyterian Nez Percés. Both of these latter two hymnals are in San Francisco Theological Seminary.

G.R.R. which I should judge puts in some 25 ms. above C.W.R. Several men go for game, come to the head of a small stream & camp 9 a.m. today (——) 7 m. today. Several go for game, 1 buck & a kid killed.

23. Start after prayers as usual 6¼, scattering woods, good trail, several go for game, camp on small stream 9¼, 9 mi. today, quite cool, 1 goat killed. Report comes that some ones have passed Lisninoaks [?], burnt Joseph's house, several horse tracks seen, four snake arrow points found, but little alarm.

24. Start 6¼ keep on a high ridge to the right of a deep gulf a branch of G.R. putting in below our crossing. Thick timber. Yellow pine two kinds of hemlock (Pits Pits, & Pittshpithk) Spruce, (Paps) Balsam (Kalam kalam) and Hamilec & some white maple (Paipai). Plenty of hens of the pine. Camp 10¼, 18 miles today. This place has the appearance of good land, a plain of some 100 acres with a living spring at the upper side, fine grass, plain inclosed by Balsam fir (Kalam kalam). One large Chockalate bear killed today with my gun, which is baked in the same way the wolf was. I was invited to the feast, not much relish, as the meat tastes of the hemlock boughs. People prepare the fish poles.

25. Start at 6¼. Plain beautiful. The kalamkalam which I take to be a specie of Balsam fir forms a thick wood. Tree from 4 to 10 inches through, tall, straight, full of limb. Marsh land near the upper end of the plains. 1½ hour in timber, pass a very cool spring & then an extensive rolling plain opens [before] the traveler. Here is the place of our destination. The E. branch of G.R. runs through this plain, receiving many branches, many of which are distinctly seen at this place, & with the snow capped mountains which bound the vision on the S. form a most inviting landscape. In these sharper peaked mountains the streams take their rise. Camped at 9¼, 18 mi. today, making in all from my place 95 miles. Immediately on arriving the men commence fishing. The water is low and the salmon quite plenty lie in sight by fifty or more in the holes. Three methods pursued in taking them. A large hook fastened to the end of a pole some 20 feet long so as to come off when hooked into the fish but held by a cord attached to the middle of the pole. Second, a spear of bone or iron some 4 inches fastened slightly to the large end of the pole but held by a cord attached to the middle which suffers the bone to turn cross way when it is driven through the salmon, & held as the hook is. 3rd, a noose thrown over the ends of a fork attached to the pole, which serves to keep the noose open till it is passed over the fish & then comes off & acts upon the fish. The scoop net, wire [?] diving are in practice. The women who remained behind with the packs came up 2 p.m. Soon after arriving, Timothy's wife bears a daughter of course in open air, somewhat shielded by bushes. It is evidently a hasty birth, the effect of traveling. A child dies born day before yesterday, for want of a

laxative & from exposedness. How much this wandering people suffer & how fast they are wasting away. Some 300 salmon are taken today.

26. Start with Joseph 9½ to view the country up the R. as far as the lake spoken of the people. Rolling plain continues with considerable timber on the stream. Joseph proposes a little sport with goats. I take my stand on a high bluff while he goes to a lick the goats frequent, to start them out, find none, discover horse tracks which leads us to suppose people are above us. Soon come to men fishing, cross & keep to the N. side & come to their lodges. They are Nez Perces on S.R. above Joseph who keep by themselves, have never been at my place, came here last week, were the persons who burnt Joseph's lodges. They say also at the same time they saw two fires, one up the R. above this & the other on the Mountain which is yet burning. Doubtless these were kindled by a large no of Snakes who are lurking around to steal.

Pass over a point & come to a plain in which a large no. of streams take their rise & run through a thick growth of underwood, soil would doubtless be good by draining. It seems to have been once flooded by Beaver dams. Discover a new species of Pine (shai shai) tall, slim, full of limbs, bark resembles hemlock, has small cones, leaves somewhat like the fir but longer. The same name is given to a kind of pine which floats down the R. & which I have ever taken for white pine as it makes the best of boards. If they should prove to be the same. I have seen no white pine in this country. Also discover a small kind of cedar, & a small kind of birch, plenty of Poplar.

Pass around this plain nearly to the E. end of the Snow Mt. & turn L. to the Lake (Spalding lake) the sight of which has paid me for my journey.⁶⁷ It is a most beautiful body of water, I should judge 6m. long & 3 broad. S. end bound in by the snow topped Granite Mts., & the N. by a rolling hill of granite boulders, through which the outlet passes swiftly in a large stream 30 yards wide coming up to our horses sides. The water rushes over a bed of grante roaring & foaming as if eager to find a peaceful quiet, not conscience that it must be dashed against mank rocks & rushes through many narrows not only after it unites with its brother the G.R.R. but in the S. & C.R. before it finds a resting place in the bosom of the Pacific. The water of this Lake is clear as chrystal & cool, a bed of white clay appears in the bottom.

The E. side is lined with G[ranite] which was doubtless brought in the time of the flood from the Mts. while the W. side displays much less. And here let me say, I discovered no granite till near the end of my journey, at first scattering, but here the boulders are piled up in hills, & to increase eastward. They might have been brought from the Mts. by a S.W. current. I saw no water fowl, but many white headed

⁶⁷ Spalding may have been the first white man to have seen what is now called Wallowa Lake. Spalding's naming it after himself evidently was never brought to the attention of Oregon cartographers.

eagles. Joseph brought one from the top of a pine which afforded me a large pair of wings. Joseph tells me there are a great variety of trout & salmon in the lake. We arrived at 12, 5 hours from camp, 25 mis. Bathed in this beautiful water, took a few stones & some white clay from the bottom & started for camp 2 p.m. Pass down S. end of the R. come to an extensive plain of white clover. Saw many signs of the Grisle Bear which come from the Mts. nights & search the R. for salmon. Great quantities of muck land. Reach our camp sunset. People have taken about 600 salmon today.

27. Start again at 6¼ with Joseph for the lower country. Pass down the N. side, many springs among which is good land, some white clover. Cross a point some 3 miles down & come in sight of a beautiful landscape some 25 miles in circuit through which the R. passes in two streams forming a large island thickly wooded & of excellent soil. From the N. many streams put in among which there is the best land I have seen in this country. Black gravel mixed with loam. Grass, clover, & weeds of luxuriant growth. Here a battle was fought some years since between 30 Snakes & 3 Nez Perces who overtook the Snakes here in pursuit of stolen horses. 1 Nez Perce & 4 Snakes killed & all the horses recovered.

At the lower end of the Round are several salt licks frequented by Elk & deer. Several fresh tracks but no animals. Several Grisle bear tracks, 18 inches in breadth & 15 in. in length. Pass through a thick wood & with much difficulty gain the hill on the S. side for a short distance which I am surprised to find covered with grass & clover. Find no good land on this side. Come to a marsh of some 8 mi. in circuit, 2 miles from our camp, drive up 26 whooping cranes. This marsh would afford a good retreat for cattle & horses in the winter. Reach camp 12, have rode 25 miles. On the whole I consider this a delightful & desirable country for a Christian settlement & may the time soon come when the Snakes shall be Christianized so that it can be safely occupied. Probably it would be frosty. Some 600 or 700 salmon taken today. This people men & women labor hard for their food. From 4 in the morning till 10 at night.

28. Sabbath. Had some humiliating thoughts of myself last night. Looked upon myself the most ungrateful, useless, sinful one in the Mission. Thought if I could see my brothers & sisters once more I would cast myself at their feet & beg pardon for many offences, but felt ashamed to see them. And then came to mind the neglect shown to this people for whose spiritual interest I am sent to watch. How little of their language do I yet understand. How little of God's word do they yet know.

29. Monday. After prayers & commendation of the people to God, Joseph & myself start for home. I take Edwin & a young man. See many large wolf tracks with young ones. Pass Wed. night encampment 9

a.m., come on through the pines, shoot 4 hens of the pines.⁶⁸ Joseph as many. Take dinner at Tues nights encampment arrived at 2 p.m., leave at 4 kill 1 hen miss one, Joseph 3 & miss 1. Pass. Mond. night's camp at 6 p.m., country around on fire. Reach top of Mt. 6½ & arrive at the R. 8½ take a little tea & retire.

30. Start at 6½, reach top of Mt. 9, horses much exhausted. Thursd. night's camp 10½ and S.R. at Ashutin.⁶⁹ Extremely hot & smokey. Set all across & start for home 3 p.m. Saw an old man at the cross with his [. . . ?] bones [?] play by each other 3 inches. Arrive home sunset, find my dear wife quite feeble, little girl quite well & glad to see her Father. Bless the Lord for this little girl. What a comfort she is, may her life & health be precious in his sight.

31. Mr. Gray has commenced the wheat, finds it quite good. Jacob has brought our things from Wialetpoo. Doct. Whitman was called the same day he arrived home to visit Mrs. Eells who was brought very low by an over abundant flow of the menses. Mr. Gray has neglected the barley till it is all wasted. I find Mrs. S. as I left her without floor. Pull my flax. Another mare colt has been killed by the wolves.

AUGUST 1839

Aug. 1. Commence a little book in the new alphabet.⁷⁰ May the Lord bless this effort.

2 & 3. Continue on the book, commence cutting corn.

4. Sabbath. Speak of the two thieves on the cross. But few present.

5. Start the book to Mr. Smith for examination. Letters arrive stating that Mrs. Eells is better. Mr. Walker came with Doct. W. to W.W. Mr. Perkins has been at Doct. W. & has returned home for his wife to be here at the meeting.

6. Commence printing four first pages. Set up a few type myself.

7. Start late with salt, kegs, &c for the S.R. to obtain salmon. My dear wife who has been quite unwell for several days, accompanies me with sweet little Eliza, pass down comfortably, one or two rappid's where the canoe rubs the stones, one portage, camp just below.

10. Start after breakfast, reach our destination about 9, but few salmon. The book reviewed with a letter from Mr. Smith arrives late.

11. Sabbath few present.

12. Start Joe with enough of the book for one form. Prepare for fishing.

13. Mr. Hall arrives with a proof sheet & some mellons.

⁶⁸ There is a blue grouse found in the Wallowa Mountains, somewhat larger than a prairie chicken, and a small game bird somewhat like the quail. We are not sure to which Spalding was referring.

⁶⁹ This site is now Asotin, Washington.

⁷⁰ Smith in his letter to Greene, of February 6, 1840, commented on this work by Spalding: "On examining it, I found scarcely a correct sentence of Nez Perce in the whole of it." Smith made some corrections on the copy and sent it back to Spalding.

14. Start for hom as there are no fish. Mrs. S. is able to ride slow.

15. Go on with the book, complete it, 500 copies, binding on 17.

18. Good No. present.

19 & 21. Make bed stead & cupboard. Mastaps arrives from Buffalo. Canoe goes for Mr. Smith.

22. Prepare sermon for gen. meeting, continue to 24th.

25. Sabbath, while at evening prayers I discover Eliza distressed apparently from a difficulty in the throat caused by swallowing something hard. Give her ipicack, she is able to swallow a little but the obstruction will not rise. She is in great distress. Oh merciful God canst thou prolong the life of this dear little one who has given us in this lonely portion of the world so much consolation. They will be done. At evening is unable to swallow water from the mouth, frequent gaging but raises nothing, however between the intervals she gets some sleep.

26. No better but rather feverish. Start a man for Doct. Whitman, dear little E. grows worse fast, in great agony. Oh that I could relieve this little sufferer, but our gracious God suffers it, who is more ready to show favors than any earthly parent can possibly be. About 11 a.m. the obstruction gives away by passing down into the stomach, immediately she drinks. I give a good quantity of ipicack, it operates well, considerable passes down. The Lord be thanked for this kind interposition. Oh Lord may this dear life be prolonged to Glorify thy great name. Start another letter to meet the Doct.

27. Little E. quite playful but extremely weak. Elizabeth's father arrives from Buffalo. Mr. Rogers is far behind.

28. Doct. Whitman arrives about 10 a.m. rode all last night. The Lord has done the work necessary before his arrival, brings letter from P. C. Pambrun, Esq. He left at his house a Mr. Giger [Geiger] acquaintance of Mr. Hall & a Mr. Johnson from the States. They are on an exploring tour with a view of being followed by settlers. Several others from the States are coming on behind. Among them is a Rev. Mr. Griffin & wife, & Mr. Munger & wife from the same place, coming over with a view of establishing a self supporting mission. They had some difficulty as all before them have.

29. Look about make some proposals respecting Mr. Gray.

30. Doct. Whitman cuts the wen out of the side of the old mare. Mr. & Mrs. Smith arrive by canoe. Doct. takes little Eliza & rides to the S. River to meet Mrs. Whitman who passes him on the other side & arrives about sunset. Doct. W. arrives after dark.

31. Jacob arrives with letters from ship two British surveying ships which have touched at the Islands & brought letters from the Board one from G. Gridley, one from Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Hall receives a great no. from Am. & from the Islands with the Hawaiian Bible.

SEPTEMBER 1839

Sept. 1. Sabbath. Rev. 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. Holhol [Lawyer] comes in with a letter from Dr. Williamson of the Sioux mission to me & one from Doct. W's friends. The loose travelers spoken of above brought them over or rather from Fort Hall, to which place they were brought on by Mr. Munger.

2. Our general meeting opened by a sermon by myself from Neh. [8:10] "The joy of the Lord is your strength." I was chosen Moderator again & Rev. A. B. Smith, scribe. Mr. Hall was invited to sit as a corresponding member. A letter from Rev. Mr. Leslie was read giving [reasons] why a delegate could not be sent to our meeting from their no. A letter from the Board to Spalding was read. Also one from Mr. Bingham introducing Mr. & Mrs. Hall to our mission, & one from him giving an account of the rich donation in a press, &c. Mr. Smith is transferred from Wailatpu to Kamiah some 80 miles by water above this & perhaps 60 by land. Doct. Whitman is to remain at Wailatpu. I do not approve of this. There should be a mission in the Cayuse tribe & the physician should be near the centre of the field. Monthly concert tonight. A native arrives from W.W. with letters sent there by Rev. Mr. Griffin from Fort Hall. One from Mr. Rogers, Fort Hall, one from Youth Miss. Sec. Philadel. one from Mrs. E. H. Bridgers, Prattsburg, N.Y., one Rev. Mr. Pratt same place & one from Rev. D. Greene, Boston, to Whitman & Spalding. The three sheep Doct. altered Friday die.

3. Mr. Gray & Doct Whitman propose to furnish the four clergymen with buildings, flour & corn, which proposal is accepted by the Mission.

4. Mr. Gray is voted to explore several countries with a view to a new location.⁷¹ How does this correspond with the vote yesterday? Mr. Smith is appointed to prepare a small book from the N. Test. Mr. S. reviewer. Doct. W. referee. Doct. W. to prepare an elementary book. Mr. Smith reviewer, Mr. Spalding refer. Mr. Rogers arithmetic, Mr. Smith reviewer, Doct. W. refer. Messrs. Smith & Spalding a hymnbook. A letter from Rev. Mr. Parker read also one from the Board to Mr. G. & one to Messrs. Smith, Walker & Eells. Mr. Gray appointed to answer Mr. Parker; Smith & Spalding to acknowledge to the donation from Mr. Bingham's church, & to write the Board on the subject. Mr. Bingham's offer to support a missionary in this field from the contributions of his church accepted. Mr. Spalding to write the Youth M. So. Philadel. Mr. Rogers arrives & is to be associated with Mr. Smith.

5. Meeting adjourns to meet at the call of the Prudential Comt. Mr. & Mrs. Hall are to spend the winter with Doct. Whitman, con-

⁷¹ This action taken by the Mission led to much misunderstanding. Gray interpreted it as meaning that he had not only the right to explore but also the right to settle. The other members, however, did not so construe the action.

sequently leave today in a canoe with the men besides Leiuia & Taii. God grant them a safe journey but I am anxious for Mrs. Hall. Doct. Whitman & wife take another canoe with 3 men to accompany them, which relieves my mind much. Messrs. Smith & Rogers start after noon.

6 & 7. Mr. & Mrs. Gray make arrangement to start on their exploring tour.

8. Sabbath. Madames Smith & Gray attend meeting with their Bibles.

9. Rev. Mr. Griffin & wife arrive unexpectedly.⁷² They left Mr. Ermateringer at Grand Round a week last sabbath with a view to get to our meeting. Came to Doct. W's last Wednesday, took dinner, came there here without a guide, spent Sabbath at Red Wolf's place, met Messrs. Smith & Rogers, Tukanon.

11. Mr. & Mrs. Gray leave about noon for their exploring tour, send a few books & seeds to Mr. McDonald.

12. Move back into our house. Ride up to our wheat & employ Mr. Griffin to thresh it.

13. Sabbath. Great nos. present.

16. Fresh corn. Conner makes a bin for it. Mr. G. threshes wheat.

19. Mr. Rogers returns. Doct. W. writes also Mr. Hall. They have all arrived safe. Were detained by head winds one day, reached Walla Walla Monday after leaving this & Mrs. Hall was enable to persue her journey the next day by canoe & reached Waiilatpu Thursday without inconvenience. Thank the Lord for his protecting care. Doct speaks of some difficulty from the Catholic priest. He is now at Walla Walla calling the Indians & telling the Indians that we are false teachers because we do not feed & clothe the people, that we have wives as other men, & wear pantaloons as common men & not frocks as he does. The people are told not come near the Doct as he is a bad man, & has made no christians as yet but he will fix them all for heaven soon. Canoes return with the turkeys, a present from Mr. Pambrun.

21. Rev. Mr. Smith arrives with his packs. Mr. McKay who accompanied Mr. Griffin & Mr. Munger is employed by Mr. Smith for a season. Jack is also with him.

22. Sabbath. Good No of people present. Mr. Smith speaks after me. Mr. Griffin preaches in English in the afternoon.

24. Mr. & Mrs. Smith leave with effects. Mr. Rogers remains. Finish digging potatoes, began yesterday. Only about 700 bushels, very good

⁷² Writing to Greene on Oct. 2, 1839, Spalding said: "Revd. Griffin and Mr. Munger with their wives have arrived in this country, but destitute of the means of support. We shall probably furnish them with labor enough for their support this winter. But I am sure they cannot succeed in their proposed self supporting Mission." Spalding was right. The presence of this group of independent missionaries and that which came the next year was a source of much embarrassment to the members of the Oregon Mission. However, Spalding became very friendly with the Griffins and the A. T. Smiths, the latter of whom arrived in 1840.

but small. Thank the Lord for the abundant supply of provisions this year. Perhaps 200 bushels of corn, a few peas, 60 of wheat plenty of pumpkins & garden vegetables.

28. Mr. Rogers leaves.

29. Sabbath. Nos. increase every day.

30. Continue writing letters for Am. & the Islands, also lower country.

OCTOBER 1839

4. A.M. Blair from the States arrives.⁷³ It appears he & some 10 or 15 others started for this country via Santafee but 3 came through, the above & Mr. Farnham & a Mr. Smith. Mr. B. will stop with me this winter. Mr. Munger & wife is employed at Wailatpu.

6. Sabbath. No increase.⁷⁴ Conner came last evening late to our room in great distress, thought himself not a christian. Received comfort from reading life of Brainard. Oh Lord lead him into all truth.

7. Conner with several Indians continue at the ditch designed for watering Conner's land, my garden the other side also 3 or 4 little Indian farms. Mr. Griffin continues sowing wheat.

8. Start Mine with letters for Vancouver, Islands, & Am. James & Red Wolf take 10 bushels of corn to Mr. Pambrun [for] me, 3 brooms & some broom corn seed.

10. Finish the ditch. Thank Lord for this great favor.

11. Conner, Blair & myself with several Indians go up the river for timber. Find a good quantity near. Get in considerable.

12. Return home with good quantity of timber. Somewhat fatigued.

13. Sabbath, about the no of last Sabbath.

17. Start a man to Mr. Smith for my broad axe. Frost last night. Commence school.

18. Mr. & Mrs. Gray arrive in good health, have selected a location about a day above Walla Walla on a small stream putting in from the S.W. Bring a letter from Mr. McDonald. Great scarcity of everything from drouth. Letter from Rev. Jason Lee by Montreal express which

⁷³ In Spalding's letter to Greene, of April 22, 1840, he wrote: "Last Oct. a miserable old man came to me, apparently in a state of starvation. On inquiry he proved to be one of a party of 16 who left Missouri last spring for this country, most of whom turned back from the mountains." The "miserable looking old man" turned out to be a skilled workman. Writing to friends in Prattsburgh, N.Y., Spalding, under date of May 5, 1840, stated: "I built last winter a saw mill, which does good business . . . a flour mill is also nearly completed. I look upon these mills, emphatically as the gift of God. The man who built them, I verily believe was sent here by the Lord for that purpose." These mills were not authorized by the Mission. Spalding went ahead entirely on his own initiative and at his own expense. He paid for the labor and the necessary irons with horses which were given to him by the Indians. Smith was especially critical of these mills.

⁷⁴ Spalding uses "No" as the abbreviation for numbers. He is stating that the numbers of Indians attending his services were increasing.

passed Walla Walla 14 inst. Doct McLoughlin has returned to the country, writes Doct. Whitman & myself from Walla Walla assuring us of his purpose to aid us as ever. May this prove true. Letters also from the Sand. Islands, which have been visited by a French Man of War threatening entire extermination to the inhabitants, especially the Missionaries if the Gov. did not in 48 hours proclaim the Catholic religion free, give a lot of land in Honolulu for a church, pay \$20,000 & permit wine, brandy &c to be sold, which was complied with & many precious lives saved.⁷⁵ This act of France needs no comment. These letters from the Isls. are by the ship Vancouver which has taken a load of lumber to the Isls.

19. The Broad axe comes from Mr. Smith.

20. Sabbath. Not quite as many as usual. Many have left for roots, game, fish &c. Nothing effectual can be done for this people till they are settled. Oh hasten that day, Gracious God.

21. Mr. Gray starts with Geo for Vancouver.

22. Mr. Griffin finishes the wheat, 15 acres. May the Lord cause it to spring up & produce plentifully. Pay Joseph for 900 dobies.

23. Ride up to old place. Wheat is showing itself. Pay Sampson for 1000 D.

24. Pay Thomas for 470 dobies. Conner, Dick, & Blair with several men go up the river for timber.

26. Men return with timber good quantity. L returns with letter from Mr. Gray who was at W.W. 23. The boats are [. . . ?] yet. Expected every day.

27. Sabbath. But few present, story of the children in the fire furnace.

28. Take the timber from the river to the mill, some rain. Mr. Griffin commences repairing the shop, bellows &c. One sow has 9 pigs, 2 dead.

29. Marry Hezekiah & Lydia, son of Yellow Bear & relative of Am[?]. Second spotted sow has 7 pigs. Send letter to Mr. Smith by Yellow Bear. Quite unwell from effects of cold in weather [?] & open school house. I hope the Lord willing to have a more comfortable place next season. Have thought much lately of a Boarding school. Think it of vast importance. The Lord prospering us, I hope soon to be able to sustain one from the produce of this establishment. Black sow has 9 pigs. Hope God willing to raise these 23.

⁷⁵ The French Government considered itself to be the protector of all Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific area. The French frigate *Artemise* arrived at Honolulu on July 9, 1839, and delivered an ultimatum, backed with the threat of force, to the native chiefs, which called for toleration of the Catholic religion, that land be given for a Catholic church at Honolulu, and that \$20,000 be deposited with the French Consul as a guarantee of good faith. See Kuykendall and Day, *Hawaii: a History*, 61.

30. James returns with letter from Mr. Gray who was yet at Walla Walla 28 inst. Walla Walla Chief refused to have his boy baptised by the Catholic priest on condition that he should never go into the house of the Am Missionary.

31. Mr. Smith sends for potatoes. Mr. Griffin completes the shop.

NOVEMBER 1839

Nov. 1. Send Mr. Smith 10 bushels potatoes, snow on high plains. Joseph arrives with letters for Mr. Hall & Doct. Whitman.

2. Heavy rains, pack Mrs. Gray's goods. Three years today I left Vancouver for this country.

3. Sabbath. Speak of Philip & the Eunuch. Good No present, heavy rain.

4. Continue packing goods for Mrs. Gray.

5. Short Hair returns from Mr. Walkers with letters. Mr. Walker objects to Mr. Gray going to a new station. I know not what course he should take.

6. No horses found, consequently Mrs. Gray can not start as she expected.

9. The whole week has been spent in search of horses. Most are found, but some yet lost.⁷⁶ An old man brings letters from Mr. Gray to Mrs. G. & Mr. Pambrun to me. Two boats passed W.W. 31 ult. Mr. G. took passage. Mr. Pambrun expects to leave for V. next week.

10. Sabbath. Speak of the good Samaritan. Good No. present.

11. Mrs. Gray leaves for Walla Walla.⁷⁷ God in great mercy grant for a comfortable journey. It would be better if her husband were with her to pitch the tent & make everything comfortable nights. Jacob & his two boys & the five cows go with her. Also takes the babe. Poor little boy, I fear he will suffer. Commence framing the mill.

13. Snow this morning. Said to be deep on the mountains.

14. Doct. Whitman arrived on the opposite side late last night, could make no one hear, & slept on the sand,⁷⁸ crossed early. Dear Sister Hall was safely delivered of a daughter 5th inst., all well when Doct. W. left 13. Mrs. G. was getting along slow. One calf tired out & left.

⁷⁶ Spalding did not at this time have fences around pastures for his horses. Since they were allowed to graze in the open, they sometimes wandered away.

⁷⁷ Again we are amazed at the stamina of the missionary women. Here is the story of Mrs. Gray with her eight-months old babe making the 120-mile horseback trip from Lapwai to Waiilatpu with no other companions than the Indian Jacob and his two sons.

⁷⁸ Dr. Whitman evidently went to Lapwai to attend Mrs. Spalding at her coming confinement. A son was born to the Spaldings on November 24th. When Whitman reached the point opposite the mission house on the Clearwater River, he was unable to attract the attention of the Spaldings. Since the river is too deep there to ford, he was obliged to spend the night on the sandy beach, which is still at that point.

15. Start Peter to Mr. Smith with letters, requesting him to attend a meeting at Waiilatpu. Alter board & put him up for fattening also the black sow. This is the birthday of my sweet little Eliza, 2 years old.

16. Continue to consult on Mr. Gray's case, quite a difficult one. May the Lord prevent him from doing anything that shall reflect dishonor on the cause of the Missions in this country. Hold a meeting with Joseph & wife, Timothy & wife, & Conner, with a view of receiving them into our church.⁷⁹ The views of Joseph & Timothy are very clear on all the principle doctrines of our religion. Joseph says he had trusted for salvation in his simply knowing something of God & in outward worship, & in that state the words of God had no place in his heart, but when the law of God was brought plain to his mind, it penetrated his heart like an arrow making a severe wound. The history of Nicodemus seemed to give great relief, from that evening he has felt that God would have mercy on him, though often he has thought himself still in a lost condition. He is confident God can see nothing in him suitable for heaven unless Jesus Christ has put it there & if he is finally received it will be through the mercy of God. He is anxious to unite with the people of God & work for him the remainder of his life, his soul is in agony for his people. Timothy expressed the same ideas. Their wives do not give evidence of being born again. God grant they may soon be numbered in the fold of Christ. Late, consequently delay Conner's case till morning. Start letters to Mr. Smith by Peter.

