

THE HISTORY OF THE DALLES, OREGON, TO 1870

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A Thesis

**Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of the
University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science**

August 6, 1934

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I

INTRODUCTION

Towns and villages have played an important part in the development of Oregon and rightly claim our interest and attention. Much in them that we take casually for granted today had its beginning in a rich background of events which played a significant part in the building of community and state. What is now the scene of a quiet, orderly existence may once have been the state of a seething drama of history. A study of early records of these places often reveals a fascinating pageant of discovery, exploration, settlement, and development. There unfolds the kaleidoscopic transition from wilderness to populated areas, from the simple existence of trapper and trader to the complexity of modern city life, or from the plodding ox-team to the fleet transportation of railway, highway, and airway.

We learn of the paths of privation and toil trod by the early pioneers to transform the solitudes of western forests and prairies into the structure of our modern social and business life. We see safety where once were areas of Indian menace; security where lonely emigrant graves mark the comparative insecurity of other days; plenty where there was want; ease where hardships were dominant; paved highways where trails were knee-deep in dust; cattle grazing where once the buffalo roamed; modern homes on the sites of caravan circles and tepees; and gas or electricity where once played the elusive light of the campfire.

Perhaps no point in the west is more rich in historic memories or has played a more varied or important part in the

history of Oregon and the West than The Dalles, the county seat of Wasco County, Oregon. [Long known as the "Gateway City," it, from early times, played a leading role in the exploration and settlement of the northwest states. It has been the rendezvous for every kind of people and a key point for every kind of occupation existent in the Oregon country from times prehistoric to the days of final settlement. It has probable not been surpassed, for continuous prominence, by any other point in this region. Other places have flamed into fame more brilliantly for a time, perhaps, but the prominent place held by the site of The Dalles has been steady and enduring.

It has been the stopping place and rendezvous of Indians, explorers, trappers, traders, missionaries, immigrants, miners, soldiers, hunters, adventurers, and homeseekers. It has been, in succession, a trading mart for Indian tribes, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, a center of missionary endeavor, a United States military fort, a milestone of pioneer travel, and a stopping place for the wheels of immigrant wagon trains. A little later it became for Eastern Oregon, the center of a network of jerk-line freighters, pack trains, the pony express, stagecoach lines, and, until the building of the Dalles-Celilo canal in 1915, was the head of navigation on the Columbia river.]

It was for many years a resting place and supply terminal for westbound immigrants streaming into the Willamette valley in the 1840's and early 1850's; it was a stopping

place and supply base for hundreds of those same people as they passed eastward again in the 1850's and 1860's on their way to the mines of Eastern Oregon, Idaho, and Montana. The Dalles was the gateway through which all passed, coming or going.

The Oregon Trail

Trails have played an important part in the history of the United States. The first trails were made by the wild animals of the forests and prairies. Indians made the next trails, on which were enacted dramas of warfare, the hunt, and nomadic search for food. Over parts of both these trails the white man charted his way into unknown lands in his steady march to the westward.

Two great trails, the Oregon trail and the Santa Fe trail, played stellar roles in western American history. Both of them started from Independence, Missouri. For about forty miles to the present city of Gardner, Kansas, they followed the same route. At that turning point the Santa Fe trail branched off to the southwest while the Oregon trail forked out toward the northwest. Deep in the dust of the plains wagon wheels, herds of cattle, and the feet of the pioneer wore in these trails ruts from six to ten inches deep. They were not planned by engineers or laid out by surveyors. They boasted of no bridges, no carefully planned grades; they wended their way across plains, over hills, down valleys--always moving to the westward, writing new experiences on the pages of history and spending the lives of pioneers with moments of pleasure, interest, sentiment, or tragedy. They took their heavy toll of

casualties. "It has been estimated that for each mile of the 2000 mile course of the trail, seventeen people per mile paid the price of winning the 'Oregon Country'" (1)

These were, perhaps the longest trails in history. Long ago the Israelites moved from Egypt into Canaan following a route of about four hundred miles. Later the Goths and Huns poured into Central Europe over a trek of some six hundred miles. The exodus of the Boers from South Africa into Transvaal was less than one thousand miles. The Oregon trail stretched its unprotected course westward for more than two thousand miles from the Mississippi across the plains and through the valleys of the Platte and Snake rivers to the region of the Lower Columbia. All roads led to the trail. It represented the hopes and ambitions, the vision and faith of thousands who traveled it. First came the trappers and traders and then the early missionaries. And in the wake of these came the great emigrant trains which followed where they led.

The Dalles, near the eastern base of the Cascades, was, during the most critical years of the immigrations, the end of the Oregon trail, the gateway of the open prairie to the east and the passage of the Cascade mountains by river to the west. From 1840 until 1845 when Samuel Barlow forced a trail across the Cascades, the wagon road ended definitely at The Dalles, and even in the years that followed, a large percentage of the

(1) Smith, Addison T., Address, House of Representatives, P. 16.

immigrations, especially that of 1852, changed from land to river transportation at The Dalles. A monument in the Union Street part in that city, erected after Ezra Meeker's trip over the old Oregon trail in 1902, marks "The End of the Oregon Trail, 1843-1859." And on the hill in Scorsis park south of the town is an old immigrant burial ground where many travelers on the trail were laid away.

The trail crosses the Deschutes river not far from its junction with the Columbia, crossed what was known as "Nigger Hill", passed over Ten Mile Creek at the Fulton ranch, then turned left through a gap in the hills where it crossed Five Mile creek at its confluence with Ten Mile, crossed Three Mile creek, and followed very closely the present line of railroad tracks along the Columbia river bank into The Dalles where it ended somewhere near what was later the boat landing. (2) This was later the path of the Dalles-Celilo portage road.