17. Sabbath. Conner gives satisfactory evidence of a change of heart. God be thanked for this trophy of his rich grace. Assemble the people before the door. After calling upon the people to say if they know of any thing evil in either of three since last fall, & finding none, I proceeded to marry Joseph & his wife lawfully, his wife taking the name of Asenoth, also Timothy & Tamar, his wife. After explaining to the candidates our confession of faith, I proceeded to baptize Joseph, Conner, & Timothy, & they were solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church on earth. Oh Lord thou knowest the hearts of all men, thou knowest the hearts of these three, who now stand before thee to take the solemn vows of God upon them, I know they are not sheep but I would hope they are lambs. Feed them O thou kind Shepherd. After the candidates were initiated into the church we all sat down around the table of our Lord & commemorated his dying love. Oh what a glorious thought that we have lived to see two of the

⁷⁹ Whitman and Spalding were acting according to the rules of the Presbyterian Church when they examined Joseph and Timothy for church membership. In Spalding's letter to Greene, of March 16, 1840, he mentioned the fact that both Joseph and Timothy had been examined "the year before with a view of being received into the church after a suitable probation." McBeth, *The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark*, 62: "Joseph turned back to Egypt, but Timothy was faithful, not only to God, but to his white friends."

sons of the Red men brought into the fold of Christ. To God be all the praise forever & ever, Amen.

19. Peter returns from Mr. Smith's. Mr. S. can not attend the proposed meeting at Waiilatpu, consequently there will be none, & it seems to devolve upon Doct. Whitman & myself to acquaint Mr. Gray that the majority of the Mission are opposed to his going to a new station alone, consequently he cannot go & must prepare himself to fulfill the requirements of the previous question or vote in which he agrees to do the mechanical work of the Mission. We prepare such a letter.

20. Jacob returns from Walla Walla with a letter from Mrs. Gray to Mrs. Spalding. She arrived safe at that fort Saturday 16 inst. One calf tired is sent back. Mr. Toor [?] & Mr. Gray are expected daily from Vancouver.

21. Bury a small child this eve.

24. Sabbath. About 3 o'clock this morn, Mrs. Spalding was delivered of a boy after a short travail. The babe weighs 7 lbs & appears very healthy. Oh my soul bless the Lord for his great goodness to my dear wife in bringing her through those trying hours under circumstances of so much mercy, and for his gift of this sweet pledge of mutual love. May the same hand which brought this little one into this world of care & temptations "lead it not into temptation but deliver it from evil," protect its life, preserve its health, & from the womb sanctify & make it meet for the kingdom of Heaven. Good no. present at worship. Baptise Timothy's two children, Willard James & Amos & Joseph's 4 — Mary Noyes, Abigail, Hannah More & Manassa.

25. My dear wife & the little babe appear to be doing well.

26. Doct. Whitman starts for home. Stephen go with him. This is my birthday, thirty-six years old & what have I done for my Master. Oh unprofitable servant, sin must be written on all my most holy actions. Will the Gracious Lord bear with me another year & permit me to occupy this interesting post. Oh forgive my many transgressions & grant me grace to occupy till my Lord shall call for a reckoning.

27. Mr. Rogers arrives from Kamiah. Husinmalikan attempted to drive Mr. Smith from this country, or rather to frighten him to pay property, but he found Mr. Smith ready to go he very willing gave him the land.

29. Three years ago the Lord appointed me my work in this portion of his vineyard, but O how little have I done to root up the thorns & break up the fallow ground.

30. Succeed in getting two stones well under way from the L. rock.

DECEMBER 1839

1. Sabbath. Good No present, count & find it to be 269. Speak of the prodigal son. Mr. Rogers speaks.

2. Attend monthly concert.

3. Draw down the mill-stones.⁸⁰ Thank the Lord for this great favor. Stones so near.

4. Stephen returned with letters. Mr. G. arrived at W.W. 1 inst, boat expected 3. Mr. G. refuses to comply with the request of the Prudential Com. to go to Wailatpu to build.

5. Mr. Rogers finishes my coat, for which I would be particularly thankful.

7. Short Hair returns from Mr. Smith, his horses are to be here Tuesday. All well.

8. Sabbath. Speak of the 6 characters, Paul, Nicodemus & Cornelius, thought to be good men while as yet their hearts were unchanged, also of the young man, of Pilate, & Judas who knew the truth but perished.

9. Mr. Rogers finishes a Duffle coat, good fit.

12. Mr. Smith's horses come for Walla Walla. Mr. Blair gets on well with S. too.

13. Mr. Rogers starts for Walla Walla for the Smith's goods which arrived last fall at Vancouver from Boston via Sandwich Islands. Several pieces for others in the Mission came in the same ship, 2 for myself; 1 from Boston & one from the Islands. James sends a horse for mine. At eve Mr. McKay arrived from Mr. Smith's for potatoes & corn.

15. Sabbath. Mr. Griffin speaks to the people, good attention.

16. Mr McKay starts with 18 bush. of potatoes & 5 of corn. Mrs. Griffin commences school.

22. Sabbath. Good No. present. Speak of benevolence, adduce the love of Christ for this world, the history of Abraham, also of Paul.

25. Letter arrives from Mr. Smith with horses to meet Mr. R.

28. Late at night, Mr. & Mrs. Gray arrive with Mr. Rogers.⁸¹ Pack at the river. Mr. & Mrs. Gray expect to spend the winter here.

29. Sabbath. Great Nos. present. Much pain in my head. Speak of the characters presented on the 8.

30. Packs arrive. Several books & papers in the box from Boston. A good assortment of articles in the box from Mr. Chamberlain, 5 of the bowls broken. Mr. Rogers put up the Press for Wailatpu, where Mr.

⁸⁰ In a letter to Greene dated March 15, 1838, Spalding reported that he had found some granite of superior quality about three days' journey up the Clear-water River. Blair and Griffin were able to cut out the two millstones and to raft them to the mission site. In a letter to her parents, Mrs. Spalding wrote on April 22, 1840: "Millstones small but of superior quality, 30 inches in diameter." In Spalding's letter to Greene of March 16, 1840, he stated that he was then paying \$26.00 a barrel for flour, including cost of transportation. Spalding's first mention of using the flour mill is an entry in his Diary for August 5, 1841. It may be that the mill was in use before that date.

⁸¹ Since the Grays had been denied the right to start a new station, they found it necessary to return to Lapwai. Deeply disappointed, Gray became most uncooperative. He became critical of Spalding and was one of the main trouble-makers in the Mission.

Hall is expected to print a small book as soon as it can be prepared by Doct W., Mr. Smith & Mr. Rogers.

31. Start the press with Conner & Stephen. At eve word comes that two horses have fallen down a precipice & dashed the press to pieces. We resolve not to send the P. but send for Messrs Whitman & Hall.

JANUARY 1840

1. Mr. Rogers rides down where the accident befel the Press. Collects most of it & returns. Bury a young child.

2. Mr. Rogers packs leave, but he having no horses remains.

3. Mr. Rogers leaves. I ride with Eliza up to the old place, wheat looks well. Little Henry quite unwell with a cold. Mr. Griffin meets the people to night & commences lectures in singing. Much pleased with the attempt.

5. Sabbath. Good No. present, considerable feeling. Mr. Griffin preaches in Eng.

6. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer, meet with the people in the forenoon, by ourselves in the afternoon to observe the monthly concert. O may it be with us as with many others in former years, a blessing even while our friends at home are asking it of God. Meet again with the people in the ev.

7. Letter from Mr. Rogers today, is to be here next week.

8. Mr. Gray goes up the R. for timber. Meet the people this eve with Mr. Griffin who commences lectures on the Blackboard, teaching them to read.

10. Mr. Gray returns with timber. Conner returns with letters from Dr. Tolmie, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Pambrun, & Dr. Whitman. The two latter with Mr. Hall are expecting to be here next week. Conner brings his little boy. May he have grace to train him up for God. Mr. Blair works at the Tub wheel. People improve well in singing.

11. Mr. Blair finishes the water wheel for the flour mill.

12. Sabbath. Commence a sabbath-school with native helpers, Succeed better than I could have expected. I meet the teachers, 11 in No., last eve & explained to them the creation. I have given each a book scripture cuts which have been sent me from Boston. Will the Lord in great mercy smile upon this undertaking to enlighten these dark minds. About 400 in the school.⁸²

⁸² Attendance at the school was most irregular. In his letter of April 1, 1840, to Greene, Spalding stated: "The school will soon be discontinued, as the children have already, mostly left with their parents in search of provisions & will not be collected in any great numbers, till fall. . . . May the Lord hasten the day (& surely it appears not far distant) when this people shall become settled. Until that time our labors, as teachers are almost lost. Today a full school, tomorrow nearly all absent in search of roots for a subsistence. For a short time, an animating school of 100 or 150 collected, only to be scattered for weeks & perhaps months, . . ."

13. Conner & Blair with some 25 men start up the R for timber.
14. Start Short hair for Mr. Rogers.
16. Messrs. Whitman, Hall & Pambrun arrive late.
17. People return without much timber, on account of cold. Mr. Roger arrives. Press is up, no part gone as was thought.
19. Sabbath. Good No. at the Sabbath School. Mr. Griffin preaches in English. Meet with the people as usual at eve. Mr. Pambrun speaks to the people encourages them to work their land & to listen to their own teacher & not go after strangers.
20. Doct. W. leaves for Mr. Smith's. Book commenced.
21. Mr. Pambrun leaves for Walla Walla. One form off. Considerable timber arrives.
23. Doct. W. arrives from Mr. Smith's. Mr. S. is expected Saturday.
24. Observe this day with my dear wife as a day of fasting & prayer & to prepare our hearts for any emergency before us.⁸³
25. Go on with the book.⁸⁴
26. Sabbath. Brs. Hall, Whitman & Rogers visit the Sabbath school.
27. Not able to understand the wishes of the brethren. Could wish they would make their wishes known frankly & not work upon those who have no connection with the Mission.
28. Mr. Rogers is employed to take charge of the Printing establishment, do the printing for the Mission. The Mission are to give Mr. R. 30 £ sterling & his board.

29. Very unpleasant & unprofitable talk last night between Messrs. Gray, Whitman, Rogers & Hall on one side & myself on the other. Mr. Griffin was called in to prove that several charges against me were unfounded. One charge was I had influenced Mr. Griffin to refuse to do work for Mr. Gray on the 23. Mr. Griffin declared he had not been biased by me in any way, but refused to do the work as he had other work on the ground, that he was placed in the shop by the P. Committee & considered himself in charge of the shop & was in a job of work which was pressing hard, viz had taken iron of me to work on shares by virtue of the agreement with the P.C. Some time ago had done work for me & was now working for himself & considered himself at liberty to refuse other work till this work was done. I pronounced this charge unkind & groundless, but the brethren refused to take it back. I can only pray for them & refer the case to Him who knows the heart. Another charge, Mr. Griffin was doing work for me. This was also found untrue from what appears above, but the brethren refused

⁸³ By this time Spalding has been made aware of the under current of criticism against him. When Spalding refers to fasting, in his Diary, this means that literally he abstained from eating for the time indicated.

⁸⁴ Both Hall and Rogers were supposed to have worked on this book, the third item to be printed on the Mission press. However, both left Lapwai before the printing was completed, so Spalding had to finish the job. The *American Imprints Inventory of Idaho Imprints, 1839-1890*, lists five copies as being extant.

to take back the charge. Again I can only pray for them. Another charge, I am conspiring against the Missions — as proof Doct. W. & Mr. R. heard Timothy last Sabbath say to his class that it was my wish that the people become settled as soon as possible, have farms, houses, plenty of provisions, hogs, cattle, &c., so that their children could attend school constantly, & if I should die it is my wish that my children should become their teachers, should they live. When this was brought up, I was satisfied it was all the work of the Devil to draw me away from the work which has laid so near my heart since I first settled among this people, viz the settlement of this people. What the brethren heard was true, & a doctrine which I have always preached, but so far from being conspiracy against the Mission, I consider it the life of the Mission. I will meet them on this subject before a reasonable world. God in mercy give me grace & wisdom to do my duty regardless of all slanders that grow out of jealousy. But may I be humbled & greatly benefited by this severe trial of my faith. Thank the Lord for the counsels of my dear wife. May these things only endear us to this people & make us more anxious to secure their salvation immediately. O Lord in great mercy favor us with a revival of thy holy religion.⁸⁵ [Nearly half-page left blank as though he planned to write more.]

About noon Brs. Whitman & Hall leave. Weather cold.

30. Weather extremely cold.

FEBRUARY 1840

Feb. 1. A little warmer.

2. Sabbath. Sabbath School as usual. Much pleased with this mode of instruction. Will the Lord bless this effort to make known his word among the people.

3. Commence translating the holy word of God into Nez Perces.⁸⁶ O most merciful Father watch over me in this great work. May the Holy Spirit which first dictated it to holy men of old move my thoughts & my heart. May I at all times feel fully sensible of the sacredness of

⁸⁵ Smith's first long letter of criticism — dated February 6, 1840 — followed this Mission meeting. Spalding's letters to Greene for the same period are free of any personal references of a critical nature. Writing to Greene on October 2, 1839, Spalding commented as follows regarding the possibility of settling the Indians: "It may be asked are the people disposed to settle. To this I can answer most unhesitatingly, respecting many tribes, they are not only willing, but anxious, as fast as they can be supplied with some rude means of cultivating their lands. This people are highly delighted with the produce of their small farms this season, & many are making preparations to water large pieces next year."

⁸⁶ Spalding started out to translate the entire Bible. He finished the first ten chapters of Genesis and then turned to the Gospel according to Matthew. See entry for Dec. 20, 1841. This Gospel was printed on the Mission press in 1845 with the help of an itinerating printer by the name of M. G. Foisy. Only four copies of this Gospel of Matthew in Nez Perce are known to be extant. The item was reprinted by the American Bible Society in 1871 with but one typographical change.

this work. Give gracious God a more correct knowledge of the language & customs of this people & of their manners of thought, that I may be able to give the truths of thy holy word correct in this language. May I in no instance be left to convey a wrong idea. Observe the monthly concert.

4. Rain. Go on with the translation of Genesis. A letter comes from Mr. Smith. He has lost his female pig & his Am. cow. The latter was poisoned by eating a root, probably the same that poisoned Mr. Walker's last fall.⁸⁷

5. Mr. Griffin's house & the Black-smith shop came down last night to a great extent. Dobies are not suitable for this rainy country. Mr. Griffin comes in with us. Hogs kill a young lamb.

6. The large wolves killed the mother of the lost lamb last night.

7/8. Take a large wolf in traps last night & shot 2 small ones.

9. Sabbath. Sabbath-school as usual. During school small wolves kill 2 lambs. Find one at a great distance.

10. Yesterday a (Wipwip) or species of Panther was killed by 2 men on foot, remarkable for having the botom of the feet covered with hair. At eve several children punished for rogues in school. I admire the faculty of this people for governing their children. Go on with my translation.

12. Red Wolf & George arrive from Wailatpu.

17. Place the sills of the saw-mill.

18. Raise the saw-mill. Start George for Mr. Walker's, he turns back on account of snow.

MARCH 1840

2. George starts with letters for Messrs. Walker & Eells.

5. Mr. & Mrs. Gray leave for Mr. Smith's.

9. Williams commences work in the shop for me. Continue at Mill.

13. Mr. & Mrs. Gray return from Mr. Smith's.

15. Sabbath. Sabbath School as usual. After school observe the Lord's Supper in view of Mr. and Mrs. Griffin leaving to morrow for their destined field of labor.

17. Mr. Rogers leaves for Vancouver & the Willamette. Mr. & Mrs. Griffin start for Fort Boise.⁸⁸ Two of my people accompany them to the borders of the Snake Country fearing to go further. They will then be left alone about three days from the Fort with several hard rivers to cross in a strange country & what is most to be feared, to meet a savage thieving people who will be likely if not restrained by the hand

⁸⁷ After the loss of his only milch cow, Smith sent a request to Spalding for a replacement. Spalding replied saying that the only extra cow he had, had already been given to Conner. Smith was angry and brought up the incident before the July meeting of the Mission. As a result the following resolution was adopted: "That no member of the mission be at liberty to dispose of the cattle belonging to the mission, except by vote of the mission."

⁸⁸ The Griffins attempted to establish a mission at Fort Boise but failed.

of Providence to take everything from them. But the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Lord. And while we tremble for them, we will hope & pray for them that they may find favor in the eyes of these benighted ones & that they may find a favorable location & be the means of much good.

18. Continue to snow & is very cold.

21. Very cold the last few days. Mr. & Mrs. Griffin must have suffered much. George returns from Chimakine, after a rout of 19 days & with but 1 horse out of 6. The brethren at that station are not willing to attend a meeting as proposed. Mr. McKay arrives from Mr. Smith's on his way to the lower country to return home soon. Some trouble with the Indians today. Oh when will these benighted ones exhibit tokens of gratitude to God for his goodness to them in sending them the Gospel & the means of civilization.

22. Sabbath. By reason of the mocking of sacred things yesterday ev. I suspended the school today. At eve give a discription of the treatment Jesus received from the Jews during his last days.

23. Mr. McKay leaves for Walla Walla. Send a call for a meeting. Joe arrives with my pack of articles. Put down the water wheel.

28. Have worked hard through the week at the saw mill, find great difficulty in securing the water on account of the looseness of the soil.

29. Sabbath. Sabbath schools as usual. Large No. present.

APRIL 1840

1. The saw today cuts through the first board. Thank the Lord for this great favor. May this mill prove an important means in settling the people on their lands.

2. Settle today with Mr. Blair for his work. Allow him \$159.79. To James Conner \$28.00 in Vancouver goods & provisions, also \$30.00 in part for a cow. To Rev. Mr. Griffin \$27.00 in Vancouver goods & provisions. Board of Mr. Blair 26 weeks, \$26.00. Two hundred loads (?) of Am.[unition ?] to Indians \$4.50. Corn, potatoes, &c paid to people for getting timber & other work \$35.00. To Williams for work on Mill irons \$7. Work of Mr. Griffin on drills hammers &c \$8.05. In all \$324.80 expense at Vancouver. Messrs Blair & Williams are expecting to leave soon for the Willamette. A very unhappy circumstance showed itself today. Mr. Gray by the authority of the Mission as he says took possession of the premises, which were possessed in common by us, & forbids me to cultivate any part of the land.⁸⁹ This leaves me

⁸⁹ After Spalding learned of the action of the Board dismissing him, he wrote a long letter of at least 8,000 words to Greene, giving his side of the troubles within the Mission. He referred to the fact that none of the three clergymen who came out in 1838 would live with Gray so, wrote Spalding: "I consented to his being associated with me." After Gray found that he could not have a station of his own, he turned bitter. Spalding reported that: "Mr. Hall . . . told me that Mr. Gray must not continue associated with me, as his disposition rendered him unfit to be associated with any one." And yet, Spalding out of the goodness of his heart, received him back at Lapwai.

destitute indeed, in a destitute country, but the Lord who feeds the ravens will provide for those who put their trust in him. I can imagine no reason for this extraordinary step, unless it be to compel me to depend on the H.H.B.Co. for supplies or provisions, & thus make it necessary for me to draw on the Board every year for full \$500, & thus prove untrue the sentiment I have ever expressed that this Mission will be able to sustain itself in ten years from the first. But Oh for the honor of the cause of Christ that the brethren had made some proposals for the premises or had given me warning of their intentions in time for me to have made preparations for cultivating somewhere else. But it is now too late to make preparation for planting or sowing. Besides I can not make myself believe it to be duty to go & spend I know not how long in searching a new location, build, & make myself comfortable after spending so much time & strength & money in establishing myself here. Moreover should I begin again, where is my security? And again in that case when shall I do anything for the poor natives? No, after prayer & fasting & reflection myself & dear wife have come to the solemn conclusion that it is my duty to go immediately to teaching & translating & give myself no concern about even a garden & depend on God for the things of the morrow. With the help of the mills & the assistance of James Conner, I had expected to get on after this with but little expense to the Board, & by spending but little of my time out, as Conner could have attended to the farm, &c. But all before us in darkness but the promises of God. We will take no concern for ourselves as the Lord will provide for us even through the natives if we trust in him.

3. Commence school in the forenoon & translating in the afternoon.

5. Sabbath. Large No. present. Sabbath school as usual.

6. Pakatas arrives from W.W. with Mr. Smith's packs & with letters & the Bills from Vancouver. A letter from Mr. Hall stating that the London vessel & one from Oahu were in the river.

9. Pakatas & the Lawyer leave with Mr. Smith's things.

12. Sabbath. Baptise our sweet babe Henry Hart to day, also Mr. Conner's little boy by the name of William & his babe by the name of Jane. Also Joseph's babe by the name of Ephraim.⁹⁰ I collected all the children who had been baptized, 12 in No. & my soul blessed the Lord for the interesting sight. My thoughts went forward to the day when their No. would through the great blessing of Immanuel be swelled to many thousands, in every department of life, from the infant at the breast to the teacher in the high school, the farmer with his com-

⁹⁰ This is probably Young Joseph. Old Joseph had two sons by his Nez Perce wife — Young Joseph who was born in 1840, and Alokut, born one or two years later.

See "Record of Baptisms" in Records of the First Presbyterian Church, Appendix 1, for references to baptism of several of Joseph's children, including a son, Manassa, on Nov. 24, 1839. *Minutes of the Synod of Washington*, 1936.

fortables, the mechanic & the statesman & above all the devoted preacher in the pulpit. In the afternoon attended the funeral of a boy some 8 years, a relative of Silas.

13. Last eve a letter with a small present of Indian goods to our Indian children & one to Mrs. Spalding was received from Mrs. Segourney, Hartford, Conn.⁹¹ Messrs. Blair & Williams start for the Willamette. Continue at the translation as usual.

15. Good No. in school. At the translation as usual. Walaptalik arrives with letters from the Board & the Islands. The letter from Mr. Greene entirely approves of my course with the people viz. attempting to settle them on their lands, also with my purpose to build a mill & further say that I must depend upon myself for most of my supplies of provisions. God be praised for this kind letter of Mr. Greene. Mr. Green from the Sand. Isls. writes very kind & frankly, also Mr. Smith & Castle.

16. Meet with the people at their feast of the Kamshik.

17. And Oh Lord wilt thou have mercy on us & forgive our sins for Jesus sake. Observe this day in fasting & pray begging the protecting mercy of God in our present straightened circumstance. May we not sin in our temptations. Oh Lord it is good for us to be thus chastened, may we greatly profit by it.

18. Sabbath. Good No. present.

19. Mr. Gray in the name of the Mission gives up the premises, is willing to act the part of an associate. Offers to cultivate the land & give one half, which gives me the opportunity of spending all my time in the school & translating except what is needed to cultivate a garden. I hope that all the existing difficulties may end as favorably, for which I pray.

20. Three teams with plough start to day. Young turkeys, 9.

MAY 1840

May 5. Mr. Gray starts for Walla Walla for his goods.

7 & 8. Continue ploughing for Timothy, also plant more in garden.

10. Sabbath, good No. present speak of the tendency of the natural heart.

11. Mr. Gray returns with packs. One box for me from the Islands containing nails, [. . . ?] &c, with a letter from Mr. Rogers of 25 April, Vancouver, also one from Rev. Mr. Leslie. Mr. Lee's ship not yet arrived.

12. Plant in the garden, contin at translations.

13. Start early with Mrs. Spalding & the children with Mark & others for the Mts. Follow up the Lapwai to the forks, take the right hand branch to its forks, pass over considerable bodies of apparently

⁹¹ Mrs. Sigourney of Hartford was a voluminous writer of religious poetry characterized by its "graveyardism." She was continually writing about death or being ready to die.

good land, lying favorable for watering, rise the plain – at the forks leaving both branches at the left, make [?] for the land appears good, large growth of grass, but the snow is near. Pass several women digging camas. Pass by the head of the Lapwai & strike into the brake of the Mts. Soon come to a small pond without an outlet, fed by several springs. Ride on a short distance & arrive at the Lake, our destination.⁹² It is a small body of water some thing in the shape of an L., perhaps 1 mile one way & half a mile the other. It is fed by several small streams coming down from the Mts spotted yet with snow. No outlet except under ground & probably forms the head the spring or stream just passed. The water is clear & teams with swarms of trout from 6 to 13 inches long. Great quantities are taken with the hook. I think the lake might be easily drained so as to water the whole plane below. The whole region gives the appearance of having been subjected to most intense heat. Mark goes for game. We construct our house after the native style, i.e., stick down some 8 sticks in the form of a paralelogram 8 by 6 feet requiring 3 blankets to go around the sides & two Appishmors over the top, all in good order for the approaching storm. As we hoped dear little Eliza & Henry seem to be greatly benefited by the ride. Little E. for the first time for many days eats heartily of fish & pork. Rain commences Mark returns with game.

14. Heavy rain last night. Our house served us well. Mark goes out a short time & returns. Has killed a gray bear. The young ones escaped. Very wet & mucky coming down from the Mts. Mark & Augustus go for the bear. Rain continues till we descend into the valley where we meet Mark with the bear, very large, feet 11 inches long & 5 wide. Reach home much benefitted by our ride as also our dear little ones. Mr. Gray plants corn.

14. [sic] Received the first salmon by Jacob.

22. Joseph leaves & I expect to start for his country next week, God willing.

28. Start Mastaps for Walla with letters.

31. Sabbath. But few present. Speak of the readiness of Christ to save all who will come to Him. Word arrives that a young man has just died.

JUNE 1840

June 1. Attend the funeral of the young man who died yesterday. His friends say he prayed much & sang during his last hours. Possible he has exchanged this for a better world. As he was breathing his last, a friend proposed praying & continued till his last breath, surely this is not heathenism. Mrs. S. gave a winding sheet. Was much affected by

⁹² Lake Waha, covering about 100 acres, is located about 18 miles, as the crow flies, southeast of Lewiston, Idaho. As Spalding noted, the lake has no surface outlet. Its waters escape through some underground passage. The lake has a unique species of trout.

seeing a young babe about 5 months old without father or mother, both having lately died at Waiiletpu. An older unmarried sister has charge of the little babe but it has suffered much from hunger, is now with a woman who furnishes but little milk, her child being 3 years old. But this is not a solitary case where [a babe] is left to suffer for want of nourishment. Oh when will the day come when these people will be settled upon their lands surrounded with the comforts of life. Start with Mrs. S. & the children down the river on the opposite side to see the Red Wolf's ground. Timothy & Quartus go with us. Pass a little spot lately dug & planted & well watered. Reach the forks, learn that there are no people at the Red Wolf's country. Conclude to stop here, cross over onto the point between the rivers.⁹³ Find the Snake R is not as high as I expected, might probably have gone to Joseph's country. Find a man who has been thrown from his horse & dangerously hurt. Send home for medicine & lancet. Great quantities of salmon are taken this year. Construct a comfortable tent with blankets & native. Lest [?] the medicine &c arrives.

2. Administer to the sick man, & start for hom. Examine the country up the C.R. from the mouth, find the water can be easily taken out of the R. some 5 miles up on the S. side & water a vast tract of land & at the mouth furnish a good mill-seat. Reach home suffering much from heat.

4. Assist Timothy in preparing timber for a house. God in great mercy hasten the day when multitudes of this people shall be settled in comfortable houses with a good supply of grain, by means of which their dear children can be sustained in school.

11. Continue at Timothy's house a short time each day.

12. Get up the posts & plates of T. house. Mr. Gray moves.

20. Start for Latau. [Latah] Several people accompany me, viz. Timothy, James, Jacob, Charles, Esther's father, several others in all perhaps 60. Take the road to Colville, find the high plains much more promising than I expected as to cultivation.⁹⁴ Great quantities of apparently excellent land, doubtless very wet in the spring but now continuing only small ponds or water puddles. Red clover grows rank. From the Granite Mts. had a most extensive & delightful view of the country. The high lands between me & Mr. Smith were backed by the snow caped Mts. which separate the Flat Head & Buffalo country from this the B.Ft [Blackfeet] roam for plunder. To the right, or W.S.W., a little, the Walawa Mts. distant 135 miles show their rugged peaks covered with perpetual snow. To the W. Doct W's station was

⁹³ The site of the present Lewiston, Idaho.

⁹⁴ The trail led north from Lapwai up Potlatch Creek, and then out over the rolling hills just east of what is now Moscow, Idaho. The trail then went over the Thatuna Hills, just north east of Moscow, from which elevation one can easily see the Blue Mountains of Oregon. From there the trail went almost directly north to Spokane Falls, then out past Tshimakain to Fort Colville.

pointed out, by which on the left stretched away the Blue Mts. To the E. the country was broken with continual Mts. Passed over into kamash [camas] plane.⁹⁵ Find the kamash best in about one foot of water. People begin to collect for digging kamash. Passed over another divide, & some people to the left digging kamash. Passed over a third & camped on the Paluse River. Runs deep & slow, land apparently good.

21. Start early, passed over a divide & nooned. Started late. Met a Curdelene [Coeur d'Alene] Chief coming for me. He turned back to collect the people. Passed over a high divide, thickly timbered & came to Latah, [Latah] my destination. Some 300 people old & young in camp. The Ponderays arrived soon after; about 30 men, came for trading horses with robes. Spoke to the people about one hour. Old Charlie giving the Flat Head.⁹⁶

22. Sabbath. Three services. Some feeling on the part of some of the N.P. Timothy very faithful. Affected to tears. Went to one of the lodges & collected several packs of cards & burnt them.⁹⁷ Set forth the evils of gambling.

23. After meeting the people collected for trade. The Ponderays first brought into the circle their robes & laid in heaps their value for a horse. The N.P. then led up a horse to each bunch, & if the Pdys, thought the horse worth his robes &c, he put his rope on him & led him off & the N.P. took the robes, &c. Some 10 horses were traded in this way. Usually 3 robes and 1 Appishmore, [apishamore] or 2 robes & 1 gun or 2 robes, 2 App. & a shirt were given for a horse. This trade convinced me that the Nez P. are not the only sharp traders in the world. At eve collected the people again. Spoke some time. Old Charlie attempted to speak but was not able to go on for tears.

Some rain this morn. Last night the dogs stole again my bag of provisions from under my head. The night before they took it from under my feet & emptied it of every thing but a few biscuits. The bag was found at a distance. This morn nothing can be found but the wrapper. I made a breakfast of roots & a little meat obtained of one of the Indians. After prayers, all hands prepare to leave. Old Charlie & Timothy spent the night in prayer & conversation mostly. God in great mercy grant that he may find peace in believing. The Ponds. go one way & N.P. another. Should think that this place about 75 miles from C.W. On my way back I turned aside a little & exchanged a horse of

⁹⁵ The camas root, an edible tuber somewhat like an onion, was one of the main items of food for the Nez Perces.

⁹⁶ Old Charlie Compo was the guide and interpreter for Samuel Parker, who visited the Nez Perce and Spokane country in 1834. Charlie spoke both the Nez Perce and the Flathead tongues. The Spokane language was a dialect of the Flathead.

⁹⁷ We are amazed both at the boldness of Spalding and the meekness of the natives who permitted him to burn their cards. The Indians were prone to gamble.

Mr. Gray's for a lodge [?], a robe & 1 Appishmore. Found a little buffalo meat in one lodge of which I made a dinner. Reached the kamash plain late. A great No. of people here collected since I passed. Had some kamash & dry salmon boiled. Relished very well. Felt the need of my salt, tea & sugar which the dogs had the goodness to relieve me of. News arrives that Thomas has taken a third wife, a very young girl.⁹⁸ This is sad news to me. I hoped better things of Thomas. A good No. collect & I speak of the necessity of coming as a little child before we can see the kingdom of God. Took a little child & set it in the midst & explain upon it. Old Charlie appears very solemn. Timothy goes down to the Red Wolf's camp to speak.

25. Start without breakfast as I have nothing suitable to eat. From 60 my company is now reduced to 3. Some turned off to the S.R. & the rest have stopped for k. Collect some specimens of kamash and Red Clover & boughs of hemlock & pine. The latter very long & slim, resembling a vine. Reach home a little after noon.

27. Letters arrive from Mr. Lee's ship though not from Mr. L. who is doubtless by the blessing of God brought again to this country. Several from the States & one from Mr. Bingham.

28. Observe this day as usual as a day of fasting & prayer, praying for strength & grace sufficient for the approaching meeting.

29. Sabbath meeting with the people as usual.

30. Go with Joseph, Timothy, Jacob & some others to dig a ditch for their grain is suffering. Succeed well.

JULY 1840

July 1. A short time with the people on the ditch, get the water to Joseph's peas.

2. Brs. Walker & Eells arrive while I am at Timothy's house. Mr. Eells stops with us, Mr. Walker with Mr. Gray.

3. Doct Whitman & wife & Joseph & wife arrive late. Stop with Mr. Gray.

4. Mr. Rogers arrives unexpectedly from Vancouver & Mr. Smith arrives late, does not call at our house. I propose to Mr. Eells that we observe tomorrow as a day of fasting & prayer. It meets his feelings. We go to the other house to ascertain the feelings of the brethren. Mr. Gray objects unless the thing is kept secret from the Natives which can not be as I always make such a step known to the people that they may not disturb the house. For if they know that we observe a day as such,

⁹⁸ The implication points to polygamy. This was a somewhat common practice among the Nez Perces, against which Spalding inveighed. One of the stories about Spalding which has been handed down is that of the Indian who had two wives who wanted to be baptized. The "Number two wife" happened to be very domineering. The Indian asked Spalding if it was right to put her out of his lodge. "Absolutely," replied Spalding. "Polygamy is a sin. You have to put away your second wife." The Indian was quiet for a time and then replied: "You tell her."

they invariably keep quiet. Besides two of the natives are our brethren & would wish to observe the day with us. Messrs. Whitman, Smith & Rogers fall in with Mr. G. of course they do not observe the day.

5. One of the Br. from the other house comes into morning prayers, a thing unusual, doubtless, I can imagine his object. In doing what I think to be duty I am obliged to grieve him or rather suffer his own jealous heart to make a breakfast out of itself. I am happy to find that all the brethren & sisters observe the day as proposed. May we indeed search out our sins & repent & with humble, prayerful hearts commence the business of our new meeting. Meet for prayer & conversation about noon. After meeting call the Mission to order or rather by mutual consent we agree to open the meeting. After sermon by myself from the text "As we therefore have opportunity let us do good to all men." Mr. Walker was chosen Moderator & Mr. Smith scribe. Doct. Whitman & Mr. Walker were appointed a committee of business. Spalding & Eells comt. of R[eligious] Service, Adjourned to Monday morning.

6. Sabbath. Great Nos. present. Speak from Isa. 55. Invitation for all to come to the living waters. Joseph & Timothy speak with much feeling. After meeting assemble for prayers. There seems to be a labor, I know not what it means.

7. Meet according to adjournment. Hear reports from the stations. I report having built a saw-mill & made some preparations towards a flour-mill. No objection. Of course the statement that the Comtt. hired a man to build the mills was gratuitous.

8. Met according to adjournment. It was proposed to have a conference, quite unexpected but not unacceptable. I perceive that the brethren feel that I am some what in their way. A strange doctrine was advanced, viz. that if one did not agree with the multitude he of course is in error & should be dealt with. I objected & said that God was always right, but not the multitude. I trust the Lord was with me. My dear wife had furnished me with several portions of selecte scripture on which I kept my eye almost constantly. There seemed to be a fruitless effort at something which looked very suspicious, but a great want of strength to perform their purpose. Oh, is this the work of Missionaries? I went home with a sick soul.

9. Confessions again. Had scarcely opened when the Doct. rose in great agitation & said that either himself or me must leave the mission. That the root of all the difficulties in the Mission lay between us, viz, in an expression I made while in the States respecting his wife before she was married to Doct. Whitman, viz, that I would not go into the same Mission with her, questioning her judgment, but which we had settled certainly four times before. During the whole talk which [was] long, I kept silent with my eyes on my portion of scripture. After several had spoken, plainly betraying their object, I was requested to speak, but I saw clearly that the time had not come & consequently

kept my eye fixed on my paper, a long silence ensued. Doct. Whitman's storm began to abate. He thought a reconciliation could be had, & began to admit that he might sometimes have said things that he should not have said. Mr. Eells said the object of this interview was to have every thing settled for ever. I for the first time inquired, do I understand you to say forever? My inquiry was understood, as the matter to which Doct. W. referred had been settled several times. The Doct. saw his nakedness & apparently melted & declared would henceforth strive with me & all the brethren in our common work. That our hands should be together henceforth & separate. About all present said they felt they had been more or less guilty in respect to the lamentable state of things that had existed some time & wished now to forget every thing & labor as one heart. I thought the time had come to speak, and I observed though I have had severe trials for several months past, I have in fact done less than nothing yet I am willing to let every thing pass & resolve to unite my efforts to labor for the common cause. I feel that our sins are the greatest obstruction to our work & for the honor of the cause we ought to be united. After several prayers, we separated.

10. Several votes passed. Mr. Gray removed from this station & is to commence a new one at the mouth of the Yamkmaw [Yakima].⁹⁹ Mr. Rogers is to build the printing office at this station & take charge of the printing establishment. A Chenook canoe is purchased & to be deposited at this station. Messrs Walker & Eells leave about noon.

11. Do some business & adjourn to meet at Waiilatpu 2nd in July, 1841.

12. Mr. Smith leaves for home. Doct. Whitman & myself arrange the bills.

13. Sabbath. Doct. Whitman & Mr. Rogers take part in the services.

14. Continue at the bills.

15. Messrs. Rogers, Gray & Whitman & wife leave. Mr. R. goes to the Dalls to fetch up the remaining salt & paper. Mr. G. goes to select his location.

16. The Yellow Bird's son who has spent some time with Mr. Lee arrives from the Grand Round with a note for Griffin. He is expecting to be here soon by way Doct. Whitman's. Mrs. G. is not well. Water the potatoes the other side.

⁹⁹ The Mission finally gave in to Gray's insistence for a separate station and permitted him to locate at the mouth of the Yakima River, about twenty miles up the Columbia River from Fort Walla Walla. The place was called Shimnap. Mrs. Gray was pregnant — a daughter was born October 16th of that year — so the Grays were unable to start a new station at that time. They settled as Waiilatpu. For various reasons they were unable to move to the new location during 1841 and finally Gray gave up the idea. The last two years of his connection with the Mission were spent at the Whitman station.

17 & 18 & 19. Continue at my potatoes. Mr. Gray returns from Walla W.

20. Sabbath. But few present.

21. Commence the wheat with Conner, but little of it yet ripe.

22. Mr. Griffin arrives late. Mrs. G. remains at Waiilatpu by reason of ill health. Mr. G. did not reach Fort Boise till about the 27 of May, was prevented by snow on the Mountains. Found his way mostly alone. Has selected no place & probably by reason of the Mosketoes. The Murderer & Robber was shot by the Indians at the G.R. a few days since. Mr. Griffin thinks of Thompson R. country.

23. Mr. Rogers arrived. Left Walla Walla last Friday with new canoe loaded for this place, broke it on the rocks above the mouth of the Tukanon. Has come for help. Mr. Griffin wishes to be excused from cutting the wheat. I take it to cut.

24. Start with Mr. Rogers to repair the canoe. Campe at Luke's place.

25. Start early, reach the Canoe late. Rode hard.

26. Find the canoe split the whole length on one side & 1/3 the other. Clasp it with iron hooks & gum it. Start up a little ways & camp. Luke takes 4 pieces on his horses. Great Nos. collect to spend the Sabbath with us.

27. Sabbath speak of the seven sons of Jesse.

28. Start early & camp at Fishery.

30. Reach home by the blessing of God a little after noon.

31. Mr. Griffin leaves.

AUGUST 1840

Aug. 1. All hands go to the wheat. Find it very ripe.

2. Mr. Gray not able to visit the wheat today.

3. Sabbath good No. present.

4. At the wheat again, extremely difficult to cut on account of a vine & the brakes [?] [. . . ?] bad.

5. Conner give out not able to work. Mr. Rogers not able but by reason of a lame back. But the people work well with knives & seikles.

6. Finish cutting & collecting the wheat.

7. Mr. Rogers leaves for Walwaka [?]. Some rain. Mr. Gray leaves for Mr. Smiths.

9. Prepare threshing beds & thresh some. Mr. Gray returns.

10. Sabbath, but few present.

12, 13, 14, 15. Hard at work threshing wheat.¹⁰⁰ Help C. make a coat.

18. Start with Mrs. Spalding & the children & Mr .Conner for salmon camp about half way down. News come that there are no salmon.

¹⁰⁰ This was by the old fashioned method of the hand-scythe and the flail.

19. Mr. Conner takes my old canoe & the kegs & starts for the R. Myself & Mrs. S. return home. Mr. Gray has cut & threshed nearly all the corn yesterday & today. Gives one eleventh for husking.

20. Go at my wheat. No wind.

21 & 22 & 23. Hard at work cleaning & [. . . ?] wheat. Suffer much from heat often, as also when cutting & threshing, 104 in the shade & probably 150 in the sun. By the help of women, finish about 116 bushels in all. Think I must certainly have 1/3 for cutting & gathering the wheat. Have paid some £ 3 or £ 4 to Indians for labor, am to pay Conner 5 bushels for laboring at the wheat. Mr. Rogers returns 23. Left Joseph quite ill. A letter to Mrs. Spalding & Gray states that Joseph, our brother at Doct. Whitman's, is dead.¹⁰¹ Died some two weeks since of inflammation in the bowels. A letter from Mr. Munger states that a Rev. Mr. Clark & Mr. Smith & a Mr. Littlejohn with their wives have arrived from the States, expecting to labor on the self-supporting system. Some of them are expected here soon.

24. George returns to Walwaka with instructions that if Joseph is no better to send for me immediately.

26. Mr. Gray express arrives from Vancouver. He can have no encouragement of a school there. The Short hair starts with Mr. Smith's goods. An express arrives from Joseph requesting my attendance as soon as possible, he is not expected to live. Mr. Rogers leaves for Vancouver via Nesqually with Mr. Pambrun, takes all my riding horses. About 4 p.m. I jump on to one of the horses the Indians rode up & start to see my dear brother Joseph. Oh Lord if it may consist with thy holy will bring on my journey with good speed & safely & may the life of thy servant my son Joseph be spared till I shall arrive; & moreover if it can consist with thy holy will, restore him to health & usefulness. Find the horse very hard. Reach the R. & cross, dark. Take a new horse, stout, but not easy, very dark. My guides are soon far behind & asleep. After crossing the great plain & coming near the Pines, they propose to stop & sleep a short time as we shall be in danger of losing the trail. Stop 11½ p.m.

27. Start early, eat a bit of dry Buffalo. Reached the Walua about 8, find a horse waiting. Joseph was a little better yesterday morn. My horse is too weak to ride easy. Suffer much from riding. Reach the spruce plain about 5 p.m. Am in great pain. Find two young men with a spare horse waiting for me. Make some tea & eat a bite. Mount the new horse, find it extremely easy. Ride easy 15 miles an hour & arrive about sun down. Find Joseph weak with high fever, pulse 90, no passage for several days, appears to be in a good state of mind which is very gratifying to my soul. I give dose of calomel & Jalap & bleed.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Maki, the Hawaiian assistant at Wailatpu and one of the charter members of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon, died on August 8th.

Mark has reserved a small bit of deer killed yesterday with which I make a good supper. Sleep in George's lodge.

28. Give Joseph another dose of Calomel & Jalap. Soon copious passages. Pulse at eve down to 70. Thank the Lord for his goodness to us in causing this favorable change. May it be agreeable to his holy will to bless the means used to his recovery. The salmon are about done, but few & very poor. Two deer today.

29. Joseph's health improves. Mark fetches in a bear. Every particle of this animal seems to be saved for eating. The [. . . ?] fat is cut into stripes & with a stick filled into the intestines which receive no other cleansing than when they are turned as they are by filling, their contents are brushed off by the same hand that is used in filling. After the animal is cut & prepared for roasting, a hole is dug & nearly filled with stones upon which a large fire is built sufficient to heat them very hot, & when [. . . ?] the fire is removed, poles placed over the stones upon which the meat is placed, the lean pieces first, parts separated by hemlock boughs to spice it, a fat piece spread over the whole, covered with wet grass & dirt. Cook some 2 hours. Probably the best way to cook meat if decently done. A small bit of fat relishes very well.

30. Sabbath. Speak of Saul & David & endeavour to set forth the evils of envy. Good No. present.

31. Joseph speaks again of giving me a horse. I refuse again & tell him I came not for horses but because I loved him. And moreover should I receive the horse people would say I acted on the principle of their conjurers. All present said the matter would not be so understood & finding Joseph grieved I consented. The horse is a large, stout, tame horse. The Red Wolf gave the mare due from him for hoes. With great difficulty she is taken, carelessly hitched & while at worship choked herself to death.

SEPTEMBER 1840

Sept. 1. After commending my son Joseph to the mercy of God, start about 8. Ride Sarah's horse as it is easy. Camp at Walua about sun down.

2. Reach home at eve. All things well, for which I would render devout praise to Him who hath watched over my dear family, myself & all things committed to our trust.

3, 4, 5. Mr. Gray makes preparations to leave for his new station above Walla Walla. A white horse due from a young man that died comes Sat. eve.

6. Sabbath. Speak of Saul & David & the sin of envy.

7. Mr. & Mrs. Gray after a season of social prayer at my house leave in two canoes. George & Jacob with the horses & 5 packs leave tomorrow. May our brother & sister & their little one be carried safely

down the river. I fear especially for Mrs. G. in her present delicate state expecting in a short time to be confined. May the God of Missions be with them in their undertaking & may they be judicious in their proceedings, & be made a means of great good.

8. Cut out a road across the point.

9. Tahwaash returns. Horses very tired. Mr. Rogers & Mr. Pambrun started for Nesqualla by land last week on Monday, expect to be at Vancouver in 10 days. Mr. P. writes that Mr. Griffin has returned from the Snake country & reports unfavorably. But Messrs. Clark & Munger expect to re-explore.

10, 11, & 12. Plain boards for floor in front room.

13. Sabbath. Speak of the benefits of our Saviour's death.

14. Conner goes to work at the floor & myself with the mule & cart.¹⁰² 7 Indians haul stalks.

15, 16, 17, 18 & 19. Conner continues at the house & myself at the stalks, pumpkins & wood. George returns Thursday, brings a keg of apples from Doct. McLoughlin. Mr. & Mrs. Gray arrived safe at Walla Walla Monday & Tuesday left for Waiilatpu. The spotted cow kills a sheep Thursday. Good mutton. First man arrives from Buffalo Thursday. Saturday George starts to meet James.

20. Sabbath. Speak of love to God & give a brief history of Job & Abraham.

21. Commence school with 22 schollars. May the God of Abraham remember his descendants if there are to be found in the Indian tribes. Last eve Conner's father-in-law calls to converse on the subject of religion. May he find peace in believing.

29. Commence ploughing for wheat. Also commence threshing corn.

OCTOBER 1840

Oct. 1. Finish threshing corn; about 135 bushels. Cabbages fenced.

6. Send letters to Walla Walla for Rev. D. Greene, Boston, Rev. D. Leslie, Rev. Mr. Griffin, Waiilatpu, Mr. Gray & Mr. Pambrun.

7. Jack arrives destined for Mr. Smith for two years.¹⁰³ Brought letters from Mr. Eells wishing for Appishmors, cords, &c. Mr. Gray wishing for wheat, squashes, beans, &c. Mr. Lee, Wascopam. Dr. White has left the Methodist Mission from difficulties, returned home with his family.¹⁰⁴ The Catholics have commenced a station on an Island in Puget's Sound. The Methodists have a station at Willamette

¹⁰² This is the first mention of a wheeled vehicle at Lapwai. The inventory of Lapwai for the time of the Whitman massacre — November 29, 1847 — listed 2 wagons, 1 carriage, 1 cart, and 1 horse cart.

¹⁰³ Jack was an Hawaiian whose services were secured through some arrangements made with the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Elijah White who later became the first Indian Agent for the natives west of the Rockies.

Falls. From Mr. Pambrun.¹⁰⁵ He & Mr. Rogers were 9 days in going to Nesqually by land. A man has been killed by 4 Indians near the mouth of the Columbia. Doct. McLoughlin with a strong party marches to the spot, demands the murderers, shot one in attempting to escape, hung one at Fort George. Two are yet to be taken. Mr. Rogers may not be up till late & then without goods for want of men as is said, but doubtless Capt. Steward as also Rev. Jason Lee are rather to be believed for want of a disposition. No vessel in from London or California & consequently no associates this year.

8. Finish sewing wheat, about 12 bushels.

9. A most disgraceful circumstance today. Two young painted rode up to the door of the school house as Mrs. Spalding was about to open the school with pray. She requested them to turn away. They came the nearer & glanced their hellish looks directly at her. She moved to another part of the room, they moved their position so as to look her again in the face. She then put a blanket at the door. They then commenced their savage talk. She sent for me. I requested them to leave, they refused. I sent for Old James, as they belonged to his lodge. He refused to come. I went to him & found to my great surprise & sore grief that he countenanced the evil doers. Mark, George, & the whole camp joined the heathen party. Red Wolf turned away from me & the two or three who discountenanced the deed, & joined the heathen party.¹⁰⁶ Timothy, the Eagle, & Conner's father-in-law were the only three who openly discountenanced the evil doers. Returned to my room to pray. O Lord has it come to this? Shall the holy word be sent at naught by this people & will they reject the gift of eternal life as it is about to be given them. Our own sins as a Mission has doubtless

¹⁰⁵ Pambrun, in a letter to Walker dated October 20, 1840, stated: "Dr. Whitman left this Saturday last for Kamiah where it seems Mr. Smith is in trouble with his Indians. The result will be that he will abandon his station which may serve of an example to the natives about the other missions." (Original letter in Huntington Library.) This feeling that the departure of a missionary from his station would have a salutary effect upon the natives is found expressed in other contemporary documents. Gray, for instance, in a letter to Walker dated January 24, 1842, wrote: "I am inclined to think that we escaped with far less abuse & insult than we should had he not left his station as he did. The Indians have no wish to see the station given up as Kamiah was & nothing would they regret more." (Original in the Coe Collection, Yale University.)

¹⁰⁶ Spalding and Smith were having their unpleasant experiences with the Indians at about the same time. Spalding reported the incident at the school in the Diary entry for October 9th; Smith's experience came on the 13th. Shortly before, Pambrun had been mistreated at Fort Walla Walla. These three incidents seem to indicate a deliberate and planned attempt by certain elements in the tribe to embarrass the white men. Whitman had trouble with the Indians in the fall of 1841 when one of the natives, Chief Tiloukaikt, struck Whitman twice. Whitman claimed that a half-breed, Joe Gray, living in the vicinity of Waailatpu was fomenting trouble. See Spalding Diary for Oct. 7, 1841.

brought this & similar chastisement upon us. A letter from Mr. Smith states the report which the Indians brought here some time ago, viz. that a Catholic priest has been in the Mountains, baptising great multitudes of Flathead children & also Nez Percés children; also that 4 are to return next season. 1 establish on Salmon river & 3 on the Flathead.

10. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer on occasion of the state of things as explained yesterday, the state of the mission, & the coming of the Catholics.¹⁰⁷ O Lord in great mercy help me to see wherein I have sinned against my brethren & most sincerely to repent. Oh that brotherly love might take the place of every wicked thing in our midst. That we might have but wish, pray, desire, & heart. [sic.]

14. An express arrives from Mr. Smith requesting my presence immediately as there is trouble with the Indians. The Blue Cap has ordered Mr. S. to leave the country. But I can not go to day as the people are digging my potatoes.

15. Start for Kamiah with Jason & Mastaps. Joseph follows. Rains hard. Find the mountains exceedingly difficult to descend, arrive about dark at Mr. S. Feet very wet & cold. All things quiet. See a proposal coming first from Mr. Walker to Doct. Whitman to sell out the Mission to the Methodists. My mind is thrown into confusion.

16 & 17. Remain looking out for Doct. Whitman; the Indians confess their faults & wish Mr. S. to remain, but it seems his mind is made up & he *will go*.

19. Sabbath. Mr. S. preaches to the people out doors; good No. present.

21. I start for home, meet the Doct on rising the hill.¹⁰⁸ Turn back with him.

22. I give as my advice that considering the state of the Mission & the character of the country, a proposal had better be made to the Methodists to purchase, but advised that Mr. S. to remain at his station till spring, but Doct. W. was anxious to have him leave the station at once, & had brought horses for that purpose. I also observed that as for me it was not probable that I should leave the country, & I did not believe Mrs. Spalding would leave the field.

I leave for home about 11½, heavy rain through the pines, feet &

¹⁰⁷ Both Whitman and Spalding believed that the coming of the Roman Catholic missionaries to their area complicated their problems. The Indians were quick to play one party over against another.

¹⁰⁸ In Mrs. Whitman's letter to her sister Harriet, dated October 20, 1840, we find a reference to Whitman's trip to Kamiah. "Think of him," wrote Narcissa, "traveling alone this cold weather. The first [day] after he left his warm home, the wind blew very hard and cold – he with but two blankets, sleeping on the ground alone; and since, it has rained almost every day, and sometimes snowed a little. I do not know when he will come home." Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 243.

legs very wet & cold. Reach home about dark. Find my dear wife & dear little children well & in good spirits. Thank the Lord for his protecting care.

24. Doct. arrives late.

25. Rev. Mr. Griffin arrives with letters from Rev. J. Lee. He writes that Doct. White has been expelled from their church & Mission & has gone home with his family, thinks he will do all he can to injure them, but trust all to the Lord. Letters from the Islands to Doct. stating that no associates have arrived for our Mission.

26. Sabbath. Celebrate the Lord's Supper, great No. present.

27. Doct. W. & Mr. Griffin start for hom. The Eagle starts with our express to Messrs. Walker & Eells.

28, & on. The ditch is finished. Conner starts the little mill & grinds some.

NOVEMBER 1840

Nov. 1. Sabbath. Great No. present.

2. Sorry to say the Eagle returned last night with letters from Brs. Eells & Walker. They say the Doct. must have misunderstood them as they never have thought of giving up the mission.¹⁰⁹ Before night was taken down with a severe attack of rheumatism.

8. Sabbath. Not able to meet the people. My illness continues varying.

9. Mr. & Mrs. [A.T.] Smith from Waiilatpu arrive. Thank the Lord for this mercy. Oh my God do order it so that they will prove helpers to us & that we shall live in the bonds of brotherly love. Watch over thy servant for this, and I do beseech thee.

An Indian arrives with a letters from Doct. Williamson & Rev. Mr. Riggs, Sioux Mission via of the Red R[iver] and H.H.B.C. Express, & from Mr. & Mrs. Hall, Honolulu. They were 21 days from the mouth of the R. to Honolulu. Cow & bull arrive safe. Mr. & Mrs. Bingham & family & Mr. and Mrs. Thurston & family are going home. Also a letter from Rogers who arrived at Walla Walla Thursday, boat expected Saturday.

11. Start my horses for my things but bring on a relaps of the R. [sic]

12. Mr. Black arrives from Mr. Smith's on his way to Waiilatpu with Mr. Gray's horses.

14. Jacob returns from Walla Walla with a letter from Mr. Rogers, who expects to leave Waiilatpu for this place next Monday. Mr. & Mrs. Griffin have left for Vancouver. Mr. & Mrs. Clark are yet at W.W.

15. Sabbath. Not able to meet with the people. Request Joseph to

¹⁰⁹ Although Walker appears to have been the first to suggest the possibility of turning the work over to the Methodists, yet both he and Eells now stated that they had no such thought. Smith, however, promoted the idea and strongly recommended this action to Greene even after he had left the Mission.

hold worship with them in his lodge. My dear Eliza is three years old to day. Bless the Lord oh my soul for preserving her life & for the health she enjoys.

19. Messrs. Rogers & Munger arrive from Wailatpu. A letter from Mr. Chamberlain states that he spent last season 11 weeks on the coast of California which improved his health considerable, still is feeble, able to do but little business. A Catholic Bishop & 3 priests have lately arrived at Honolulu, 2 other stations have been commenced at the Islands by the Catholics. Messrs Rogers & Munger have come for the purpose of building a printing office. So much for the fever of giving up the Mission.

20. Mr. Walker arrives with a book for Mr. Rogers to print.¹¹⁰ Cragg¹¹¹ & LaRison, two mountain men, have arrived, probably to spend the winter. I have seen enough of Mountain men. It rains almost constantly day & night. Rogers, Munger, & Smith are about starting the saw-mill.

21. Mr. & Mrs. Clark arrive from Walla Walla on their way to Mr. Smith's to spend the winter. Timothy & Mastaps arrive with 4 horses loads of goods. Everything arrived remarkably safe. May the Lord in great mercy watch over the canoe & its contents & bring them as safe. The box or barrel from Wuistend [?] is not as valuable as prised. The box from Portland contains a good collection of clothing, cuts, sundries for Eliza, etc.

22. Sabbath. Speak to people of Peter & John & the lame man at the gate of the temple. Messrs. Munger, Walker, Rogers & Smith present. In the afternoon Mr. Clark preaches in English. Mr. Walker & Mr. Rogers speak to the people in the evening.

23. Killed one of my Colvile oxen for beef, very good meat.

24. Messrs. Cragg & Larison commence work for beef, have had 163 pounds at 3d per pound. Our dear little Henry Hart is one year old today. Has run alone about 4 weeks, has 2 teeth & till within a short time has enjoyed good health. Oh my soul bless the Lord for his

¹¹⁰ Walker had prepared a Spokane primer which he wanted printed. However, he found that the press was not ready, so had to return without having the work done. The Spokane or Flathead primer was printed in 1842. Only three complete copies are extant, and two incomplete. See Appendix 3 of Drury, *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, for a copy of the first four chapters of the Gospel according to Matthew in the Spokane tongue which was translated by Walker.

¹¹¹ William Craig, a trapper, first visited the Clearwater Valley in 1829 together with two other mountain men, Joe Meek and Robert Newell. Craig at that time took unto himself a Nez Perce woman as wife. She was the daughter of Old James, mentioned in Spalding's Diary. Craig returned to the Clearwater Valley in the fall of 1840 and settled on Lapwai Creek, eight miles from the Spalding mission. Craig was not sympathetic with the work of the missionaries and caused Spalding much trouble. For more information about Craig, see the article by Robert G. Bailey in the *Twentieth Biennial Report, 1945-1946* of the Idaho State Historical Society. See also Spalding's entry in his Diary for February 2, 1841.

goodness to our two little ones. May we who are their parents have grace to train them up for God. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer preparatory to the contemplated meeting on the morrow. Oh my God, may my heart be prepared for the great work.

25. Mr. Walker gives up the idea of having his book printed till spring & starts for hom. Mr. & Mrs. Clark leave for Mr. Smith's. By the mercy of God am enabled to commence the meeting. Speak of the law of God, its glorious tendencies, all tending to good, to life, the basis of the universe, on which God himself as it were stands that it is from the nature of the case unalterable, for its tendencies are only good & therefore can not be altered, exchanged & abandoned without ruining the universe. That it requires from the very nature of itself, the whole soul of every created being, consequently that the first act of sin cuts off the sinner for ever from life & happiness by the holy law. Neither by his own good will or effort can he regain what he had lost, nor by that of any other creature. Consequently we are all lost, ruined creatures by our act of sin & there is no life for us in ourselves or in creation. But there is a Redeemer & tomorrow I hope by the blessing of God & the aid of his word to find Him.

26. Meet with the people. Set forth Jesus Christ as the Great Physician of sin-ruined man, urge them to submit immediately. But Oh Lord what will they do unless thou dost make them willing in the day of thy power. To day I am 37 years old. Oh how fast my years roll away & nothing of my work is done.

27 & 28. Meet with the people as on the 25 & 26. I have been enabled I think to set forth more important truth these four days than during any four days before, but there is apparently no feeling, but I fully believe this is oweing to a want of faith on my part.

29. Sabbath. Speak of the stray sheep & of the 99 that were left for the lost one. Oh that this people would turn & live. Oh what former sin has over the [. . . ?]

30. Make a feast for the people. Select James, Jacob, Joseph & Timothy to go with me tomorrow for timber for building taking each of us 6 men. Request Cragge & Larison to go up with me, & will pay them some pork, orders on Vancouver or such clothing as I have to spare. They wish to see my striped shirting just from Boston. Request them to walk upstairs, but for some reason they stop below. After I found the piece & come down they were absent.

DECEMBER 1840

Dec. 1. Old James & others say they have been stopped from going after timber by Cragge who tells them I am making dogs & slaves of them. I ought to pay them for going after timber. Cragg & Larison send word that if I wish them to work for me I must come after them & show them the goods they are to receive. They are not going to be put off with old clothing.

20. Sabbath. Celebrate the Lord's Supper as Mr. Munger expects to leave tomorrow. Try to explain it as represented on one of the cards to our dear little Eliza. Oh Lord early teach this little girl to do thy will in all things. Oh give me grace to discharge my duty to her. May she become an efficient helper in the work of teaching the benighted.

21. Mr. Munger leaves for Waiilatpu. The printing office is up, the ribs on, boards sawed & seasoning, window & door casings made, shingles commenced. Mill has caused considerable trouble by often breaking. But Saturday & to day we have been to work at a floom, which we hope by the blessing of God will be permanent.

22. Brother Rogers & myself start up the R. with Larison & 32 Indians for timber, take up a canoe with bedding, food &c. Start late & get but little above Joel's stream which I find to be considerable of a stream. Too unwell to eat.

23. Reach the place of getting timber. Cut a few large pines upon the S. bank of the R. & conclude ascend the hill tomorrow where there are a large No. of beautiful pines. Camp on the Island. Eat hearty & after prayers retire to rest.

24. Ascend the hill with Larison, Timothy, & Luke. Mr. Rogers takes the others & goes up the R. for cedar, returns with a small raft of white pine. I find some 25 or 30 beautiful pines of a proper size for sawing, the Laka [?], to be sure which is a species of yellow pine but growing here on the N. side of a steep hill, consequently much in the shade & of a soft texture & thin sap. Cut 19 logs & a plate [?] for the school house & get a part to the river and all a part of the way. There being many trees, brush, & stone in the way, it is not easy getting the logs down as they turn sideways. Were the ground frozen, they would need only to be started & would slide to the bottom & probably across to the Island. Good appetite again to night.

25. Mr. Rogers with Sampson's son & Mastaps starts for home with a raft of the heaviest logs. All the logs are got down & I commence rafting.

26. Three rafts completed including 28 beautiful logs & 6 or 7 timbers for the sills, plates & beams for the school house. We start for home about noon. I take the heavy raft with Timothy & Luke. Strike a bar at the foot of the Island & wreck most of our couplings but save our timber & after some lifting in the wat get off. Meet with no more difficulty till just above the house when we run carelessly on to the head of an island & remain. The forward raft passes, the hind one follows us & runs onto an island near. Some of the men attempt to wade out but are not able. Timothy goes off on two logs which start the whole raft rolling & with great difficulty by jumping square up & down keep from being drawn in between two logs. Joseph sends in a horse on which I reach the shore in safety, thankful I trust for the preservation of life as also for the timber none of it goes down stream.

Reach the house & find my dear little children rejoicing to see me. Change my wet clothes for dry ones & relish a good supper. The men reached shore in a canoe.

27. Sabbath. Good No. present but no feeling observable.

28. Get all the timber from the Islands, but the poor people must suffer great pain in the cold water up to their hips. I waded from one island to another some 10 rods but came near fainting from the intense pain, though I plunged before night all over.

30. Roll out about half of the timber. Three young men in the water all day, offer to do it for powder. Mr. Munger's man returns. Doct. Whitman is quite sick but on the recovery.

31. Plenty of floating ice, roll out the rest of the timber. The same young men in the ice & water. Pay them loads apiece.

JANUARY 1841

JAN. 1. Nothing & less than nothing has been accomplished by me the last year. Oh why does not the Lord cut down this unbearing Fig-tree? The people in some respects seem to be back of the place they occupied last year at this time. Why is it, Oh my soul? Whatever way thou mayest look for an excuse, two things are certain. God in his providence has constituted me the pastor of this little church. In what state of piety are all my charges? Have I done what could have been done by faith & prayer & tender counsel to elevate the standard of piety? Again as the appointed Missionary, I am the spiritual guide of this benighted but immortal band of souls. Oh am I ready to go with them to the judgment & show from the records of that book in which all my prayers & efforts for them are recorded, with a faithful hand, that I have been instant in season & out of season for their salvation? Oh indulgent parent, wilt thou bear with me when I again (& help me humbly) ask thee to help me to dedicate my soul & body anew to thy service, which is above all things to be prepared because it is holiness. Help me Oh thou loveliest of the lovely to keep always before my mind the greatness & the glory & the majesty of the great God of all goodness & justice which will certainly drive me down toward that point of humility which belongs to such a vile worm as I am, but which is scarcely discernable from this elevated place on which pride, worldly mindedness, unbelief, envy, & every hateful thing have exalted me. Help me, Oh thou Holy Comforter to feel for this dying people as I ought to feel & Oh may not this year close without great additions to our little church.

2. Mr. Rogers started last evening for Mr. Smith's. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer. Bury a little child.

3. Sabbath. Speak of sloth from the words of Solomon. "I went by the vineyard of the slothful," [Prov. 24:30] at eve of the husbandman who went into a far country & let out his vineyard to husbandmen. Great No. present.

4. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer with the thousands of Zion in different parts of the world. Meet with the people, speak of the man out of whom went the unclean spirit but which returned after a season & found the heart empty & waiting his return. Some feeling.

5. Commence visiting from lodge to lodge. Timothy's wife appears well. Joseph's wife almost in despair. She attends our Tuesday eve conference, says she has a strong desire to go over to Jesus. The Eagle starts with Doct irons. Found a wolf (himin) dead from poison this morning.

6. Continue my visits.

8. Mr. Rogers returns from Mr. Smith's. Mr. Smith writes very discouraging as to the people, is inclined to consider them given up of God, & devoted to destruction.

9. Conner & Craig return from Walla Walla. Kill one of my hogs.

10. Sabbath. Usual No. present.

11. Continue at the dam.

14. Quite cold, not comfortable out.

16. The coldest day I have experienced in this country by 16 degrees. The mercury to day down to 26 below zero.

17. No meeting with the people on account of the cold.

19. All hands getting wood. Many potatoes froze.

20, 21, 22 & 23. Translating portions of scripture to accompany cuts on cards for the school, also at a catechism for the school.

FEBRUARY 1841

1. Monthly concert. It is good in these retired regions to reflect that our christian friends at home remember us at the throne of grace to day.

2. This evening with Messrs. Smith, Rogers, Conner & Larison paid Craig a visit to give him an opportunity to clear himself before the Indians if he is not guilty of the charges alleged against him. For some time in very ambiguous language, he denied the charges. But his brother-in-law, Thomas, told him to his face that he told them as follows: when he learned we were coming to a miserable people to benefit them he was rejoiced but on arriving & beholding with his own eyes he is astonished to see us sell property to the people & not clothe & feed them & give cattle & build houses for the people without taking any thing in return. This would be blessing the people, but now while they are obliged to plant their own lands & build their own houses & feed themselves & clothe themselves by the labor of their hands, their missionaries are a great curse to them. We are only treating them as dogs & hogs. Also that the land & water privilege which has been sold should be sold again. After Thomas had exposed him so clearly, he made no further effort to deny but attempted to justify his course by calling up a great many things which had been done here which he considered wrong. One thing was the selling of frozen potatoes to the

Indians, refering to frozen, rotten potatoes thrown out of the celler two years ago & picked up by the people contrary to our wish, which those who are now disposed to say were sold to them. It also appears from his own statements that he came here greatly prejudiced against me, & from what the Indians say & from what his wife said there in the lodge, that he came telling the Indians he would set things right & giving them to understand that I must be sent away & he take the place, mills, property. My heart sickened at the discovery of such a dark plot against the temporal & spiritual good of these benighted ones. He is thinking to do me injury and he is only effecting the ruin of these tribes & doing me a great favor as far as myself & family are concerned. For who after Christianity is accepted, who would not prefer the meanest place in a civilized country where law will protect his property & his person from constant insult & violence from the hands of lawless savages. And when these Mission stations are broken up, these bands will destroy themselves by mutual recriminations & blood-shed. We return home, spend a season in prayer & retire to rest.

3. Today the Indians from old James band are busy demolishing the mill-dam. Oh Lord in great mercy stay thy chastising hand. My many sins deserve mueh heavier chastisement but these deluded ones, shall they go down to ruin on account of neglected duty? Oh open their eyes to see the dark gulf before them. Craig has the honor of countenancing this thing. How is it possible for a man born of Christian parents (his parents are members of the Presbyterian church) to be guilty of such deeds of darkness!

We spend this day in fasting & prayer in view of the awful state of things.

4. Visit Craig to night to converse on the subject of religion, converse & pray with him, leave a testament, a sermon & tract.

7. Sabbath. Mr. Rogers speaks to the people in the forenoon. I speak of the scenes of the final judgment in the afternoon.

14. Another sabbath has returned with its sacred hours. I speak again to the people of scenes of the judgment, from the words of Solomon that God will bring every word into judgment with every secret thing. After I closed, Timothy spoke feelingly. Old James rose after him & said I had made the people miserable & was ruining them, that he learned this from his son-in-law Craig who tells the people that if I was a true teacher I would not even think about or look at the earth much less build houses, look after wood, water, fish, cattle, & cultivate the land. That I would sit still & keep my heart in heaven till the bell called me to my meals. But he was careful not to say who would furnish the provision & ring the bell, or where I should sit or to what place I should go as there was nothing but a desert prairie to sit down in & nothing but the hawthorn to eat. I think that even these

would not come by the sound of the bell. He further said the character I had given of Solomon was false. Instead of having an understanding of all things superior to any man before or since & possessing all riches & many servants, he possessed none of these things & never wrote or said any thing about any thing pertaining to the world or men. But on the contrary he was a good man & therefore thought upon God constantly & when the bell rang went to his meals & did nothing else. So says our friend the other side of the steam; who knows about these things as he has come from a country where these things are attended to as they should be. So much for the reasoning powers of a heathen people. Only a few days ago, I was very bad & making slaves of the people, & as a proof of this the same man referred to the fact that the people were obliged to work for the property they received instead of my supplying them with all their clothing & provisions in addition to supplying myself & family. Such is the management of a selfish, lawless, self-ruined scape goat from the States who having rejected the offer of mercy hates above all things to any body else in a way to be benefited. How much injury he will do here I know not, but pray the Lord to turn his counsel into foolishness, if it can be made any more foolish & absurd than it is.

16. Having invited by letter Craig, Larison, Williams & Conner as also the principle men, all hands go at the dam. Make a gate in the ditch & commence a stone dam. Jacob, Luke & Timothy present; Joseph & James not present.

17. Complete the dam & raise the frames for my mill stones. Mark & his brother rode up to the dam in great fury but showed their bravery by doing nothing.

20. Mr. Littlejohn arrives from Waiilatpu.

21. Mr. Roger speaks to people twice today.

23. Messrs Littlejohn & Rogers leave for Mr. Smith's.

24. Over-haul the water-wheel to the saw-mill, crank very loose.

28. People assemble before the door, speak of the birth of Christ.

MARCH 1841

March 2. Craig & Larison leave for the Willamette. I hope to see peaceful times soon.

3. Messrs Littlejohn & Rogers return from Kamiah accompanied by Mr. & Mrs. Clark. Mr. Littlejohn has made up his mind to leave for home, feeling that nothing can be done for these poor wicked savages.

5 & 6. Messrs. Clark & Littlejohn work at the loom.

7. After speaking to the people of the Rich Man & Lazarus, observe the communion service. I think my soul was benefited.

8. Mr. & Mrs. Clark & Messrs. Littlejohn & Rogers leave for Waiilatpu. I have heard that on the morning of the 11th of Jan. Mr. Eell's house was burnt & every thing in it. I have also heard lately that

Mr. Black, Chief Factor of the H.H.B. Co was murdered by Indians in his fort. Also that Mr. Munger is insane.¹¹²

14. Pitto died.

25. Last evening my dear wife was attacked with a severe hemorrhage, which soon reduced her almost to a corpse. The blood was checked by plugging & application of cloths dipped in cold water every few minutes. Great pain in the back uterus, distress in the stomach, constant faintness & restlessness caused a tedious night for my dear one. This morning she is a little better, the blood flows quite moderately but she is not able to raise her head from extreme weakness. Oh Lord our most gracious heavenly parent, look tenderly upon us & interpose in behalf of thine hand maid.

26. Mrs. S. continues extremely weak. The blood has mostly stopped. She gets no sleep nights. Has some fever, give salts, do well. Pakatas arrived yesterday from Mr. Smith. He is to leave that station on the 12 of next month, wishes Mr. Griffin to come & take the station. What will be the result of this step, I know not, but fear it will not be good. Conner¹¹³ & Williams leave for the Willamette after doing me much injury. Conner recalls the partial confession he made last winter & has done many things wrong. Just at night cut my foot bad with the grooving axe.

27. Mrs. S. appears better but extremely weak.

28. Sabbath. Do not meet with the people on account of Mrs. S. illness & my own lamness.

29. Sent a letter to Doct. Whitman relating to Mrs. S's case, also to Mr. Smith.

31. Man returns from Mr. Smith with medicine.

APRIL 1841

April 1. A letter arrives from Doct. Whitman with medicine, also a letter from Griffin. He is thinking of a school on the Willamette.

2. Express for Mr. Smith returns.

3. Mr. Black arrives from Waiilatpu.

4. Sabbath. After being scoffed & abused by several reckless fellows & ride up & speak to the people at Joseph's lodge.

5. Mr. Black returns Last night the same fellows who tore away

¹¹² By the spring of 1841, Munger was known to be insane. Whitman made an attempt to send him overland to the States during the summer of that year but since the American Fur Company had been dissolved in 1840, there was no caravan by which he could be sent. The Mungers were sent to the Willamette Valley in the fall of 1841. He committed suicide in December of that year.

¹¹³ By this time Conner's attitude to Spalding had changed. In an undated letter written by Gray, but evidently belonging to this period, we read: "Mr. Spalding says of Conner that he is a 'finished rogue & a liar.' Conner came under the influence of Craig. See the note under Conner's name in the Record Book of the Church and of how he was suspended on February 4, 1843 from its membership. The Gray letter mentioned here is in the Coe Collection of Yale University.

the dam took off the gate from the head of the ditch. This is the fruits of Craig's & Conner's influence.

8. Mrs. Spalding appears worse, a flush on the cheek every other day, very weak, no appetite. The Lord will do right. Mr. Rogers returns. I think he is about to leave the Mission. I wish there might be a frank, brotherly spirit take the place of the present apparent envious, secret, unkind spirit. Finish sawing the lumber in the mill yard, sufficient doubtless for the year to come. Met with a few to day who have appeared at least attentive for some time past. O gracious God meet with us on these occasions & bless these immortal ones.

9. My dear wife appears in a very precarious state. I know not what to do. Mr. Rogers arrives from Waiilatpu. A letter not very kind from Doct. W. relating to Mrs. S's state of health.

11. Sabbath. Not able to meet with the people & request Mr. Rogers. Read considerable in the history of David. What an example of returning good for evil, & of bearing insults with patience & looking to God to revenge his wrongs rather than to undertake it himself.

12. My dear wife has considerable fever & appears worse.

13. Mr. & Mrs. Smith leave for Waiilatpu wishing an interview with Rev. & Mrs. Clark before they leave for the Islands.

16. Little Henry quite sick last night. Old James returns yesterday. Mrs. Spalding better. Thank the Lord, O my soul.

17. Mr. Rogers very sick last night, up with him till late. Start an express for Doct. Whitman or Mr. Gray. Also old Samson for Rev. Mr. Smith.

18. Not able to meet with the people by reason of the care of Mrs. S. & Mr. R. My dear wife much better through the mercy of God, able to sit up considerable.

19. Mr. Gray arrived about day light.

20. Pakatas & others arrive with Rev. Mr. Smith's cattle & packs.

21. Doct. Whitman arrives about 10 o'clock. Soon after Rev. Mr. S. & wife arrive in a canoe with their effects & soon after Mr. and Mrs. [A.T.] Smith arrive whom the Doct. left at the Big river. Rev. Mrs. S. is not able to sit up much; but I am fully persuaded that this is not the principle reason of Mr. Smith's leaving the Mission. He says he will go home in disgrace before he will remain longer in the Indian country. He considers the Indian race doomed to destruction. Especially this people he considers a hopeless case for two reasons, one their disposition & their language.

22. Rev. Mr. & Mrs. Smith leave for Fort Walla Walla.¹¹⁴ Mr. Gray starts with Doct. Whitman's, Mr. Smith's, Mr. Roger's & his own

¹¹⁴ Gray, writing from Waiilatpu on May 7, 1841, to Walker, made the following comment on Spalding's reaction to Smith's departure from Kamiah: "Mr. Spalding is now in ecstasy — having accomplished one of his 'darling objects'." Original in Coe Collection, Yale Library.

animals. Doct. Whitman takes Mr. Rogers in a canoe for Walla Walla. I fear for Mr. R.

23. Mrs. Spalding not as well as usual, probably owing to fatigue of company.

MAY 1841

May 14. Jacob returns from Walla with the intelligence that Mr. Pambrun was thrown upon the horn of his saddle & dangerously hurt on the 11 inst. That Rev. Messrs. Smith & Clark with their ladies left W.W. for Vancouver on the 11 inst in company with Mr. Ermatinger.

16. Sabbath, but few present by reason of the high water.

18. Make arrangements to start for Walla Walla.

19. Start with my dear little Eliza for Walla Walla. Learn as I am packing up the solemn news of Mr. Pambrun's death. He died last Saturday from the injury received the Tuesday before. Poor man, he knows more now about his religion (Romanism) than he did while living. Oh my Father in Heaven, be pleased to sanctify this most solemn providence to the good of the living. Especially may [it] quicken thine unworthy servant who is placed here as a watchman to greater diligence in his great work.

Reach the river quite late. Cross & experience a Providential deliverance from drowning which is to be added to the long catalogue of interposing providences in behalf of myself & dear wife & dear children. Stop at the Red Wolf's lodge. Receive the letters that should have come by Jacob but which were detained at Waiilatpu. A meeting of the Mission is requested about the 6th of June when Rev. Messrs. Walker & Eells are expected, which makes it necessary for me to turn back. A letter from Doct. McLoughlin states that the goods I requested are sent with a brl. & box from the Isls. Also that an ocean vessel from Salem, Mass., is in the mouth of the river. Mr. Rogers writes that Rev. Mr. Leslie & others of the Meth. Miss. are very sick.

20. Start late for home, cross the R. at the R. Wolf's place, pass over the Bluff, receive a fall with my little girl in my arms while passing up a hill from the turning of the saddle, & escape great danger by the interposing mercy of God. Reach home in safety. Praise the Lord Oh my soul.

21. Quite unwell from the effects of my fall. Take a sweat [?].

22. Observe this day as a day of fasting & prayer.

23. Sabbath. But few present, most away after fish & roots.

26, & 27. Shear sheep, 30 in all. Two Frenchmen & three half-breeds arrive from the Ponderay country.

28. Ride up the valley. Mrs. S. was thrown most frightfully but through a kind Providence but little injured.

JUNE 1841

June 2. Employ Moses Lair the Frenchman named on 27 for 24£

sterling a year if he receives pay in this country or \$120 if he receives a draft on the Board to be paid in the States. Leave for W.W. & the proposed meeting with my dear wife & children. Send the packs by land & take Mrs. S. & the children in a canoe to the Big R. Find it very high, not able to cross tonight.

3. Cross early, every thing safe, one horse turned back. Wind very hard. Camp at the cotton-woods on the Pataha.

4. Very windy. Reach the small stream this side of Tuscha. Mrs. S. suffers much from debility. Children do well.

5. Travel down the Tusha till stoped by rain, camp. Great quantity of good land on this R.

6. Sabbath. Lay by as my habit regarding the command of God.

7. Reach Walla Walla about 3 p.m. Find the Indian report respecting the death of Mr. Pambrun true. His family & effects are removed to Vancouver. Mr. McKinley from the Thompson R. country is here for the present. I am grieved to hear that Mr. Rogers is engaged to marry Maria Pambrun.¹¹⁵ Is it possible? What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world & lose his own soul? Every thing reminds me of death. He has been here and all is still.

Find my pieces from Vancouver, a box from the Islands & a large brl from my friend Dr. Allen, Ohio, the former containing native cloth & a few articles & the latter \$100.00 worth of clothing judiciously selected & not highly priced, not injured though put up some two years ago.

8. Start with 7 horses loaded quite early in the morning, move slow as the packs are troublesome. Reached Doct. Whitman's about 4 p.m. Mr. & Mrs. Eells & Walker have arrived. Learn further respecting Mr. Rogers. He is to receive considerable property, which is probably the inducement. He leaves the Mission under painful circumstances. May it be the prayer, Oh Heavenly Parent, of thy unworthy servant & of all his brethren & sisters in this Mission that this undoubtedly unchristian step of our young brother may not be the means of bartering away his soul. I fear this step of one of our No. will bring great dishonor upon our Mission & upon the sacred cause of benevolence in this country.

9. Open the meeting of the Mission. Mr. Walker not able to preach is chosen Moderator again, Mr. Eells scribe in the place of Mr. Smith who is absent & will probably never meet with us again. I fear that bro. Smith has been hasty in leaving the Mission. It would have been better had he attended the meeting & asked the advice of the Mission, but I hope he knows his own business & will not offend his God. The Vancouver bills are the business of the day, very light compared to

¹¹⁵ Before his death, Pambrun had sponsored the marriage of his daughter to Rogers. Following his death, the Pambrun family moved to Vancouver where Marie refused to go through with the marriage. Rogers married Miss Satira Leslie, a daughter of a member of the Methodist Mission, in September 1842.

what they were last year. This rejoices my heart much. May they continue to lessen till they shall become almost nothing.

10. Continue at the bills & the distribution of a few goods that have come up of the Boston supplies. It appears that Doct. Whitman wrote on the shoe or hat box or on the bill opposite it "Not to be opened," as he thought they had better be divided when all together. Mr. Smith however on reaching Walla Walla opened it & took out such things as he needed. How excellent a thing for brethren to dwell together in peace.

11. During the business of to day it came out more than probable that the feeling of the brethren towards myself & Mrs. Spalding were not such as are greatly to be desired in order to success in this holy cause which probably can only be promoted by charity & united pray. & effort. That we deserve this more than cold treatment from our brothers & sisters as a chastisement in the hands of our kind Heavenly Parent, there is no doubt, & Oh may we be extremely careful lest we feel bitter against these instruments, doubtless of good, & so sin yet more against Him who has sent them.

I was particularly grieved by being accused by Mr. Rogers through Dr. Whitman of using my knowledge of the Nez Perce language to the disadvantage of the Mission & gave this as the reason why he did not lend me his dictionary last winter while he was absent to Walla Walla & Waiilatpu. I think that this charge is entirely without foundation. If it is not, I am a stranger to my own feelings towards bro. Rogers & bro. Smith on the subject of language. For the last year I have considered these my teachers & have treated them as such. I was still more grieved when the brethren took this charge from the hands of Rogers & applied it to all my conduct in relation to the Mission, stating distinctly that they considered me as operating in every way to destroy the Mission. That I have sinned against my brethren in thought & deed while receiving the wrongs which myself & dear wife feel that we have at their hands for the last two years, there is no doubt, but that the above charge has its origin in envy is more than probably from the fact brought forward, all of which except one or two small things which occurred in the States & were long since settled, were entirely untrue & have their origin either in Indian reports, misunderstandings, or jealousy. I fear too many of them are the latter. Father of mercies grant that we may receive special grace to improve these chastisements to the good of our souls & thy glory.

12. It was voted to day that Mr. Gray cooperate with Doct. Whitman. May this union greatly promote the cause of Missions in this country. An attempt was made to give Mr. Rogers two Am. cows & 1 bull but the vote was laid on the table. It was voted that Messrs. Walker & Eells, also Dr. Whitman, have liberty to give cattle to

natives or sell to strangers, but my request to pay Mr. & Mrs. [A.T.] Smith in part for their hired labors with us in a cow & bull was refused. Oh Lord, if I am thine, give me grace to honor thee in all my trials. It was stated today that Mr. Rogers left the M. on account of the ill treatment received from myself & Mrs. Spalding & one principle offence was not invited into her sick room by me on his return from W.W. though he made no inquiry after her health nor mentioned her name, though he knew she was thought to be in a very dangerous state. Also was informed that Mr. Gray & Mr. Smith & Doct. have been writing to the Board for more than a year to have them take some steps in relation to me. Also that Mr. Hall represents to the Board through Mr. Bingham the unchristian conduct referred to under date of 29 Jan. 1840. The Lord in great mercy look upon these men & forgive their sins & sustain his unworthy servant & [. . .?] under these accumulating trials.

13. Sabbath. Had a familiar talk with Doct. & Mrs. Whitman, confessed that I had said a great many things which I ought not to have said & asked her pardon. But was astonished at self-righteousness manifested by our bro. & sis. To day Mr. Eells by my request & to acceptance of all I presume, administered the sacrament & baptized Mr. Gray's little daughter, Mr. Littlejohn's young son & Doct. Whitman's adopted girl. I felt to commune with Lord.

14. Adjourned to meet at Waiilatpu. Doct. Whitman kindly furnishes us with 4 bags of flour. All start for our several stations about 2 p.m. Camp late on the stream near the Tushee.

15. Cow turned back last night. Considerable rain this morn. Also about noon, after which came on to the Tukanon. Rains hard, arrive after dark.

16. Reach the S. River at the Red. Wolfs place & camp early.

17. Cross our goods & leave them to come over the bluffs, which we pass ourselves in a canoe. Reach home late, find all things well. Thank the Lord Oh my soul for thy varied goodness to us during this journey. Find Moses has been very faithful.

18. Cross over our goods.

20. Sabbath. But few present.

22. Commence a house with two rooms, one for spinning & weaving & one for a store room. Moses continues to haul up timber. The half-breeds leave but have exerted a bad influence by gambling.

25. Messrs. Waldron, Breckenridge, & Dr. Pickering from the Exploring Squadron very unexpectedly arrive from Tshimakain.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ These men were members of the Wilkes Expedition, U.S. Navy. This expedition was sent out in 1838 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes to explore the Pacific. The squadron of four ships arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in April, 1841. Several exploring parties were then sent inland. The party under the

They have crossed the Mts. from Puget's Sound where they left their vessels, two in No. The Squadron has been out 3 years & have visited almost every part of the world, discovered a new continent & named it the Antartick Continent. Not inhabitable on account of ice & snow.

26. The above gentlemen leave after spending the night very happily. Mr. & Mrs. Smith & Mrs. Spalding & myself ride a short distance with them. They are highly pleased with our prospects. Lt. Johnson & Mr. Stearns of the above name party arrive from the Courdelain country. The former takes the latitude of the place, width of the R. & the height of the opposite bluff.

Lat. of this station (mean of 3 00) 46° 28' 23"

Variation of compass, Easterly 18° 50' 16"

Height of bluff opposite the point, little below 2,088 feet

Breadth of the river opposite house 460 [feet]

Latitude of Fort Colville as given by same 48° 36' 16"

Breadth of R. at do 2,330 feet

Height of Colville above sea 2,200 ft

Height of pass in snowy mountains near Neswually (nearly)
4,800 ft.

Our friends are fully set on leaving for Walla Walla, but after urging & telling them that Timothy says there will be no use for us to attempt anything with the young men if these gentleman leave on the Sabbath, they say they will by no means leave till Monday. Learn with regret that the chaplain of the Squadron is suspended from his duties but for what reason I can not tell.¹¹⁷ Mr. Stearns says for glaring conduct such as being too familiar with the ladies of the Sand. Is. Mission, but I can not believe it.

27. Sabbath, good No. present. Lt. Johnson speaks a few words very pointedly & evidently to acceptance. Speak to the S. School both are highly pleased. They make a few remarks to the children. Have

command of Lieutenant Johnson visited the mission stations of Tshimakain and Lapwai. The official report of the Expedition contains the following complimentary statements about the success of Spalding's work at Lapwai:

"His efforts in agriculture are not less exemplary, for he has twenty acres of fine wheat, and a large field in which were potatoes, corn, melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, etc., the whole of which were in fine order.

"The great endeavour of Mr. Spalding is to induce the Indians to give up their roving mode of life, and to settle down and cultivate the soil; and in this he is succeeding admirably. He shows admirable tact and skill, together with untiring industry and perseverance in the prosecution of his labours as a missionary; and he appears to be determined to leave nothing undone that one person alone can perform." Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, 460 ff.

¹¹⁷ The chaplain of the Expedition was the Rev. Jared Elliott who was detached from his ship, the *Vincennes*, when she was in San Francisco harbor August-October, 1841. Chaplain Elliott's Diary is with the Wilkes papers on deposit in the Library of Congress.

no where observed more seriousness & better attendance to preaching.

28. Messrs. Johnson & Stearns leave for Wailatpu. I accompany them to the plains. Stearns said before passing the divide this side of the old house that he had seen more cultivation in this valley than on all the Islands of Tahati. Send a letter & some broom corn to Mr. Eells by Cornelius.

JULY 1841

July 1. Continue at the house. The native returns with my horses & a letter from Mr. Waldron.

3. Lt. Johnson's guide returns with a letter from same & a few presents.

4. Sabbath, good No. present.

5. Examine the wheat, find it ripe enough to cut. Set Moses to reaping. Mr. Smith & myself at the cradle.

10. Have been at the wheat, finished most of this piece. The Lord has given us a good crop. Receive letters from Rev. D. Greene, 1 dated June 8 /40 & 1 Aug. 3 /40 & one from Mr. Hallack, Sect. of A. Tract Soc. do, June 16 /40 & one from Rev. N. S. Benham, Singapore, do Nov. 39 — Jan. 40 & one from Miss Louisa Lake, do Walnut Hills Nov. 39. Mr. Greene's letters are of vast importance to me at this time. He enjoins it upon us as a mission to do all we can to aid the self-supporting missionaries. What will the brethren say to this after taking the course they have.

14. Finish writing to the Board & start George with the letters.

17. George returns with some of the contents of the box spoken of by Mr. Greene. Without doubt Mr. G. has given Doct. Whitman or Mr. Gray liberty to open the box & retain all the books, periodicals, & papers except my own & 1 copy of the history of the Board, notwithstanding what he wrote to me. Mrs. Spalding receives a letter from her cousin in Phila. with a large No. of the Christian Observer & Moral Reform.

18. Sabbath. But few present as most are away after Buffalo.

20. Cut wheat at the old house, break the cradle.

21. Observe this day as a day of prayer & adopt some resolutions with my dear wife tending to keep us from falling into a passion on any occasion especially when injured by our brethren.

21. Again at the wheat. Finish. Lawyer arrives.

22. Spend the day with the Lawyer. Get many words.

23. Sabbath. Speak of the Prodigal Son. Lawyer appears solemn. Says he can do nothing, is like a dead carcas without head, legs, or arms.

25. Lawyer leaves & is to be back in some 7 or 8 weeks & be my teacher for 8 or 9 months for a cow.

30. Squint Eye brings a letter from Doct. Whitman who is yet at Mr. Eells. Mrs. Eells was delivered on the 27 of a son. Says that a

gentleman from the Exploring Squadron, a member of Mr. Barnes' church, spent a few days with him before he left home.

AUGUST 1841

Aug. 1. Sabbath. Joseph has returned to.

2. Go at the fence on the bank.

5. Finish the fence. Grind a little in the new mill. It needs another spout to give it sufficient power. Thank the Lord O my soul for this additional means of carrying on his work here. May this mill never be diverted from the glorious work of benefiting in a spiritual as well as temporal point of view this benighted people.

8. Sabbath, but few present. Spent yesterday in reading & meditation. Think my soul was refreshed.

9. Finish the fence. Mr. Smith goes at the gates.

10. Talk with two young fellows on the subject of gambling. They return soon with fire and attempt to burn the house. I take one & with the assistance of Mr. Smith bring into the house, & after our prayer meeting propose to whip him,¹¹⁸ but some of his friends help him out. He escapes by plunging into the R.

11, 12, 13. Finish the house & Moses works at the peas. A letter arrives from Rev. D. Lee stating that I have 4 head of cattle with him & wishes them taken away.

12, 13, 14. Thresh & gather peas, 60 bags about the same No. of bushels.

15. Sabbath, but few present, not returned from fishery. Speak of the marriage supper when one was found not having on a wedding garment.

16. Thresh the wheat at upper place. Mr. Smith finishes the gates & goes at the loom.

17. Husk the corn. Thank the Lord, O my soul for this goodness in giving us the fruits of the earth in such abundance.

18. Experience a most severe affliction to day in the loss of the large white & spotted cows, both American, leaving but 3 American females, 1 a cow, 1 yearling, & 1 calf. The spotted cow was to calve in about 6 weeks & to have been our winter's cow. But the Lord has taken them away, after permitting us to use them for a long time, & blessed be the name of the Lord that he has spared to us one milch cow and that this chastisement is so light for surely my sins deserve a much heavier one. May I so improve this as to make it consistent for my Father in Heaven to bless it to my spiritual good. Just as easily God could have cut the brittle thread upon which my life hangs, of that of my dear wife, or that of either or both of our dear children, of my dear & faithful brother & sister Smith. But he has only taken two cows & left our lives, our health, our sheep, our horses, our house & effects, our

¹¹⁸ See fn. 111 in Smith Diary. See also entry for August 19.

grain & good No. of cattle. But none of these things are ours. They are the Lord's lent to us as stewards.

The cows evidently were poisoned. In one we found a piece of meat I had given to an Indian containing nux vomica to kill a dog. In the other we could find nothing, but both died of the same cause. I would hope the meat was put out for the dogs & being salt the cows eat it, & was not given to them of design.

19. Cause three children to be whiped for stealing corn. Oh what will become of this people. They seem to be growing worse. Oh my dear Saviour have mercy upon this wicked people. Thy grace is sufficient. Do show them the wickedness of their hearts and may they be overwhelmed with a sense of their guilt in the sight of their holy creator. Moses has recovered mostly from the sickness of yesterday. Mr. Smith & myself work at the loom.

20. Have some painful thoughts respecting the lamentable state of this Mission. Oh my soul examine thyself & most honestly & humbly confess every sin & see to it that thou art right in the sight of God & pray for his blessing upon this mission & this dying people. Stephen brings back a bag old Sampson stole. Oh my God interpose to save this people from self-destruction. Moses goes up to winnow wheat.

21. Mungo arrived late at eve with a letter from Mr. Clark requesting Mr. & Mrs. Smith to be at Wailatpu as soon as possible. Mr. C. has selected a location some 25 miles from Vancouver & wishes to go immediately on. Mr. Griffin has located in the lower country. The Peacock, one of the Squadron, was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia in attempting to enter. No lives lost. Nothing saved but the chart & letters. Mr. Rogers has gone south [with] the party.

Two letters also come to me from Rev. Mr. Greene stating that two missionaries with their wives, a minister & layman, start for this field.¹¹⁹ I fear they have been stopped at the Islands, but know nothing concerning them. Oh that the prayer of the beloved Saviour might be fully realized in the christian church, that they may all be one as he & his Father are one. The letters are dated 15 months from the date of my letter to the reception of the answer. They have nothing to say respecting the Mills, whereas it was confidently predicted that I should be blamed & perhaps called home by the Board when they heard it of my building the millis in the way I did. Weaving apparatus is also sent, perhaps now at Vancouver. They also say that they have been informed that there are unhappy alienations among us "& from the criminations & as it seemed to me indications of wrong feelings in the letters to me from two of the brethren," he fears the

¹¹⁹ Spalding was right in his surmise. The Board sent out the Rev. and Mrs. J. D. Paris and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Rice in November, 1840. However, when they arrived at Honolulu on May 21, 1841, they heard such discouraging reports of conditions in the Oregon Mission that they decided to go no further.

information is too correct. Mr. G. neither knows nor wishes to know the persons implicated, but sincerely hopes the breach may be healed. Gives most excellent advice. The letter is designed as a general one. I sincerely hope it will do good. I judge from the information received at the last meeting that Messrs. Smith & Gray are the persons referred to in Mr. Greene's letter & I fear a good brother at the Sandwich Islands is the other source. May the Lord save us from heart burnings, & heal the difficulties that now exist which I am confident have their origin in prejudice, mistakes & envy.

22. Sabbath. Speak of Job & the importance of training up children in the way they should go.

24. Complete the loom & Mrs. Spalding commences her carpet, reed is very bad. Mr. Smith prepares to leave. Timothy returns from salmon.

25. Mr. & Mrs. [A.T.] Smith take their leave after a season of prayer. We shall feel their loss very much. I never became acquainted with a man whom I think as well qualified for a missionary among the Indians. His kindness & patience & industrious habits & good judgment & ardent but consistent zeal, I have never seen combined in one man before. May the Lord go with them & prosper them; & may we profit by their good example. I send two horses & Moses one to be returned with Edwin next week. I allow Mr. Smith \$120.00 for 8 months work & Mrs. Smith \$20.00 for her labors in school. I have paid them some \$24.00, give an order for \$66.24 on Vancouver & am to give him an Am. heifer & bull at some future time if the Mission will allow.

26. Moses continues threshing the wheat near by. We commenced yesterday.

27, 28. Work at wheat bin & make other preparations for leaving for Colville.

29. But few present.

31. Work on bin, women collect pumpkins & stalks, carry boards for floor in P. office. Women finish the tent which is made out of flannel sent by Dr. Allen,¹²⁰ finish tent poles, pins, &c & traveling bags. Edwin returns from Waiiletpu. Mr. Rogers is not likely to get Maria Pambrun, has gone south with a party from the lamented Peacock. Mr. & Mrs. Munger have returned from the Mountains not finding an opportunity to go down. They with Mr. Littlejohn & wife are going down with Messrs. Clark & Smith & probably stop with them. They are expecting to locate within 4 miles of Rev. Jason Lee.

SEPTEMBER 1841

Sept. 1. Start with my dear wife & little ones & Timothy & Delia

¹²⁰ The reference is to Dudley Allen, a former schoolmate of Spalding's and one of his best friends. Dr. Allen lived in Kinsman, Ohio. There are several letters from Spalding to Allen extant.

for Colville about noon. Ride slow as Mrs. S. & little E. are extremely weak. Camp on camas plain very late, but good moon light.

2. Start late, ride slow. Pass several little ponds & reach the Paluse about 3 p.m. Camp. See a black bear. A man overtakes us.

3. Start early. The man who overtook us last eve turns back. Noon at spring under a pine. Camp late by a little pool of bad water.

4. Start early. Pass water very frequently, meet a boy who turns back on other trail. We take the left one from the stony encampment, ride an hour or more & suppose ourselves wrong, turn to the right & seek the trail the boy took. After a long ride over the plains & across trails, find the trail & the boy's tracks, but discover that we had left the right trail & are now too far east & consequently in the pines & liable to find no water. Look out for water till the sun is about going down & ourselves much exhausted, when we discover a small lake to the left. Blessed the Lord for this marked interposition in our behalf & camped for the Sabbath. Wood & fresh grass in abundance, water and ducks in abundance.

5. Sabbath. A lonely one but the works of God remind us of his presence.

6. Very cold last night. Probably every thing killed through-out the country. Start early, lose the trail immediately but find soon. Reach the Spokane River about noon, Mrs. S's horse plunges in with saddle on & some valuable things attached to it, some danger done to bonnett, camp late at Spokane. Garry comes by my request.¹²¹ Poor creature, how miserable he looks. I speak of the present & future prospects & urge him to abandon his gambling but he seems lost.

7. Start with guide for Tshimakain, find a bad mountain & a mirry [?] place on the top. Take our friends by surprise about 2 p.m. Enjoy the interview, I trust to great profit to our souls.

8. By the strong request of our brothers & sisters, we remain today. We are most happily disappointed in the reception our brothers & sisters give us.¹²² The Lord be thanked for it & bless it to the good of our souls. Learn that Mr. Smith opened the box & distributed the books from the Board. Show the letters I have received from Mr. Greene, read letters from him to the brethren here.

¹²¹ See "List of Persons" for note about Spokane Garry. When Spalding returned to his mission field in 1871, on the eve of the great spiritual awakening which swept through the Nez Perce and Spokane tribes, Spokane Garry invited Spalding, in a letter written on March 27, 1873, "to baptize his people and marry them according to laws." Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 409.

¹²² After the unhappy discussion which took place at the Mission meeting of June 1841, Spalding felt a special need for some one within the Mission with whom he could discuss his problems. He found the Walkers and the Eells more receptive than he had ventured to hope. Spalding was also encouraged with the letter he received from Greene — mentioned in his Diary on August 21st. Spalding showed this letter to the Walkers and the Eells.

9. Mr. Eells starts for Okanagon. We start at the same time for C. Camp late 4 miles N. of the Fool's place. Timothy came near killing himself by the accidental discharge of the gun. Saw a few deer but could no chance at them. Very agreeable camping place. Appetite strong.

10. Start early, ride fast over the plains & pass the farm house at a distance where Mr. & Mrs. McDonald winters most of cattle, considerable hay in stacks. Reach the Fort about 2 p.m. unobserved. After waiting some time Mr. McDonald comes to the gate but does not recognize me & is about to take Eliza when I mistrust his embarrassment & introduce him to Mrs. S., who though standing by my side he did not observe. Her name of course made known mine to him. We found his family well. Mr. McD's brother is here from a party of 23 families from the Red River crossing the Mountains to settle on the Cowlitz as half servants of the company.¹²³ They started with oxen & carts, the carts are left, & they are packing their oxen. There are in all 80 children. The man returns tomorrow with horses & provisions.

11. With Mr. McDonald view barns, corn &c. Barns full of grain, 8 or 9 large stacks of wheat, corn & potatoes injured with the very hard frost on the 5.

12. Sabbath. Speak to the Protestant men of the Fort with their wives.

13. Ride with Mr. McDonald to the falls,¹²⁴ very grand, thence to the mill. At eve view the cattle, 111 lately sent to Nesqually, but few left. Two of my horses were rode off last night. but one yet found.

14. Start for home about noon, the other horse is brought. Mr. McD. rides a short distance with us, reach our old camp late.

15. Start early, travel fast, reach Tshimakain about sunset.

16. Mr. Eells returns from Okanagon with his packs, 4 days travel with ps. [Packs].

¹²³ The story of this Red River immigration figures in the arguments of those who advocated the theory that Whitman rode east in 1842 to save Oregon. Spalding in his old age often lectured on the history of the Oregon Mission. He disputed the claims of the Roman Catholics and made extravagant claims for Whitman's ride East. In one of his lectures, he stated that the Red River immigrants arrived in 1842 — whereas his own Diary shows that they came in 1841. See *Exec. Doc., No. 37, 41 Cong., 3 sess., Senate*, p. 20. Oliver Nixon, in his *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*, 106, embellishes the story Spalding gave, and tells how Whitman was at Fort Walla Walla in the fall of 1842 when the news arrived about the coming of the Red River immigrants. Nixon states: "One young priest threw his cap in the air and shouted — 'Hurrah for Oregon — American is too late, we have got the country'. Dr. Whitman carefully concealed all his intentions. . . ." Of course, such a story is pure fiction.

¹²⁴ Kettle Falls, which were near Fort Colville. These falls were submerged by the backing up of the waters behind Coulee Dam.

17 & 18. Remain with our dear brothers & sisters. Enjoy ourselves much, trust our hearts are benefited.

19. Mr. Walker preaches in English. Mr. Eells to the people after which the Lord's Supper is administered. I think the Lord blessed our souls.

20. Start late for home with a guide. Mr. & Mrs. Walker accompany us to the River. Camp early in a delightful place.

21. Guide leaves us about noon. Find the trail without difficulty. Pass the cold spring & take the middle trail as Mr. W. directs but Timothy insists on the right, follow it some 5 miles, turn into the plains to the left to find the right way, without trail just at night & without prospect of water. The Lord directs us to a place of water & wood.

22. Find the trail in a short distance, & the place we turned from when going. Reached the Paluse late by hard riding.

23. Start early. Reach kamash plain in a few hours but Mrs. S. begins to suffer from hard riding. Arrive at home early by the blessing of God & find all things well.

24. Start Jacob's son to Waiilatpu for a man to (—) my mill-stones as offered by Doct. Whitman in a letter just received. Find there has been no frost to injure the garden. Melons good. The Lord has been better to us than our fears in keeping every thing so safely. The people appear friendly. Little E. is very sick, probably from the hard ride the last two days.

26. Sabbath. Good No. present.

27 & 28. Finish wheat, dig potatoes, stake apple trees, inclose office for place of worship, commence school house. Jacob's boy returns but no man. Mr. G. can not spare him. Doct. W. & Mr. G. have new trouble with Indians.

29, 30. Continue at the school house with Moses who is very faithful.

OCTOBER 1841

Oct. 1 & 2. Continue at the house & cellar, remove the old houses.

3. Sabbath. House more than full.

7. Craig & Larison arrive from Willamette. Letter from Doct. W., has been treated basely, life endangered, door broken in, goods are packing up, request me to meet him at Walla Walla to which place he & Mr. Gray expected to retreat last Tuesday.

8. Speak with the Indians & while assembled news arrive that W.W. is burnt.

9. House up, cellar dug.

10. Sabbath. Great Nos. present, out doors.

11. Start with Larison, Joseph, Jacob, James, Jason & Meiway for W. Camp at Pataha about 10 at night.

12. Some horses turn back. Come late. Camp on Kapiiai.

13. Start before day, reach Doct. W. 9 a.m. All at work & all quiet, just as I expected. Larison leaves. Conner is here, poor man. Mr. G. is building an immense house.¹²⁵

15 & 16. Speak to the people twice a day, very few attend. Mr. Eells arives for provisions & cows.

17. Sabbath. Speak to the people again, good No. present. Joseph speaks to good effect.

18. My horses start with all the company. My riding horse is up & my whip in my hand through the day, but conversation on old topics prevents my going.

19. Start this morn with old James & Meiway, ride till 12 oclock, stop at Tukanon till light, no sleep.

20. Reach home about 10 at night. Great Nos. here collected for meeting.

24. Sabbath, perhaps 2,000 present.¹²⁶ I think I have never seen so many present. Speak of John on the Isle of Patmos & the words to the Laodiceans.

25. Speak on the words, Behold I stand at the door &c.

26. Speak on the Jailor & Felix.

27. The meeting continues attentive, but God alone can affect the heart.

28. The assembly continues large, review the former subjects.

29. Speak on faith, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ." Old James seeing too much light for his sorcery rose in a rage & said he had received the Waiikin¹²⁷ when young & could not throw it away & by this he had power over the winds & clouds & that he could cause the winds to blow or the clouds to give rain when he pleased. This stirred up the zeal of Timothy who answered him very closely but the old man soon stoped him by force & attempting to speak, I told him to sit down. The sorcery & many other things convince me that this people are very much under the power of the devil. O may his chains be broken & their souls set at liberty.

30. Old James comes early this morning & says he shall see me no more for a long time & further that Craig tells them that they should

¹²⁵ Gray built a story-and-a-half house at Waiilatpu during the fall of 1841. By November 11th, Whitman reported to Greene that the house was roofed and that the walls were being "hewed and plastered." The house measured 32 x 40 feet.

¹²⁶ According to Smith's highest estimates, the Nez Perces then numbered about 3,000. Although Spalding was usually somewhat over optimistic whenever he estimated numbers, yet it is possible than 2,000 Nez Perces were present at that time at Lapwai.

¹²⁷ The Waiikin or wy-ya-kin was an attending spirit. The Nez Perces had the custom of sending a child, seven to ten years old, off alone into the mountains to get his or her wy-ya-kin and with it a new name. See McBeth, *The Nez Perces Since Lewis and Clark*, 280, for further information about this custom.

demand pay for their lands & that he told them to tear away the mill-dam last winter. Joseph, Luke & Timothy speak & very much to the point.

31. Sabbath. The No. seems not diminished. Speak of the reason why Jesus asks for our hearts. Close the interesting services of 8 days to day. Oh Lord has any good seed been sown, if so water it with thine own Spirit. Do have mercy upon these deluded souls.

NOVEMBER 1841

Nov. 1, 2. Moses drawing wood. Work at the cart & house.

3. Noah starts for the Dalls with letters to Rev. D. Lee, John McLoughlin Esq. & to Doct. Whitman & Gray. Put up the thin stove. Moses continues drawing wood. Pakatas with a large No. of people leave.

4 to 6. Continue at the school house & drawing wood. Mrs. S. school increases. People continue to leave for their several countries. The Lord go with them & fasten conviction from what has been said.

7. Sabbath. Good No. present.

8 to 13. Continue at the school house & various demands upon time.

15. To day our dear little Eliza is four years old, very healthy though her first years were feeble. Bless the Lord oh my soul for his watchful care over this dear child who is dedicated to God in holy baptism into the name of the holy Trinity. Of thou holy Saviour, who once delighted to bless little children, in mercy incline the heart of this dear girl to love & give her earliest & best days to thee. I know I do not deserve such a favor, but I would ask it in behalf of a spiritual heir of thy faithful servant. Awaken & solely through thy rich grace. Oh give us her parents prevailing faith that we may ask for & thou canst grant her conversion. Especially bless her mother, my dear companion in her prayers & labor of love with this her dear child. May both live, the one to receive & the other to bless & comfort with her affectionate & pious obedience & warm attachment to truth & fidelity.

To 23. Mrs. S. is now with school in the new house which we find very commodious. The Lord be thanked for this most desirable addition to our means of labor. May it ever be devoted to the holy purpose of instruction & prove indeed a great helper to us in our feeble efforts.

24. To day our little Henry Hart is two years old, very healthy, a good No. of teeth, can speak a few words, gives us much pleasure by his prattling. Truly this is treasure I can not be sufficiently thankful for. Both of our dear children enjoy the best of health. May little Henry grow up a joy to our hearts by his growing attachment to holiness & the fear of God. Oh my Father which are in Heaven, grant us his parents grace to train him up for thee & faith to leave him at the foot of the Cross.

26. To day 38 years of my few & fleeting days are numbered &

among them have been nearly 5½ years of holy Sabbaths.¹²⁸ What an amount of holy time, but alas how little of holy living. Oh my soul perhaps this may be the last time thou wilt be permitted to record the day of thy birth at least in the body. See to it that thou knowest what manner of spirit thou art of. Oh Lord help me to dedicate myself anew to thy service, & shouldst thou see fit to spare my life another year may it be more directly spent in thy service than any which have gone before.

While at evening worship, Doct. Whitman & Mr. Cook, an Englishman in his employ, arrived, the better to arrange my mill-stones.

27. Examine Luke & Timothy's wife. Both appear well. The Lord grant they may not be deceived nor we concerning them.

28. Sabbath. Doct. Whitman speaks to the people.

29. Mr. Cook continues at the stones. Moses at grooving & arranging boards for the roof of our dwelling house. Examine Conner's father in law, appears well. This concludes five years of our stay among this people.

30. Examine Joseph's friend & wife.

DECEMBER 1841

Dec. 1. Examine Five Crows¹²⁹ who has been here since the commencement of the protracted meeting & is surprisingly attentive to religious instruction & his book. Attends school regularly every day. I think he indulges a hope. Oh Lord grant he may be really a child of thine.

3. Doct. W. is not willing that these persons who have been examined & who give satisfactory evidence that they are new creatures in Christ should be received into the church till our difficulties are settled.¹³⁰ He read over a long list of charges against me, many of which were true & for which I told him I was willing & anxious to make any concessions or do any thing he wished if he would let me know his wish as most of them had been often rehearsed & I as often intended to acknowledge my faults, but though he did not directly say what he wanted, still he gave us plainly to understand that nothing short of excision from the Mission would satisfy him & Mr. Gray. Many

¹²⁸ Spalding, true to his Puritan New England background, laid great emphasis on Sunday (or the Sabbath) observances. At the time of the Whitman massacre, Mrs. Spalding refused to leave Lapwai on Sunday. The example of the Spaldings regarding Sunday observance is still remembered by the Nez Percés.

¹²⁹ *Minutes of the Synod of Washington, 1936*, shows that Hezekiah was baptized on June 16, 1843. Hezekiah, a chief of the Cayuses, was also called Five Crows. He was the only native of the Cayuse tribe to become a member of the Mission church.

¹³⁰ Whitman's attitude at this time is uncommendable. Whitman allowed his personal feelings regarding Spalding to be a barrier for the admission of some natives into the church. Spalding had to wait until May 13, 1843, before these natives could be received as church members. At that time nine were admitted. See Records of the First Presbyterian Church.

of the charges were facts perverted. And many of them were direct falsehoods got up by some body. The Lord grant that I may see clearly where I have sinned against my brother & give me a hearty disposition to repent of them, & give me patience to bear with christian humility the wrongs that are heaped upon me. May I receive them with submission as chastisements in the hand of my kind Heavenly Father. Mr. Cook continues at the mill. Mrs. S. continues in her school notwithstanding her multiplied cares. The Lord preserve her precious life & grant her health & grace to do his holy will. Kill the hog, which is very fat.

4. Doct. gives up the idea of going & all hands go to another spout.

5. Sabbath. Joseph, Timothy & Luke speak.

6. Finish the spout & grind a pail of flour, wheel moves good speed. Mr. Cook pronounces it a first rate mill. The Lord be praised for this great blessing, may it be improved to the glory of his name. Monthly concert.

7. Doct. Whitman leaves with Mr. Cook. He takes the Blacksmith Shop with the promise of sending back a small set of tools which were made here last winter & which he will have no need of with this set of tools. Craig & Moses continue at the roof of the house. Doct is also to let me know when I shall send the half of this bolt & take half that, as that is coarse & this is fine. Joseph goes with Doct W. to get 4 ploughs & the tools for me.

8-9. Continue at the roof, remove the garret floor.

17-18. Work at Dove house & Mill dam. Joseph returns Friday with 4 plows but no tools nor any thing said about the bolt. What shall I think of such conduct? Fetches a box of beads from Vancouver & a letter from Mr. McDonald.

19. Sab. Speak of the evil of sin & how it appears in the sight of God.

20. Work at dam & dove house. Commence the translation of the Gospel of Matthew.

21. Kill steer, not fat, meat tough, has been left too long. Should have been killed 2 months ago. Ellice¹⁸¹ leaves for a short time.

22. Moses works at Dove House, grinds some, continue at Matthew.

JANUARY 1842

Jan. 26. Send by Mr. Craig¹⁸² to Doct. Whitman & Mr. Gray the translation of the first 9 chapters of Matt. & most of the 10th. I hope

¹⁸¹ Ellice or Ellis of Kamiah did not cooperate much, if any, with the missionaries of the American Board. Since he had spent four years as a youth in the Anglican Mission School at Red River (Winnipeg, Canada), it may be assumed that whatever religious sympathies he had were along Episcopal lines. It may have been that he was out of sympathy with the Calvinistic theology and the Puritanical observances of the missionaries. He was evidently an important figure among the Nez Perces as he was selected to be the first Head Chief of the tribe in 1843.

¹⁸² By this time Craig was cooperating with Spalding and had entered his employ.

they will examine it with christian candour & fidelity & return it immediately & express a willingness to let me print it. Send for my supplies from Vancouver, hope the things from Boston will find their way here bye & bye, as we are in great need of the weaving apparatus.

About two weeks since I experienced a most wonderful Providential deliverance. While hewing one of the beams of my house, the floor having been taken up, my foot gave away & I was falling directly on my face with the broad axe under me, though all in a moment I had many thoughts, God enabled me to cast the axe one side & turn upon my back or rather right shoulder which nevertheless would have been crused but for the interposing hand of my God to whom be everlasting praise & a new dedication of my wonderfully preserved body & soul.

FEBRUARY 1842

Feb. 5. Craig returns with a letter from Mr. McDonald, deep snow in all that region. Doct. Whitman neither sends the Ms nor a letter. Report from Willamette says that Mr. Munger attempted to nail himself to wood-work above his fire, fastened one hand probably fainted, fell on one side into the fire & so burnt that he lived but 4 days. Another report says that England has declared war against the U.S. on account of the execution of Mr. Cleod (?) who burnt the steam boat Niagary with several men. God grant it may not be true. Doct. W. & Gray have built a Blk Smith shop between their dwellings, are getting timber for a saw-mill.

8. Old James arrived from the Dalls with letters from Mr. Perkins & Mrs. Smith, Twality Plain, & Mrs. Eells. Also one from Doct. Whitman dated Jan. 6 stating that they are willing to exchange bolt cloth as a half of each will probably make a better bolt for each of us than either by itself as theirs is too coarse & mine too fine. But as they sent no such request by Mr. Craig who left on the 1st of Feb. & informed [them] that I had not received the letter of Jan. 8, & in answer to which Mr. Gray told Mr. Craig that I had fooled myself out of a bolt, I do not feel at liberty to cut this bolt. Another reason, when Mr. Craig left, Mr. Gray was about to put up the bolt as it was & said when he put it up once he should not take it down to cut it. That was I believe 8 days ago. I should certainly run a great risk of spoiling this valuable bolt should I cut it now & send it, as without doubt Mr. Gray has put up their bolt before this or will have it up before I can get this there, & this is doubtless the reason they thought not best to write by Mr. Craig though they were informed that I had not received the letter of Jan. 6. The bolt that I have with a piece of open cloth will doubtless answer every purpose.

9. Have about finished the floors & partitions of our house which makes it every way a very comfortable convenient house for which I would call upon my soul & all within me to praise & adore the Lord, the giver of every good & perfect gift. For a long time I have been in the habit of working days & writing nights.

10. Noah returns from the Dalls with a cow & calf for me & a cow & calf for himself. Two steers ran back from the camp at night. These 6 animals are for a Bull I left him have 3 years ago.

19. Receive a letter from Doct. Whitman requesting half of the bolt as a favor to us both, also some apple trees.

21. Set out 16 ap. trees belonging to old Tackensuatas.

23. Send Mastaps with letters to Walla Walla, a small package for the Willamette containing one to Rev. J. Lee & one to Mrs. Smith, a package for Colvile containing one to Mr. McDonald, Esq., & a package to Rev. T. S. Williamson, Lacquiparle, containing one for himself & one for Rev. Mr. Riggs, one for D. Allen, M.D., one for Rev. D. Greene, & two from Conner & Craig to their friends. A package to Waiilatpu containing letters of confession to & begging forgiveness of the following persons, viz, Doct. Whitman & wife, Mr. Gray & wife, Mr. Walker & wife, Mr. Eells & wife, & Mr. Rogers. I trust by the grace of God I humbly repent of my sins against these brethren & sisters. That I have sinned against them & before God, I feel conscious. May the Lord in great mercy forgive me & give me grace to do the work he has for me here to do in a way not to give offence to my brethren any more, however inconvenient it may be for me or expensive to the Board provided it always accords with his holy will, & to ascertain this may the Holy Spirit at all times give me wisdom & grace & a spirit of prayer. The many offences of some of the brethren against myself & wife is a matter of their own consciences, well-known to themselves. When they feel that they have injured us, they will be likely to make it known to us. Will the Lord in great mercy show us the evil of our hearts & give us grace to abase ourselves & seek most sincerely & humbly the peace & union of the Mission. By the same opportunity I send 50 apple trees, the tongs are returned, as also the butter keg. Half of my bolt is sent, also a bear skin & one large elk [skin?], 30 l. [loads?], one small do, 20 loads & one large deer skin 20 loads.

26. Set apart this day of prayer in view of the communications sent to the brethren & sisters.

MARCH 1842

March 5. Mastaps returns with an Am. cow I had requested of Messrs. Whitman & Gray, a part of their bolt in return for the half of mine sent. Also answer to the communication sent to Mr. Gray & wife, also to Doct. Whitman & wife.¹⁸⁸ Instead of complying the requirement of Jesus in Luke 17:4, they partly grant our request but wish us to meet them to answer to whatever charges they may wish to bring

¹⁸⁸ The Coe Collection, Yale University, contains several letters from Gray to Walker, of this period, which shows Gray's hostility to Spalding. He accuses Spalding of "duplicity." He wrote on March 28, 1842: "Duplicity you are well aware is one that holds a prominent station in all his [Spalding's] correspondence & actions." Undoubtedly Gray's attitude to Spalding affected Whitman.

against us. The Lord I hope will direct us what to do. May we pray for wisdom & prudence. My supplies have also arrived.

6. Sabbath. Notwithstanding the severe snow-storm a large No. are present. Speak of the value of the soul.

9. Traded today a large quantity of parfishes, cords & Appishmores for peas, corn, flour, & Amt. & knives. As follows, paid peas 436 cups or about 6½ bushels; paid corn 216 cups or about 3 bush., paid flour 84 cups or a bushel & 14 cups; paid ammunition 187 plus 8, paid knives 7, equal in all to about £ 2/6/0 in grain & flour & £ 1/2/1 in amt. & knives. No of parfishes are [blank], Appishmores [blank], cords [blank]. Purchased one bag for Dr. Allen, 2 knives & 10 loads, one cap, 1 knife & 1 do, 10 loads, 1 saddle pack, 20 loads.

10. Moses & Timothy leave for Waiilatpu & Walla Walla with 10 horses.

11. Work at ploughs. Craig helps me, prepare wood mostly for 4.

16. Finish three ploughs for Joseph, Jacob & Luke.

17. Finish yard fence before the door of store-house, which makes a pleasant yard for the children, a thing we have much needed.

18. Moses & Timothy return from Walla W. with the packs. A large brl. from Holland pattend filled with valuable clothing containing among other things a fine black broad cloth coat & pantaloons, a donation from a widow woman by the name of Wells. The Lord reward her as also the other friends who have given us valuable donations. May we feel that these things are from the Lord committed to our trust. The brl contained letters from sister Lorina, Mrs. H. Hopkins, Mrs. Hitchcock, Mrs. Buel, Miss Ward & Miss Wells. The brl was started in May 1840. Also a brl from Prattsburgh well filled but not with so valuable articles as were contained in the other. This brl was started in Sept. 1840. The Lord help us to rightly improve all these things. This brl contained many letters from friends.

21. File saw-mill saw.

APRIL 1842

April 3. I have worked hard with Moses & more or less people sawing Craig's lumber which required him but 5 days to bring onto the ground.

5. Start with Moses & 13 men up the river for timber. Very cold. Camp opposite Barthlomew's creek.

6, 7, & 8. Cut, roll into the river & raft upwards of 70 logs. 7 rafts, two men to a raft, take most of my cloths so as to be able to swim if necessary. Commend ourselves to God in prayer & start. Moses takes back the horses, &c. One raft runs immediately upon the rocks, & fastens, arrive at the house in good season, very cold. Except the one raft, all arrive safe. The two who lodged the raft arrive at eve with 5 logs scattered.

9. Roll out all the timber.

16. The last week have cut up a good quantity of logs all through the blessing of God. Have stocked a plough for Jason but his insolence make it necessary to withhold it for the present.

17. Waters very high, still a good No. present.

18. Rain, high water.

19. Water up to wheel bottom.

20. Yesterday all dark [?] as to work. Today men enough to man two teams, clear off stones & make fence, say 14 in all.

21. Continue at Bartholomew's plough, broke Conner's yesterday. Today borrowed Craig's & after considerable difficulty with horses, the teams go. Brace up the underpinning of the mill, cast in stones, open the safety gate at the head of the ditch. Two men take out, sort the potatoes. Assist Moses at the mill. Purchase a raft of cedars, get sinnews for Craig to make mocacins for Lt. Johnson. Long preparing harness for three horses. Look after the turkeys. Make a trial to purchase a robe for Lt. Johnson.

22. Work hard at putting in a side dam & repair the wedges for the crank. Continue the ploughs. Richard returns from Waiilatpu with letters from Sister Lorena, dated Sept. /41, one from Rev. D. Greene, one from Mr. Chamberlain with Bill of things sent Doct. Feb. /42, 4 from Rev. Mr. Greene, Sand. Isls, d. Jan. & Feb. /42, from Mr. & Mrs. Griffin, & from Messrs. Eells, Whitman & Gray with the translation I forwarded last Jan. to Waiilatpu to be examined by the last two named gentlemen. No corrections are made, but the ms is very badly torn, & I am requested to review it & bring it with such books as I may think proper to Waiilatpu by 16 of May where Messrs. Eells & Walker will be ready to make corrections in. I suppose their aid in correcting a translation of the Bible into Nez Perce would be of as much use as mine would be in correcting a translation of the Bible into Hawaiian. As for my reviewing the translation between this & the proposed meeting, the following facts should have been considered by the writers of the request & should have prevented them from making such a condition or request, viz. Between the arrival of the request & the time for me to prepare to go to the meeting, there are but 16 working days, 4 of those would have been required for me to go to Kamiah for the Lawyer who gave me the language of the translation & of course the one to assist in reviewing it, but as the letters arrived on Friday late, I could not start that week without being absent on the Sabbath & spending it on the way. Consequently one or two days more must be taken off leaving 10 or 11, time enough perhaps if nothing else stood in the way. But the most glaring facts are, the Lawyer could not without great & irreparable loss neglect planting his corn, potatoes, peas, &c., leaving his farm at this time of the year. The same of Timothy, Joseph, Luke, & others in this vicinity. Consequently to make the Lawyer & others good should they be induced to lay aside their

farms, a sum of money would be required amounting not much short of £ 200 sterling. The saw-mill at this station can run but a short time in the year by reason of the high or low water & that time embraces the time given to me to review the translation, consequently without irreparable loss to the station & injury to the cause of civilizing & christianizing the natives of this vicinity. The mill cannot be neglected. True I have a Canadian employed but he is so unacquainted with such work that more than 2/3 of my time is required at the mill or the waters. Again the last of April & the first of May is the seed time of the year. To neglect to put in grain during this season, the evils can not [be] calculated. These circumstances either of which places it utterly beyond my power to review the translation in the given time & were known to the writers & should have been considered by them. Other Providential circumstances, such as Moses unexpectedly leaving, &c. need not be named.¹³⁴

FEBRUARY 1843

21. Ellis starts for the Willamette. Send letters to Docts. McLoughlin, Barkley, & White, Rev. Mr. Clark. He is going with canoe with several. Our prayer is that by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, through the few hints we have given Doct. W., he will give E[llis] such advice as shall check his proud spirit & cause him to return & respect the institution of religion & civilization which by the blessing of God seemed to be almost the portion of this people. Meeting as usual. Much feeling.

22. Interest among the people seems to abate. Considerable talk about painting faces. In the prayer meeting, Three Feathers says he will give up his book rather than disobey E & not paint in school.

23. Set type for hymn-book. Express arrives from Wailatpu with some paper & inkstands for the school. Mr. Geiger has some trouble with people, some are glad the mill is burnt. Some threats to burn the house. My dear wife, through the blessing of our most merciful God, seems recovering since the thorough operation of the calomel. May the Lord continue to raise her up to be continued a blessing to her husband, children, & school. It seems from a letter of Doct. Whitman to Mr. McKinley that he had a guide and fair prospects from Uintah.

24. Letters arrive from McKinley, Esq. regretting very much to learn by persons from the Willamette that I have been recalled by the Board as thereby one of the most flourishing schools in the country must be abandoned. Mr. McKinley has witness with his own eyes what

¹³⁴ Spalding made no entry in his Diary from April 22, 1842, to February, 1843.

Thus we miss his comments on one of the most important periods of the history of the Mission. Nothing was written during those days in September and October 1842 when the members of the Mission met at Wailatpu to decide what should be done with the disastrous order of the Board or of the reasons why Whitman went East.

is going on at this station, was happily disappointed, did not expect from information received, doubtless from those who have made such undying efforts to break up the station, to find everything so far advanced. Visited Tohto Malwin's wife who has been sick some time. An unaccountable case. There seems to be something about 8 inches long, nearly as large as the wrist, lying on the right side of naval, hard with a constant most violent throbbing which can be seen at considerable distance. Attend meeting with the people, call on them to speak & give reason why they are turning back to darkness & death. Have they heard from hell? Have the fires gone out? Has the worm died? Have they heard from Heaven? Has its songs ceased? Some seem to think that Ellis' order for drums & painting has checked the feeling.

25. Meeting as usual. Timothy in great distress for the people.

26. Sabbath meeting out of doors. Speak of the judgment. One old Lot.

27. Attend the funeral of an old woman who died last night. Oh Lord make use of this solemn providence to awaken the people to a sense of their danger. Write a letter to the Board.

28. Continue writing letters. Weather very cold again. Meeting as usual.

MARCH 1843

March 1. Start the express with letters to Rev. D. Greene, Walker, McKinley, & Geiger. Send 10 bushels of wheat to Mr. Geiger to sow. Horses brought up. Show the effects of the journey to the Dalls last Dec. & Jan. However have stood the winter well.

2. News arrive by Indians that Mr. Rogers & wife, another Am. & wife, & 6 other Ams. have been lately drowned in the lower country. God grant that it may not prove true. But how uncertain is life? We will prayerfully & humbly await the arrival of letters.

3-4. Kill hog & salt, attend meeting at eve in Joseph's lodge. One man felt deeply. Attend meeting at eve. in Luke's lodge. Refreshing time. Meeting in afternoon. Very cold.

5. Sabbath. Very cold but great Nos. present. Speak of the sower.

6. Work at Hymn book. Get down the first form. Commence letter to Doct. Williamson.

7. Mr. Littlejohn file saw.

Spalding Carries On at Lapwai 1843-1847

Whitman was successful in his intercession with the Board. The drastic order which called for the dismissal of Spalding and the closing of Lapwai and Wailatpu was rescinded. After the voluntary withdrawal of Smith in 1841 and of Gray in 1842, a spirit of harmony settled upon the four couples who remained in the Mission for the five years, 1843-47, inclusive. The Walkers and the Eells at Tshimakain were never trouble makers. We read of no further disagreements between Spalding and Whitman.

Following the special meeting of the Mission called in September 1842 to consider the action of the Board, Spalding on October 15th wrote a letter of about 8,000 words to Secretary Greene in which he gave his defense. "It seems that as yet," he wrote, "the committee have received but one side of the question." That was true. Not having access to the letters of criticism about him and his policies which Greene had received, Spalding could but surmise what had been said. In this letter Spalding set forth his apology for his insistence on settling the Indians. "I believe," he wrote, "that if the people cannot be collected & brought under regular preaching of the gospel, & into schools for several months in the year, there is but little hope for them." It may be noted that during the closing years of the Mission, Spalding did not write to Greene as frequently or at such length as he had in 1836-39. Nor did Greene make as frequent or as lengthy quotations from Spalding's letters in the columns of the *Missionary Herald*.

Spalding asked some friends outside of the Mission to send in their testimony regarding his work to the Board. Among those who responded was Thomas McKay, who wrote on March 28, 1843.

I am happy to inform you that the Mission under the care of Revd H. H. Spalding is above all Missions in this country, that is it surpassed them all, notwithstanding all what has been said against him, he stands aloof like a pillar; unshaken by his opponents.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 293.

Dr. Elijah White in his letter to Greene dated April 8, 1843, wrote:

I found nearer approaches [at Lapwai] to civilization and more manifest desire for improvement than I have elsewhere met with in this or any other Indian country. Mr. Spalding is an ardent and rather hasty man but certainly a zealous influential and most efficient missionary and with his incomparable Lady doing much good in this dark portion of the earth. Their prospects are much more flattering than at any mission station in Oregon on this side of the mountains.¹⁸⁶

Writing to Greene on February 26, 1843, Spalding reported that "Last season about one hundred and forty cultivated from one-fourth of an acre to four or five acres each." Gradually the Indians were beginning to acquire domesticated animals besides horses and dogs. Spalding also reported that some of the natives about his station had thirty-two head of cattle, ten sheep, and forty hogs. In his letter of October 17, 1845, to Greene, Spalding wrote: "The people are making astonishing progress in agriculture. A much larger quantity of different kinds of grain, corn, peas, wheat &c has been raised this year, than any year before." There was great need for more ploughs and Spalding asked Greene to send from ten to twelve additional ploughs each year. The extent of Spalding's farming activities may be seen by consulting the inventory of the Lapwai station that he compiled following the Whitman massacre. [See Appendix II.] He then had about forty-four acres under cultivation and 164 head of horses, cattle, and hogs. Nine buildings dotted the mission site. Spalding's activities constituted an ever-present example to the natives of what could be done to make a living from the soil.

The spiritual results of Spalding's labors, as measured by the number of converts, were not so encouraging. On May 14, 1843, when Whitman was still in the East, Spalding received nine new members into the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon entirely upon his own responsibility but with "the advice of Mr. Littlejohn," one of the independent missionaries then living at Lapwai. This number included Asenath, the wife of Joseph, and Tamer, the wife of Timothy. Evidently these were the same persons whom Spalding wanted to receive into the church on December 3, 1841, but whose reception was postponed at that time because of Whitman's attitude.

On June 16, 1843, Spalding received Five Crows, renamed Hezekiah, into the church. The record book carries the notation: ". . . having been examined as to the grounds of his hope some 18 months before." Evidently Five Crows was also one of the group ready for church membership in December 1841 to whose reception Whitman objected. On June 23, 1844, ten more members, nine of whom were natives, were received into the church. Whitman joined Spalding in spending three

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 297.

days examining the candidates on their religious faith and experience before they were officially welcomed into the membership of the church. This brought the total native membership of the church up to twenty-one, of whom only Hezekiah was a Cayuse. All of the others were Nez Perces. No more natives were received before the Whitman massacre.

The eleven-year history of the Oregon Mission of the American Board may be divided into two parts. The dividing line was the arrival in the fall of 1842 of the fateful order of the Board which prompted Whitman to make his historic ride East. During the first six years, 1836-42, the Mission was torn by dissension from within; during the last five years, 1843-47, the Mission was faced with increasing hostility from the natives. This hostility came to a tragic climax in the Whitman massacre of November 29, 1847.

The Whitman massacre was caused by a combination of factors, one of which was the nefarious influence of some half-breeds. As early as 1839 a half-breed Delaware Indian by the name of Tom Hill appeared among the Nez Perces. He was an outspoken atheist and a bitter critic of all missionaries in general and of Spalding and Whitman in particular. He is reported to have advocated the killing of both Spalding and Whitman. Writing to Greene on January 25, 1846, Spalding characterized Hill as being "a most blasphemous debased infidel, who has been some years in the Mts. spreading his poison. . . ." He stated that Hill had returned to the Clearwater Valley in the fall of 1845 and that "Perhaps 1000 have joined his party including 8 or 9 chiefs."¹⁸⁷ Hill told the Nez Perces how the white man had taken the hunting lands away from the Indians in the East and prophesied that the same would be true in Oregon. Of course, there was much truth in such a statement.

Spalding's letters to Greene of 1846 and 1847 carry stories of vandalism against the Mission property and of open hostility to himself and to his family. His fences were torn down; stones were thrown against his house; the mill dam was destroyed; and his daily life is filled with "a thousand little harrassing events." In his letter to Greene of January 24, 1846, he penned the following:

I have had a gun cocked & presented at my head for 15 or 20 minutes while 4 of the principle men stood & looked on with as much indifference as if a dog were to be shot down & when the proper time arrived I rose & walked off, the muzzle of the gun brushing my cheek. At one time probably 500 people were collected threatening to go to my house, tie & whip my wife & for no other reason than because she had sent to the chief of the place requesting him to send away two of his men who had just presented themselves before the school naked & painted with horrible

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 322.

figuers, & continued their indecent jestures till Mrs. S. was obliged to leave the house.

In this letter Spalding reported that his congregations on "the sabbath" during the winter had been smaller than usual, seldom numbering more than 200. The attendance at the school had also declined. Dr. White's attempt to introduce laws among the Nez Perces in the fall of 1842 and to place the responsibility of enforcing the laws upon the chiefs he had appointed had been a complete failure.

One major point of difficulty which developed during the latter years of the mission was over the idea of property. When the missionaries first arrived, the Indians had no conception of private ownership of land or of tribal proprietary rights to natural resources except in a very general way. By common consent one band of Nez Perces respected the hunting rights of another band in a certain area. However, by 1845 the natives were beginning to develop a sense of property. In Spalding's letter of October 17, 1845, to Greene, he wrote:

Another cause of excitement is their land — They are told by the enemies of the mission, that people in the civilized world purchase their land & water privileges. This touches a chord that vibrates through every part of the Indian's soul — that insatiable desire for property.

Spalding's letter to Greene of February 3, 1847, reflects a more discouraged spirit than ever before. "We have now entered," he wrote, "upon our eleventh year among this people & our prospects for usefulness are less encouraging now than they were on our first arrival." He had found it impossible to conduct a school during the winter of 1846-47. The number of instances of vandalism had increased over the previous year. Daily family worship which was once so common among the Nez Perces had been abandoned by nearly all "except the members of the church." The good chiefs confessed their inability to restrain the wild, rowdy element. Yet — on the brighter side — Spalding reported that the civilizing influences continued to spread. The Nez Perces, he estimated, then owned between 400 and 500 head of cattle. Their total yield of grain amounted to several thousand bushels during the previous season. And yet there were but few who showed any sense of appreciation of the missionaries who had brought the benefits of a settled life to them.

Added to this multiplication of difficulties was the fact that the winter of 1846-47 was one of the worse in the history of the Pacific Northwest up to that time. Spalding reported that the thermometer dipped to about 30° below zero and that for the first time in his experience at Lapwai he found it necessary to give fodder to his animals. The snow was too deep to permit them to forage. He noted that the Indians had suffered great losses. He estimated that they lost about one-half of their cattle.

Even though a deep note of discouragement runs through these letters of Spalding to Greene written during the last two years of the history of the Mission, we find no evidence of Spalding wanting to desert the field. Instead, he was pleading for more workers. In spite of insults, threats, and vandalism, he was carrying on his many duties to the best of his ability. He even found time to work at the translation of the Bible into Nez Perce. After completing and printing his Gospel of Matthew in Nez Perce in 1845, he began translating the Acts of the Apostles. This he was unable to finish.

Two more children were born to the Spaldings during these years under review — Martha Jane, March 20, 1845, and Amelia Lorene, December 12, 1846. This increased their family to four — three daughters and one son. A school for the children of the Mission had been established at Waiilatpu which, for the winter of 1847-48, was to be under the direction of Andrew Rodgers. The Spaldings decided to send Eliza, who reached her tenth birthday on November 15th. Spalding and his daughter arrived at Waiilatpu on November 22nd, just a week before the final tragedy took place. He found a great deal of sickness at Waiilatpu both among the white people and the natives. On Saturday, November 27th, Whitman was called to ride to the Umatilla, some twenty-five miles distant, to minister to some sick in the lodge of Five Crows. He asked Spalding to go with him. Mrs. Whitman was reluctant to see her husband leave at that time and bade him goodbye with tears in her eyes. It was the last time that Spalding saw Narcissa — the woman he had loved as a young girl, in his youth.

The Whitman Massacre

The Whitman station at Waiilatpu became a focal point of trouble even more than the Spalding mission at Lapwai. The arrival of the 1843 immigration inaugurated a new era not only in the history of Oregon but also in the history of the American Board's Mission in that territory. Each year the covered-wagon trains which wound their dusty way down out of the Blue Mountains across the hunting grounds of the Cayuse Indians became longer and longer. Only about 100 wagons made the trip to the Willamette Valley in 1843. The next year about 160 arrived and in 1845 there were over 300 wagons. During these years the number of immigrants averaged about ten per wagon.

Being one of the first outposts of civilization within Old Oregon on the Oregon Trail, the Whitman station became a haven of refuge for the destitute, the sick, and the exhausted. In October 1844 the seven Sager children, who were made orphans by the death of their parents on the Oregon Trail, were left with the Whitmans. They ranged in age from a five-month-old babe to a thirteen-year-old boy. When the Whitman massacre broke out on Monday afternoon, November 29, 1847, sixty-nine white people were crowded into the limited accommodations which the mission station afforded. Even the blacksmith shop was occupied. Eight immigrant families were planning to spend the entire winter of 1847-48 at the station.

Necessity demanded that Whitman give more and more of his time to this incoming tide of white people. Whitman realized that the day was inevitably coming when the white man would possess Oregon. He was proud of the part he played in bringing through the first large immigration of about 1,000 people to Oregon. Whitman made several references to it in his letters to Greene. In a letter dated May 16, 1844, to his wife's parents, he wrote: "As I hold the settlement of this country by Americans rather than by an English colony most important, I am happy to have been the means of landing so large an emigration on to the shores of the Columbia, with their wagons, families and stock, all in safety."¹⁸⁸ Undoubtedly the natives were aware of Whitman's interest in the coming of the white men. Certain members of the Cayuse tribe began to view him with a suspicion that gradually ripened into distrust and hatred.

¹⁸⁸ Drury, *Marcus Whitman*, 343.

Even as Spalding had trouble with a half-breed in his midst, Tom Hill, so likewise did Whitman, in the person of Joe Lewis who arrived at the Whitman station in the fall of 1847. Whitman recognized him as a trouble-maker and tried to send him on his way, but Lewis refused to leave. Lewis circulated the canard that he had overheard Dr. and Mrs. Whitman planning to poison the Indians in order to get their horses and land. Another version of the same fabrication involved Spalding in the nefarious plot.

The decisive factor which undoubtedly sparked the outburst of violence was the deadly effects of the measles epidemic which was raging through the tribe. The emigrants of 1847 had carried this disease to Oregon. Whereas measles was but a mild complaint for the white people, it swept through the Cayuse tribe with lethal potency, claiming about one-half of the population. The Cayuse tribe was small, numbering only about 400. It was estimated that 197 died.¹³⁹ On the day of the massacre, Chief Tiloukaikt, one of the ringleaders, buried three of his children. In the face of such a tragedy, the lies of Joe Lewis seemed plausible.

Whitman and Spalding found that some Roman Catholic missionaries had just started a mission on the Umatilla. Some of the malcontents among the Cayuses wanted to turn Waiilatpu over to the Catholics. Spalding later blamed the Catholics for the massacre. No doubt the proximity of the Catholic mission to Waiilatpu added to the spirit of unrest among the natives, yet there is no reason to accept Spalding's theory. There would certainly have been a massacre, if the Catholic missionaries had never entered the country. Whitman was aware of the danger and on the long ride he and Spalding made during the stormy night of November 27th said: "My death will probably do as much good to Oregon as my life can." There was no question of fleeing. How could he desert crowded Waiilatpu in the hour of danger?

Whitman and Spalding spent Sunday in the camp of a faithful friend of the white people, Chief Stickus. After ministering to the sick, Whitman started back to Waiilatpu Sunday, about sundown. Stickus, who was aware of some sort of trouble, advised Whitman to go away "until my people have better hearts." But the warning gave him all the more reason why he should hasten home. Spalding decided to return later so remained behind. The two men, fellow-workers for eleven years, bade each farewell. It was for the last time.

Whitman returned to his home about 10:00 o'clock Sunday night. On Monday morning he assisted in the burial of the three children of Chief Tiloukaikt. The work of the day proceeded as usual. Whitman was busy with his ministry to the sick. Mrs. Whitman remained in her bedroom until late, not touching the breakfast which had been carried in for her. One of the Sager girls remembered that she had been

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 394.

weeping. Dr. Whitman had told her of the warning given by Stickus. During the morning some of the men of the immigration were busy killing a beef.

The massacre began shortly after the noon meal. An Indian asked for medicine and Whitman, after getting what was needed, went into the kitchen to give it to him. He asked Narcissa to lock the door into the living room behind him, which she did. Then there were loud voices and suddenly a volley of shots. Dr. Whitman made an effort to escape and got outside before he fell mortally wounded. The killing of Dr. Whitman was a signal to the Indians to start a general slaughter of the white men. The Indians standing around the men who were butchering the beef dropped their blankets and began using their guns and tomahawks. John and Francis Sager were among those killed. They were the only children among the murdered. Mrs. Whitman was shot through the breast while looking out of the window in the upper part of the door leading into their living room. She was the only woman killed. Altogether thirteen were murdered on the 27th and the 28th. A fourteenth person, Peter Hall, one of the immigrants, succeeded in fleeing from Waiilatpu unnoticed by the Indians, and got to Fort Walla Walla, where he reported the dreadful news. He then started for the Willamette Valley and is supposed to have been drowned in the Columbia River. He is usually numbered among the casualties of the massacre, thus bringing the total dead to fourteen. Two of the sick girls of the Whitman household, left without the ministering care of the doctor, died. Louise Sager passed away on December 5th, and Helen Mar Meek on the 8th.

Spalding started back to Waiilatpu on Wednesday, December 1st. In the meantime Father J. B. A. Brouillet had arrived at Waiilatpu the day before, and had been shocked to discover what had happened. Knowing that Spalding was intending to stop at Waiilatpu on his return trip to Lapwai and that the Indians were planning to kill him also, Brouillet at some personal risk, rode out on the trail on Wednesday to warn him. Shortly after the warning was given, three Cayuses rode up looking for Spalding. However, Spalding succeeded in eluding his pursuers and after considerable hardships, due in part to his horse getting away one night, he arrived back at Lapwai on foot on December 6th. He had walked ninety miles.

The Whitman massacre marked the end of the Oregon Mission of the American Board. The survivors of the massacre at Waiilatpu were evacuated to the Willamette Valley through the cooperation of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mrs. Spalding and her children had taken refuge with the Craig family, when the word of the tragedy reached her. The Spaldings were escorted to Fort Walla Walla by friendly Nez Perces during the closing days of December. From there they went to the Willamette Valley.

A punitive force of over five hundred men was sent up from the Willamette Valley in February 1848 to capture and punish the perpetrators of the crime. On February 24th the soldiers had a skirmish with the Indians near the Umatilla River, which resulted in the death of an Indian and the wounding of Five Crows. No member of the Mission church and no Nez Perce took part in the massacre. Five Crows, the only native member of the church present at the massacre, certainly did nothing to prevent the few involved in the crime from carrying out their diabolical designs. The Indians fled into the mountains before the soldiers and several years passed before the ringleaders were apprehended. Five, including Chief Tiloukaikt, finally gave themselves up. They were placed on trial on May 22, 1850, at Oregon City, found guilty, and were hanged on June 3rd.

In May, 1848, a detachment of troops was sent to Tshimakain to escort the two mission families there to safety. The Walkers and the Eells also went to the Willamette Valley. Their missionary labors with the Indians were over. It is altogether possible that Spalding could have continued his work at Lapwai and that the Walkers and the Eells could have remained at Tshimakain in perfect safety. However, the massacre of the Whitmans and the others was so shocking that there seems to have been no question but that it was best to evacuate both stations.

Spalding's Activities, 1848-1870

The remaining years of Spalding's life may be summarized briefly. In the fall of 1848 the Spalding family moved to Kalapooya, now Brownsville, in Linn County, Oregon. There Spalding was engaged in educational work for the white people, for the most part. He did some farming and, as opportunity offered, preached. For a few years he received aid from the American Home Missionary Society to carry on church work for white people at Kalapooya and vicinity. These were years of financial difficulties. Mrs. Spalding died on January 7, 1851. Her husband believed that her death was hastened by the hardships suffered at the time of the massacre.

The misfortunes and hardships through which Spalding had passed left their mark. The older he grew the more obsessed he became with the idea that he was being persecuted. His quick temper often got him into trouble. His hatred of the Roman Catholics became stronger. Over the grave of his wife, in the Brownsville cemetery, he erected a stone monument with an inscription of some two hundred words including: "She always felt that the Jesuit Missionaries were the leading cause of the massacre." When the remains of the first Mrs. Spalding were removed to the old mission site at Lapwai in September, 1913, to be laid beside those of her husband, the old monument was replaced by one honoring the two. The old inscription was not repeated. On May 15, 1853, Spalding was married to Miss Rachel J. Smith, a sister of the wife of J. S. Griffin, one of the independent missionaries who arrived in Oregon in 1839.

Spalding and Griffin were very friendly. They were in hearty agreement in their attitude regarding the Catholics. With Spalding's consent Griffin secured the old mission press, which was at The Dalles at the time of the massacre, and in the summer of 1848 began the publication of the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*. This paper, published by his friend, gave Spalding an opportunity to give his views to the public. Before the Spaldings were out of the Indian country, he had written a letter, dated December 10, 1847, to one of the Catholic missionaries, Bishop F. N. Blanchet, in which he pleaded for the Bishop to use his influence to prevent soldiers being sent to punish the Indians. Spalding wrote:

My daughter is yet a captive, I fear, but in the hands of our merciful Heavenly Father. Two Indians have gone for her. . . . We do not wish the Americans to come from below to avenge the wrong. . . . The Nez Percés held a meeting yesterday. They pledged themselves to protect us from the Cayuses, if we would prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the murders. This we have pledged to do, and for this we beg for the sake of our lives at this place and at Mr. Walker's. By all means keep quiet, and sent no war reports; send nothing but proposals for peace.

Under the circumstances, this was a normal letter for Spalding to have written. He was worried about the fate of his little girl, Eliza, and he was concerned about the safety of himself, his family, and the two families at Tshimakain. This letter was turned over by Bishop Blanchet to the editor of the *Oregon Spectator*, who included it in the issue for January 20, 1848. Spalding was greatly embarrassed. He wrote to the editor of the *Spectator* on February 8th, setting forth his reasons for writing the letter. However, the editor refused to publish Spalding's letter as he did not want to be drawn into a quarrel between Spalding and the Roman Catholics. Spalding then turned to his friend Griffin, who included the letter in the first issue of the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, which appeared in June, 1848. This was the beginning of a bitter controversy Spalding had with the Catholics. Other issues of the *Oregon American* carried more Spalding letters, in which he finally took the position of blaming the Catholics for the massacre. Spalding's former colleagues did not share this conviction with him. In a letter to Greene dated July 8, 1848, Walker wrote: "Much might be said [about that] which led to this horrible massacre. Some doubtless attach too much blame to the Catholics. I am yet to be convinced that they had any direct agency in it . . . that they put the natives up to do the deed I do not believe."

Father Brouillet was naturally aroused when he read Spalding's tirades against himself and Bishop Blanchet. Brouillet, who had probably saved Spalding's life at the time of the Whitman massacre, felt that Spalding was most ungrateful. Brouillet was inspired to write a series of articles in which he discussed the whole matter for the *New York Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic publication. These articles were published in 1853 and subsequently reissued in pamphlet form. Probably the whole controversy would have ended there had not Brouillet's pamphlet come to the attention of J. Ross Browne, special agent of the U.S. Treasury Department, who had been sent to Oregon in 1857 to investigate the causes of the Indian wars in that country. Browne submitted a report of his findings to the Department, which was published as *Executive Document No. 38, U.S. House of Representatives, 35th Congress, 1st session*. Appended to Browne's report was Brouillet's pamphlet. Browne later claimed that he had no inten-

tion of having the pamphlet printed as a part of his report. He had submitted it to the Department for the light it threw upon one aspect of the Indian question.

Even as Spalding was guilty of making exaggerated statements, so likewise was Brouillet. Spalding was stirred to the depths by the appearance of this document, which had all the appearance of being the official Government view of the massacre. He felt that the noble name of the Whitmans had been slandered. He considered the document to be an insult against the Protestant missionaries who had worked for so many years in the Old Oregon country. And of course the documents contained what Spalding considered to be slurs against himself. Spalding claimed that Browne was both a Catholic and a Jesuit and that the inclusion of the Brouillet pamphlet in the official Government report was all a part of a diabolical plot to discredit Protestantism.

By 1859 settlers were beginning to penetrate into the upper Columbia River country. Spalding's son-in-law, A. J. Warren, the husband of Eliza, staked out a claim that year on the Touchet River. Spalding followed and did likewise. For three years Spalding lived on the Touchet, farming and raising live-stock. Sometime in the fall of 1862, Spalding received an appointment from the Government as teacher in a school to be established at Lapwai. He was delighted to return, and great numbers of the Indians gathered again to hear him preach. J. W. Anderson, the Indian Agent, writing on February 22, 1865, reported: "Although Mr. S. had been absent from the tribe many years, yet they retained all the forms of worship that he had taught them."¹⁴⁰ A change of administration at the Lapwai Agency in the summer of 1865 resulted in the dismissal of Spalding. For a second time Spalding had to leave his old mission station.

In the spring of 1865 Spalding began writing for the newspapers. The existence of the Congressional document with Brouillet's article continued to rankle his soul. Beginning with the issue of May 23, 1865, a series of thirteen articles by Spalding appeared in a Congregational-Presbyterian weekly published in San Francisco under the name *The Pacific*. In these articles we find the first published account of the theory that Whitman's main reason for riding East in 1842 was to save Oregon for the United States. Both Gray and Spalding became active in publicizing this idea. Whereas Whitman did visit Washington on his eastern trip, yet whatever political interests Whitman had in the destinies of Oregon at that time were secondary to his mission business. Spalding naturally did not wish to shout abroad the fact that he had been dismissed. There was some truth in much that he said about Whitman's patriotic interests in Oregon. In the National Archives, Washington, D.C., is a proposed bill which Whitman wrote, and which

¹⁴⁰ Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, 376.

he wanted Congress to consider. This bill called for the establishment of a pony express to Oregon. This was seventeen years before a pony express was established to carry mail from St. Louis to San Francisco. The bill also included other suggestions for the welfare and protection of Oregon immigrants. The trouble with Spalding was that he embellished some half-truths and thus gave a misleading interpretation of history. In some of his fundamental assertions he was mistaken. Other writers who followed Spalding gave wide publicity to his theories. Among these was O. W. Nixon who wrote *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*. This book, which first appeared in 1895, went through six editions and did more than any other volume to broadcast the theory that Whitman's main reason for going East was to save Oregon for the union.

Spalding's lectures, as he called them, appeared in such papers as the *Walla Walla Statesman* beginning February 9, 1866; the *Albany, Oregon, States Rights Democrat*, in 1866 and 1867; and in certain Eastern periodicals. Desiring a wider audience and hoping for a satisfactory reply to Brouillet, Spalding prepared a document consisting of selections from his lectures, testimonials from old friends, and a miscellaneous assortment of other items and on October 27, 1870, left for Washington, D.C. This was his first trip East after his departure for Oregon in 1836. In Washington Spalding was successful in securing the assistance of Senator H. W. Corbett, of Oregon, in getting his document accepted by the Senate. It was published in 1871 as *U.S. Senate Executive Document No. 37, 41st Congress, 3rd session*. Spalding was supremely happy. At long last he had been vindicated. Brouillet had been answered.

Unfortunately for Spalding's reputation as a missionary, his unreasonable quarrel with the Catholics and his embellished account of Whitman's ride East, together with other unhistorical statements, have clouded over the fine work of his earlier years. If Spalding had been martyred with Whitman, his name would have gone down in the history of the Pacific Northwest as being equally worthy of the fame that has come to Whitman. And in this connection it is well to remember that the legislature of the State of Washington authorized, in 1950, the placement of a statue of Dr. Whitman in the capitol building, Washington, D.C., as one of two each state is permitted to put there. In spite of the mistakes Spalding made in the heat of controversy, the fact remains that his missionary policies were sound and that no Protestant missionary to all of Old Oregon was as successful as he in the work of civilizing and Christianizing the natives.

Spalding's Closing Years 1871-1874

Following the inauguration of U. S. Grant as President of the United States on March 4, 1869, a new policy, known as the Peace Policy, was adopted for the administration of the Indian tribes. In January, 1870, Congress enacted a law which forbade army officers to occupy civil positions. Up to that time army officers had served as Indian Agents. President Grant approved the idea that the management of the various Indian reservations should be turned over to the missionary societies of the different denominations in the country, then conducting Indian missions. Under this plan the various missionary societies had the opportunity to nominate Indian agents and teachers for the tribes or agencies assigned to them.

Among the tribes assigned to the Presbyterian Church was the Nez Perce. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, which had the responsibility within that denomination of Indian missions, nominated John B. Monteith, son of a Presbyterian minister of Albany, Oregon. Monteith served from February 8, 1871, to March 3, 1879, and proved to be a capable administrator. He was the Indian Agent during the Chief Joseph uprising of 1877.

When Spalding was East in 1870-71, he secured the nomination from the Presbyterian Church for Superintendent of Instruction at the Lapwai Agency. The nomination was tantamount to an appointment. This meant that Spalding could return to his old mission field with the blessing of his church and with the Government paying his salary. While East, Spalding also secured the appointment of a young Presbyterian minister and his wife, the Rev. and Mrs. Henry T. Cowley, by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions as missionaries to the Nez Percés. Spalding tarried for several months while East visiting the scenes of his youth and attending the Presbyterian General Assembly, which met in May, 1871, in Chicago. Actually the Cowleys got to Lapwai several months before Spalding returned. They arrived in August of that year whereas Spalding, delayed still further by sickness in his family in Oregon, did not reach Lapwai until October 26th. This long delay caused Agent Monteith to be impatient. This marked the

beginning of another controversy in which Spalding became the principal figure.

When Spalding returned to Lapwai, he resumed that form of activity in which he was best adapted — preaching. The Nez Percés welcomed their old missionary with enthusiasm. The fact that he could speak their language was like a magnet, drawing great crowds to him. Spalding carried back to Lapwai the record book of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon. He found a few of the original members still alive, including faithful Timothy and Jude. These two constituted his unofficial session. On November 12, 1871, after being back for less than three weeks, he baptized and received into the membership of the church twenty-one men and twenty-three women. The notation in the record book states that this was done “after examination by Timothy, Jude, & self.” Spalding was no longer inhibited by the caution and restraint of fellow-missionaries. He made no effort to give those who came a thorough indoctrination into the principles of Calvinism. He received all who came and indeed, according to some of his critics, he even baptized some twice.

Heading the list of those received on November 12th was old Lawyer, once Head Chief of the Nez Percés. The second name on the list of men was Samuel, which was the baptismal name Spalding gave to Tack-en-su-a-tis, whom Smith in his letter of February 6, 1840, had called “a very wicked man.” These were the two Indians who rode out from the Rendezvous two days to meet the Whitman-Spalding mission party in 1836.

The whole Nez Perce tribe was on the eve of a spiritual awakening. The old spirit of opposition had disappeared. The Government was now doing what Spalding had so long advocated — settling the Indians. Old age and gray hairs, added to the memory of his eleven-years residence at Lapwai during 1836-47, gave Spalding a prestige with the natives such as he had never experienced before. Young and old alike seemed eager to confess their sins and to ask for Christian baptism. On November 13th, Spalding baptized and welcomed into the church nineteen; on the 14th he received fourteen more; on the 20th, another group of twenty; and so on, until by February 1, 1872, he had enrolled 246 new members into the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon.

Spalding always considered this new influx of members to be an addition to the original church. Actually, at the time of the massacre, only three members of the church lost their lives. They were the Whitmans and Andrew Rodgers. He, the pastor, had escaped. He had the original record book which he used to record the names of eight new members on June 26, 1864, and which was now used again for the listing of the baptismal names of his converts. Some of the members of the old church were still alive. As far as Spalding was concerned,

there might have been a hiatus in the life of the mission church, caused by the massacre, but there certainly was no dissolution.¹⁴¹

In the meantime Cowley was having similar results at Kamiah. On December 25, 1871, Cowley organized the First Presbyterian Church (Indian) of Kamiah with old Lawyer as the first elder. Spalding was not interested in establishing individual churches within the various parts of the Nez Perce reservation. The old record book of the First Church of Oregon became the first session book of the Kamiah church. In the summer of 1873 the Government built a church for the Indians at Kamiah, which building is still standing and is still being used by the Nez Percés. It claims to be the oldest Protestant church structure in continuous use in the state of Idaho.

Spalding was far more interested in preaching than he was in conducting a school. Consequently differences of opinion arose between him and Agent Monteith, which resulted in Spalding being relieved of his duties as Superintendent of Education in the autumn of 1872. The Rev. George Ainslie, also a Presbyterian appointee, took over the office. Spalding moved to Kamiah. Thus for the third time he found it necessary to leave his old mission station — this time as the result of action taken by the Presbyterian Church. Spalding used the old record book of First Church somewhat as a diary. Summing up his winter's work, 1872-1873, at Kamiah, he wrote: "Labored through the winter till Feb. 20, 1873. Preached every Sabbath to a crowded congregation averaging 320."

On March 27, 1873, old Chief Garry of the Spokanes wrote to Spalding inviting him to visit that tribe "to baptize his people and marry them according to the laws."¹⁴² Spalding visited the Spokanes during the summer of 1873. His amazing physical vitality is seen in the fact that in his seventieth year he rode nearly 1,500 miles on horseback. He lived with the Indians, slept on the grounds, ate their food, followed them to their fisheries, and shared their life in every particular. His efforts were crowned with spectacular success. A notation in the record book shows that he baptized 253 adults and 81 children.

Cowley was transferred to the Spokane field in 1874 and took over the work which Spalding had begun. In the summer of 1875, about a year after the death of Spalding, Cushing Eells visited Cowley at Spokane, and was amazed to see the results of the revival. He and Walker had labored at Tshimakain for nine years without the joy of having a single native join the Mission church. Now the converts were

¹⁴¹ The Presbytery of Walla Walla of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. has for years listed the Waiilatpu Church as being within the bounds of that Presbytery with the notation "Organized August 18, 1838, dissolved by Massacre, November 29, 1847." See *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1956, 408.

¹⁴² The original letter is in the Whitman College library.

numbered by the hundreds. While with Cowley, Eells was present at a service held for 360 Spokane Indians under the pines. Sixty of that number partook that day of the elements of the Lord's Supper. The seed which Eells and Walker had sown years before had been harvested by Spalding and Cowley.

On Spalding's seventieth birthday he made the following notation in the record book of the church:

I am today Nov 26/73 70 years		
Received males 278 females 372 . . .	655	[sic - 650]
from among the Nez Perces & infants . . .	212	
Among Spokane males 112 females 141 . . .	253	
infants	81	
Old members, Nov 1871 13 females 10 . . .	23	
	931	

Spalding also noted that the total number of adults baptized up to that date was 914. This with 293 infants brought the total number of baptisms to 1,207. It is quite possible that Spalding included in that figure some whom Cowley had baptized. We should also remember that Spalding was sometimes careless about figures, and the totals he gives may be too large. He was accused of baptizing some of the Indians twice. Even after his seventieth birthday, Spalding continued to carry on his evangelistic labors. In the summer of 1949 the author of this work visited the Spokane Indians and met Levi, ninety-seven years old, who claimed to have been baptized by Spalding at a spring near what is now Cheney, Washington, in the summer of 1873. Levi was thought to be the last living person to have been baptized by Spalding.

The following statistics from the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*, show the number of members reported for the two Nez Perces churches located at Kamiah and Lapwai and for the Spokane church for the years indicated:

	1874	1875	1876
Kamiah	427	326	429
Lapwai	267	203	200
Spokane	253	253	429

Since Spalding died on August 3, 1874, the above reports were prepared by others. Statistics can be dry, but again they can speak eloquently. Even after making allowances for possible carelessness in keeping records, the evident results are impressive. Today the Presbyterians have five churches among the Nez Perces, one among the Cayuses and Umatillas, and two among the Spokanes — all of which trace their origins back to the labors of the members of the Oregon Mission of the American Board and to the great revival of 1871-73. Today the combined membership of these eight churches is low as

compared to the figures for 1874-76. We should remember that the population of the tribes has decreased, and modern conditions have injected new factors which have affected church membership. However, the Presbyterians continue to have the largest following of any Christian denomination among these tribes.

Spalding received an injury while cutting wood in November, 1873. He gradually failed physically during the spring and summer of 1874. Old Timothy rode up to see him in May. According to a memorandum left by the second Mrs. Spalding, Timothy comforted his old friend by saying: "You are my great interpretor. You was sent by God to me and to this people, to teach us life, the word of God. You are going first. God only is good and great. Jesus alone gives life. Now don't be concerned. I will never turn back, my wife will never turn back, this people will never turn back."¹⁴⁸

Spalding was moved to his old mission site at Lapwai in July. The end came on Monday, August 3, 1874. Miss Sue McBeth, one of the most successful workers among the Nez Perces to follow Spalding, was with him when he died. He was buried in a grove of locust trees near the old mission house erected in 1838. Today the little mission cemetery is at the edge of an Idaho State Park, which includes the major part of the old historic mission site of Lapwai.

The August 22, 1874, issue of the *Portland Oregonian* carried an obituary of the pioneer missionary which included the following: "Perhaps it is to his influence more than to any other single cause, that the Nez Perces are indebted for the distinction they enjoy of being regarded as the most intelligent, and the least savage of all our Indian tribes."

Henry Harmon Spalding lived to see the vindication of the policies which he had championed so enthusiastically during the years when he was a member of the Oregon Mission of the American Board.

¹⁴⁸ The original memorandum is in the Whitman College library.

Appendices

Appendix I

GREENE'S LETTER TO SPALDING, 26 FEBRUARY 1842

The following is a transcription of the letter of dismissal which Spalding received in October 1842. The original was carried across the Rockies by Dr. Elijah White in the summer of that year. It is now in the archives of San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.

MISSIONARY HOUSE, BOSTON
26 Feb. 1842

REV. HENRY H. SPALDING,
Oregon Mission.

DEAR SIR. Your favors of Sept. 22d and Oct. 22d., 1840 have come duly to hand; & I must regret that so long a time has elapsed since my last to you which was if I remember rightly, my book is not now at hand, in March of last year. Still I do not know that with the information which we have I could have said much which would have been of use in guiding your movements or giving more efficiency to the mission. Since the receipt of the last communications from the brethren of your mission, the Committee have been pained & perplexed by the want of harmony and the despondency which seem to pervade your branch of the mission. It now seems to be the settled conviction of all your brethren, & of those of the Sandwich Islands mission, as far as they are informed on the point, that harmony & efficiency can never pervade the Oregon mission while the present missionaries remain connected with it; & that therefore it must be manned anew, or abandoned. Such a result is to the Committee extremely painful & fortifying and highly reproachful to the cause of missions, & to the name of Christian. Under these circumstances the Committee, after considering the subject, decided to give up the south branch of your mission.

As your associates seem unanimous in the opinion that your views & proceedings in respect to the missionary work are so unlike theirs & what they suppose those of the Board to be & in their estimation suited to hinder the progress of Christianity is that quarter and bring reproach upon it, the committee, as you will see in the general letter

sent by this conveyance, have voted to recall you, expecting that you will return to the United States by the earliest opportunity. If you should do this your return will be at the expense of the Board. The Committee would, of course, much prefer, if the circumstances of your family will admit of it, that you should return by the mountain rout, as you entered the Oregon Country. Should you decide to continue in the country, you will, of course, cease on the receipt of this, to draw on the treasury of the Board. Doct. Whitman & Mr. Rogers, should the latter be in the country when this arrives, have been appointed to take charge & dispose of the property of the Board at the several stations. If Mr. Rogers shall have left the country, Doct Whitman alone, with such counsel as he may obtain, will take charge of the property; & to him the committee will expect you to deliver up what is in your possession belonging to the Board. My Gray & Mr. Smith are also expected to return to the United States.

The Committee have not adopted this course from any unkind feelings towards yourself or because they wish to make out any charges against you, or in any manner to injure your character. But it seems to them quite certain that you cannot longer be useful in the mission where you are, & that your usefulness as well as the interests of the missionary cause in that part of the world, will be promoted by your returning home. Praying that the Lord will guide us all most effectually & acceptably to do his will, I remain very truly your servant in Christ.

DAVID GREENE
Sec. A.B.C.F.M.

Present my Christian regards to Mrs. Spalding. D.G.

Appendix II

INVENTORY OF THE LAPWAI MISSION

On October 2, 1849, H. H. Spalding, writing from his newly established home at Kalapooya (now Brownsville), Lynn County, Oregon, to the American Board, submitted a detailed inventory of properties owned by the missionaries or by the American Board which were stolen, destroyed, or otherwise lost at the time of the Whitman massacre. Included in this report was the inventory of losses sustained at Lapwai totaling \$10,048.44. This inventory, herein published for the first time, is most revealing for the light it throws upon the size of the Lapwai Mission, the type of buildings constructed, and even the home life of the missionaries.

We find that by November, 1847, Spalding had nine buildings at his mission, not counting the unfinished saw-mill. These buildings included the main dwelling which was in two sections, one measuring 30 x 20 feet, the other 34 x 24; a schoolhouse, 20 x 16; a meeting house, 50 x 30; a printing office, 28 x 16, and five buildings, each 20 x 20 which were listed as a woodhouse, stone house, granary, out kitchen, and shop. All of these buildings are now gone. The main dwelling remained until about 1901 or 1902, when it was torn down. Only two piles of stones remain to mark the location of the fire-places. Considerable information is given in this inventory regarding the type of roofs used, the number of windows and doors, and other construction details.

No mention is made of the printing press itself, for this had been sent to The Dalles shortly before the massacre. This press may now be seen in the rooms of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon. From such evidence as is available, it appears that Spalding had on hand the larger part of his printing of the Gospel of Matthew in Nez Perce, the English-Nez Perce primer, the hymn book, and the elementary school book.

The inventory lists ninety-four head of cattle, thirty-nine head of horses, and thirty-one hogs. Nothing is said about chickens although in Spalding's letter to Secretary Greene, of September 11, 1838, he then mentioned forty hens. The inventory of the station at Waiilatpu lists ninety-two sheep. None are indicated for the Lapwai Mission. At

the time of the massacre, Spalding had about forty-four acres under cultivation, most of which was fenced.

The inventory of the furniture shows that the Spaldings had achieved some degree of comfort above the basic necessities of a pioneer home. They had a cook stove which neither the Walkers or the Eells had during their nine years residence at Tshimakain. Listed also is a feather bed of twenty-five pounds—a luxury which the Spaldings undoubtedly provided themselves; two rocking chairs, which Spalding himself probably made; two “Jappaned” or lacquered cups; and “one silver table spoon.” The reference to spinning wheels, a cheese press, a tub of soap, and a weaver’s loom speak eloquently of the labors of Eliza Spalding.

The fact that the total inventory amounted to over \$10,000.00, when two-year-old steers were valued at \$12.00 each and other live stock correspondingly low, is convincing evidence of Spalding’s industry and initiative. It is also proof of the sound principles that Spalding followed in his missionary work. In the long range view, Spalding was right in his insistence upon settling the Indians. While statistics are not available to indicate the extent the natives were adapting themselves to agriculture and animal husbandry, there is evidence to show that their progress more or less paralleled the expansion of the Lapwai Mission itself. In June, 1841, members of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition visited the Lapwai Mission. The official report of this Expedition, published in 1845, contained the following tribute to Spalding’s work:

His efforts in agriculture are not less exemplary, for he has twenty acres of fine wheat, and a large field in which were potatoes, corn, melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, etc. the whole of which were in fine order.

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The total amount listed by Spalding as having been lost or destroyed at the Lapwai and Waiilatpu stations, together with the temporary work which had been opened shortly before the massacre at the Dalles, amounted to \$32,669.70. On March 6, 1850, the Rev. S. L. Pomeroy, Secretary of the American Board, wrote to the Hon. O. Brown, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., making claim for the full amount listed in the inventories prepared by Spalding. Pomeroy’s letter with the inventories are now on deposit in the old records of the Department of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington,

¹ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, pp. 460 f.

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One Grain Mill without mill house, stones 32 inch diameter good quality, Tub wheel, Runner upon the Shaft, Fore bay 6 feet square, 10 feet head with 20 foot floom, Irons heavy and well made at Vancouver, transported 350 miles, (no bolt) good Hopper Stand and Drum. \$700.—

Mill race 1/3 of a mile in length, head 5 feet deep, embankment in the middle of race and water carried over depression in the earth. Stone dam at head of race, heavy dam and pond at head of Floom, pit for fore bay 12 feet deep, with prepared timbers under foundation, waste race 10 feet deep and 80 feet long. 250.—

One Saw-Mill, without roof, saw stirrups, and crank taken to Waiilatpu. Irons transported from Vancouver, built in 1840. 300.—

One field of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, fenced, 140 rods at 80 cts per rod, \$112—cultivated at \$3 per acre, 26.25; Surrounded with ditch at 25 cts per rod, 35; for irrigation and barrier against black crickets. 173.25

One field of 12 acres, fenced, cultivated and prepared for irrigation. 188.—

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Garden prepared with ditch & reservoir for irrigation. Two Cow and horse yards, one cow house, one out house, garden & wood yard picketed with cedar and plank. 225.—

4 Bearing Peach Clusters	60.—	50 Other Apple Trees	150.—
1 Pear Tree	10.—	100 not bearing "	20.—
6 Bearing Apple Trees	75.—	Some currants	5.—

One dwelling house in two parts with hall between, one park Block story & half 30 x 20 feet. Roof lathed & wattled, Board protected, walls plastered & whitewashed without & within, partition, stairs inclosed with door, also door into closet below-stairs, 2 chimnies, lower part stone, upper adobie, 4 outside doors, 2 fire places below, wood work all painted, 3 windows af 9 lights, & 3 of 6, 2 fire places up stairs, one large room, my study & 2 closets, 3 windows of 12 lights & 2 of 6 lights, partitions dressed and matched, garret floor dressed and battened. Value as follows —

² Spalding uses "do" as an abbreviation for ditto.

Body of house complete	136.—	6 windows, \$4 each	24.—
2 chimnies fire places above & below	60.—	4 windows \$1.50 each	6.—
15 Doors	45.—	Lower chamber & garret floor with work	114.25
Trimmings & hangings Frames & casings for 15 doors	30.—	Partitions above & below	29.62
Frames & casings for 10 windows	30.—	Roof, including timber, lumber, wattling & work	52.—
	20.—	Gable ends, adobie	8.—
The other part of the house as follows, viz, 34 x 24, Frame, wattled, divided into 2 parts by hall, one story, posts 10 feet, roof as other, one part complete, lathed, plastered, white washed, divided into bed room 12 x 16 with window for 20 lights, fire place, also a buttry 8 x 8 with window, 2 closets, 4 x 4 each. The other part walls faced sleepers & joists placed, chimney finished, valued as follows:			
Timber (rafted 20 miles)	31.—	Two Chimnies one adobie & one wattled	40.—
Frame work	81.76	2 windows	8.—
Materials for wattling	73.68	1 Door	3.—
Wattling & facing walls, wattling roof	81.76	1 " with window in upper part	6.—
Lumber for putting down 480 feet flooring	36.60	Boards on roof	21.76
Plastering one room 24 x 12 including materials	100.—	Frames & cases for 2 windows & 1 door	6.—
Lumber & work on buttry & closets	32.—	Trimmings & hangings for 2 "	4.—
One school house with weaving & spinning room above, 20 x 16, frame, posts 12 feet, Board (Plank) siding & roof, siding matched, under floor matched, upper floor jointed, one partition & closet for Indian goods, valued as follows			
Timber	20.—	Lumber	68.40
Framing	36.48	Chimney	15.—
Inclosing & flooring	36.48	3 Windows & 4 doors	20.—
One Wood House 20 x 20			
Timber	12.—	Wattling	13.60
Framing	13.60	Long Shingles	8.40
One Meeting House, 50 x 30			
Timber	100.—	Lumber & putting down floor	67.50
Framing	104.40	8 Windows & frames	40.—
Wattling (walls 1 foot thick)	157.60	2 Doors & hangings	10.—
		Roof & Gable ends	30.—
One Stone House 20 x 20			
Timber & Framing	25.60	Long Shingles & 2 Doors	11.40
Wattling	13.60		

One Granary 20 x 20			
Timber & Framing	42.—	2 Doors	4.—
Wattling	16.—	2 Bins, 18 x 5½, 5½ high	28.—
One Out Kitchen 20 x 20			
Timber & Framing	42.80	1 Window 4, 3 Doors & hangings 5.50	9.50
Wattling	16.—	Floor 10, Long shingles 8.40	18.40
Chimney 8, Cellar 12	20.—		
One Shop 20 x 20			
Timber & Framing	25.60	Long Shingles 8.40, Benches 4	12.40
Wattling 13.60, 1 Door 1.50	15.10		
One Printing Office 28 x 16 weather		boarded, shingled roof.	
Timber & framing	92.—	9 windows with frames & casings	72.—
Shingles & putting on	25.20	3 doors " " "	17.50
Lumber & inclosing	67.50	1 Chimney	18.—
Stove & fire wood, sawed, split & corded, most in woodhouse, rafted			
8 miles, viz 73 cords stove length, \$1 pr cord			73.—
Lumber 2960 feet	59.20	1 Side	18.—
2 Plows \$36., 1 do Shovel \$5.	41.—	1 " "	6.—
1 Harrow 8., Plow Irons & points	26.—	1 " "	8.—
Old Iron	12.—	2 Sass Cords	8.—
2 Wagons	50.—	2 Grain Cradles with Sythes	8.—
1 Carriage, steel springs	46.—	7 Sickles 6., 2 Pitch- forks 1	7.—
1 Cart	36.—	2 Broad Axes	14.—
3 Ox Yokes Complete	12.—	2 Adzes	2.—
4 " Chains	16.—	3 Narrow Axes	9.—
1 set Horse Harness (with whiffle trees)	25.—	2 Bench Screws, Walnut with beech nuts	8.—
1 set Horse Harness (with whiffle trees)	15.—	1 Pit & 2 X saws	16.—
1 Horse Cart	12.—	1 Grindstone & Frame	8.—
42 Parfleshes, with Hanging Cords	42.—	1 Fore Plane - 1 Jointer	4.50
Packing Cords	8.—	3 Jack " & 3 Smoothing "	5.—
15 Appishmores	15.—	1 Set Groove & Tongue	3.—
55 Bags	44.—	1 Plow	1.—
18 Pack Saddles	54.—	10 Chisels large & small	4.—
1 Pad 3., 1 Am. Saddle	15.—	1 Whip Saw & 1 Rasp	1.75
		1 Compass " & 3 hand "	5.25
		1 Grooving Axe	1.—

1 Wood Saw with Frame	1.50	8 Cases	8.—
4 Saw Mill files 15 inch	4.—	1 Iron Kettle, 4 pail	7.—
6 Small do	.75	1 Iron Kettle	7.—
1 2-foot Square,		1 Dinner Pot	5.—
1 trying do	3.—	1 Cook Stove, pipe &	
3 Gages & 2 Gouges	2.—	furniture	45.—
2 Augurs 2 inch Pad	3.—	1 Box " " "	25.—
2 do 1½ " "	2.—	1 Sheet Iron " " "	6.—
2 do ¾ " Screw	1.—	3 Tin pails 3. 1 cheese	
1 do ½ " "	.50	press, etc. 4	7.—
1 Brace & Bits	9.—	1 Keg 8 gallons Vancouver	
2 Crow Bars	8.—	Vinegar	14.—
1 Mill Pick. Cast Steel	2.—	1 Tub of soap, 16 gal.	8.—
4 Granite Augurs, cast		Bar do	3.—
steel	6.—	Mincing Trays	.75
2 Wrenches	2.—	20 dozen candles	8.—
18 Vancouver Hoes	22.50	2 Sad Irons	2.75
25 American "	12.50	10 Tin Pans	5.—
4 Cart Boxes	4.—	6 Pauls	3.—
1 large cow bell	10.—	Wash Bowl & Basin & 2	
1 Bellows & pipes	3.—	Jappaned Cups	2.50
1 Stake Steel face	8.—	1 Looking Glass	1.50
1 do	4.50	1 Book Cupboard with	
1 Hone	4.—	glass shutters	10.00
Washers for same	1.50	1 do do	2.—
2 pair Tongs & Hammer	3.50	1 Full leaf Table	6.—
1 Vice \$11 - Screw Plate		1 do do	4.—
etc.	15.50	1 do do	4.—
Tools & lathe for turning		2 large writing Tables	8.—
iron	6.—	1 Wash Stand with sewing	
1 pair Sheep Shears 1		leaf	5.—
1 shoe hammer 50	1.50	1 Candle " " drawer	4.—
1 Froe 2. 2 Drawing		1 Child's Cradle	2.—
Knives 3	5.—	2 small chairs, 1 high "	4.75
2 Plow Clevis 2.		2 Rocking Chairs	4.50
4 Small do 2.	4.—	4 common do	5.—
Trace Chain	4.—	2 Settees	10.—
1 Fire Crane with hooks		1 do	3.—
& eyes	5.—	1 do	4.—
2 pair Andirons	3.—	2 Bedsteads with cords	12.—
1 large 40 Gall. Cask	7.—	2 do do	4.—
1 do 35 " "	12.—	1 do do	5.—
2 Wash Tubs	4.—	1 Child's Bed trundle with	
2 open Casks 50 Gal.	10.—	cord	5.—
8 Kegs	16.—	1 Dray sink - with doors	
4 do	4.—	& shelf	8.—

1 Flour Chest	6.—	2 Type Jointers, Mallet & Furniture	12.—
1 Willow Basket	2.80	Apparatus for Binding	2.50
1 Feather Bed, 25 lbs	10.—	Other printing Apparatus	8.—
3 Straw Ticks	4.50	1 Keg of Glue	3.—
1 " "	.50	1 Box Shoe Awls, small tack,	
1 Cradle Bed 1, 1 small waggon	4.—	copies rivets, shoe tacks	2.—
1 settee cushion	1.50	1 Silver Table Spoon	2.25
2 iron Wedges	4.—	6 common do	.75
2 Butte Rings	1.—	6 knives & forks	3.—
1 Box of 140 Inkstands	21.50	6 Bottles	3.—
400 copies of Gospel of Matthew not bound, native	100.—	1 large Jug, half box window glass 4	7.—
300 Copies small book, English & Native	50.—	1 Stone Churn, 2.50.	
200 Copies Elementary Book, Native	45.—	1 Stock Lock 2.40	4.90
300 Copies Hymn Book Native	40.—	1 Brass Lock 4. 4 Pad do 4	8.—
140 sheets Paste Board	16.—	Lamp Black & Putty	1.50
6 Reams Printing paper	33.—	1 Grid Iron 1	
8 cases for Type	24.—	1 Lantern 1.50	2.50
1 stand for cases	4.—	1 Lamp 1	
Large Shears for paste board	6.—	200 lbs nails 48	49.—
Stand for Press	8.—	Half Keg Powder 33 lbs	16.50
		168 lbs balls or 4704 @	
		1 ct	47.04
		6 common shirts	7.50
		Finger rings, awls, needles, hooks, beads, thimbles, knives	8.90

Property purchased at Walla Walla 4 days before massacre & left at Waiilatpu when I went to Utila, viz

5 Blankets B.B. 3 pts	18.25	1 Small Indian Axe	1.—
13 lbs. Tobacco	5.20		

Property paid at Walla Walla & Clear Water to Indians who came with us with horses (some 40 men) from Station to Walla Walla, or who went on expresses for our child, with letters &c &c, viz

11 Blankets B B 3 pt	40.15	(Furnished by Mr. Ogden on our arrival.)		
3.65				
17 " " 2 pt 2.84	48.28			
13 Common shirts	13.—			
3 do hand kfs	.90			
270 loads Ammunition	4.05			
27 1/3 lbs Tobacco	8.53			
1 Green Blanket 4 pt	4.50		300 Bushels Shelled Corn	275.—
4 Garden Hoes	1.60		180 " Wheat	180.—
2 Common Blankets	7.30		20 " Peas	25.—
2 Shirts	2.—	100 " Potatoes	37.50	

Broom Corn for 40 Brooms	10.—	6 Broke Horses	30	180.—
1 Stack of Corn fodder	18.—	8 " "	15	120.—
7 Work Oxen \$25 each	175.—	11 Mares	12	132.—
6 Beef " 20 each	120.—	14 Young Horses	6	84.—
1 Bull	30.—	11 Hogs	10	110.—
2 Beef Cows	50.—	20 Hogs	2	40.—
28 Milch Cows	16 420.—	One Weaver's Loom, Harness		
7 3-year old Steers	18 126.—	Reeds, Shuttles, &c		17.—
5 2-year " "	12 60.—	2 Spinning Wheels with 25		
20 Yearlings	8 160.—	heads & 11 pr Cards		18.50
25 Calves	4 100.—			

Property from Vancouver & Sand. Islands for my Stations taken or destroyed at Waiilatpu & Dalles, viz

1 Keg Loaf Sugar 90 lbs	19.—	At my Station		
1 " Syrup 8 gal	12.40	1 Bag Salt 90 lbs		7.50
1 Bag Salt 90 lbs	7.—	2 Sacks Sugar 70 lbs		17.50
A Field of Wheat 18 acres,		200 lbs Pork		20.—
first quality would yield		1500 " Flour		60.—
30 bus. pr acre @ \$15 pr		21 Sacks Salt at Dalles		21.—
acre	270.—			

Property left at Waiilatpu 2 days before Massacre when I went to Utila, belonging to self & daughter & taken by the Indians, viz.

1 Dress Coat	35.—	1 pr. Saddle Bags		3.—
1 Blk Silk Velvet Vest	6.—	Bridle & Cords, &c		5.—
1 pr. Pants	8.—	1 Pr. Cassimere Pants		12.—
1 Com. Vest	4.—	1 Coat		18.—
2 Bosoms & Collars	2.—	1 Dress (Daughters)		3.—
2 Fine Shirts	4.—	1 Cloak		6.—
1 Saddle, Riding	18.—	2 Cases of goods left at		
1 " , Pack	5.—	Walla Walla each valued		
		at \$100		200.—

Expenses of transporting property from Walla Walla to this place & for moving family from Oregon City to this place, 200.—

Expenses of family from the time we were landed in Oregon City by Mr. Ogden, 12 Jan. 1848, till 26 May, /49 over & above our ability to meet them by reason of the feeble state of Mrs. Spalding's health, brought on apparently by her exposures while fleeing from the Indians.

Card. ford.³ \$10,048.44

³ For the final item "Expenses of family etc." no amount is stated by Spalding. Spalding's total is \$4.50 higher than that which a modern-day adding machine gives. This may be due to an item or items omitted which Spalding had listed on some master list, or to a mistake in addition.

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6 Bearing Apple Trees	75.—	Some currants	5.—

One dwelling house in two parts with hall between, one park Block story & half 30 x 20 feet. Roof lathed & wattled, Board protected, walls plastered & whitewashed without & within, partition, stairs inclosed with door, also door into closet below-stairs, 2 chimnies, lower part stone, upper adobie, 4 outside doors, 2 fire places below, wood work all painted, 3 windows af 9 lights, & 3 of 6, 2 fire places up stairs, one large room, my study & 2 closets, 3 windows of 12 lights & 2 of 6 lights, partitions dressed and matched, garret floor dressed and battened. Value as follows—

² Spalding uses "do" as an abbreviation for ditto.

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