Location and Description

The Dalles is located a short distance below one of the greatest series of obstructions on the entire course of the Columbia river, a place which had to be reckoned with by every early traveler upon the river and a place mentioned in virtually every early diary or journal. No matter how placid or uneventful the journey above or below these rapids some unique occurrence, sometimes tragic, sometimes not, usually marked the passage of this part of the river and many an historic incident had its inception here.

(2) Elliot, T.C., The Dalles-Celilo Portage: Its History and Influence, Oregon Historical Quarterly V. 16, p. 183.

Here echoed the boat song of the French voyageurs; here Scottish bagpipes urged on the slackening rower; here, too, was heard the menacing sound of Indian war drums. Here Indian and Indian, and Indian and white man matched wits in many a clever bit of strategy and here was smoked many a pipe of peace. Much property disappeared here in the clutches of the Indians and the river and many were the lives lost not only by bullets of the natives but also in the whirlpools of the powerful Columbia.

The geology and general topography of this region have been so specifically and so adequately handled by other sources that only a brief general description will be included here. Mr. Lyman describes Celilo falls, the historic mart just east of The Dalles, as a "weird savage place" with crags of basalt, thrust through the soil like clenched hands, which "seemed almost to grasp the rushing river." (3) This was and is today a famous fishing ground of the Indians and a place of portage for travelers on the river until the Celilo ^{canal} was constructed around the falls. Below Celilo is the next difficult place for river travelers, the Grand Dalles or Five Mile rapids, formerly known as the Long Narrows, the Dalles, or the Great Dalles. Alexander Ross describes the general aspect around the Long Narrows as gloomy, lone, rocky, barren, yet like coming out of night into day after the density of the tree lined river below. (4) Here all the waters of the mighty river race through a narrow basalt chute only one hundred and sixty five feet in

(3) Lyman, W.D., The Columbia River, p. 85.

(4) Ross, Alexander, Adventures on the Oregon, P. 129.

width--the famous river turned on edge. Many a traveler, to escape the tedium of the portage, steered boldly through this boiling cauldron always at the risk and often at the cost of life and property. This, too, has now been overcome by government locks.

From the Long Narrows west the river opens out into a broad stretch of quiet water passing the site of the City of The Dalles. To the eastward are the Ten Mile rapids, formerly known as the Short Narrows, Little Narrows, or Les Petite Dalles. (5) Dalles City itself is nestled in a natural, curved semicircle or amphitheater on the south bank of the river.

The region around The Dalles was once the scene of a Pliocene lake bed which extended across the entire valley with its farther margin against the Kliskitat mountains. According to Dr. Thomas Condon, for many years professor of geology at the University of Oregon, "what remains of this lake bed is today an unbroken level, although surrounded by many of the grandest exhibitions of volcanic and earthquake power, proving that no great violence has troubled the region since the waters of this quiet lake deposited its sediment there. (6) Many relics of this early Pliocene era have been found in The Dalles locality, among which are the bones of a prehistoric camel which must have been only twenty-five or thirty inches high, and numerous fossil plants the most interesting of which are a specimen of birch, a beautiful branch of acacia, and a group of oak leaves.

(5) McArthur, Lewis A. Oregon Geographic Names, P. 349.
 (6) Condon, Dr. Thomas, The Two Islands, P. 142.

The entire surface of this region is of volcanic formation, enormous masses of volcanic rock being evident from the cascades eastward for many miles. Sometime during the existence of the inland lake some great disturbance caused the elevation of the Cascade range in a gigantic upfold with numerous volcanoes pouring out on the surrounding country lava deposits of enormous thickness. Dr. Condon explains that usually "volcanoes throw out well defined streams of lava, so that their masses are easily measured; but this upthrust of Cascade lavas was most of it in sheeted masses, bursting to the surface like sheets of water through broken ice to freeze over its rents." (7)

Most of this seems to have been thrown out in the earlier stages of the period of eruption with lesser outflows in times since. The Cascade range, quiet now, probably ceased activity long before the coming of the white man to the region, though a few individuals have commented on activity of Mt. St. Helens, on the north side of the Columbia as late as the 1840's and 50's.

Father De Smet wrote in 1847 that "Mt. St. Helens, stands opposite Cowlitz to the east, and for some years past has been noted for its volcanic eruptions." (8) In November 1842 Daniel Lee who had been to the Willamette station returned to the mission at The Dalles and reported seeing an eruption of Mt. St. Helens. He says the "ejected ashes were falling with a

(7) Condon, The Two Islands, p. 78.

(8) DeSmet, Rev F.J., Oregon Missions, p. 20.

mist-like appearance, covering the leaves, fences, and stones, with a light, fine, gritty substance, in appearance like hear frost, some specimens of which were collected." (9) H. B.

Brewer, at The Dalles, described the deposit from this eruption as something like sand, in color like ashes, and with the odor of sulphur. (10) Desiring a better view of the eruption, Mr. Brewer crossed the Columbia and climbed an elevation on the north side where he observed a dark cloud of smoke issuing from Mt. St. Helens and noted that dense volume of smoke and ashes from this mountain contrasted "impressively with the sparkling snow of the surrounding peaks."

Lieutenant Fremont reported this eruption and said that ashes fell at The Dalles to a depth of one half an inch. On the 22nd of November 1842, Rev. J.L. Parrish, at French Prairie in Marion county about seventy five miles from the mountain, with others, noted an eruption of Mt. St. Helens. He records that they first saw clouds of black smoke rolling in volumes about the mountain while above this rose white clouds of smoke. Finally from the top poured great clouds of ashes and masses of rock. Hot lava poured down its side, and into bear branches of the Cowlitz river. Flares issued from the mountain at intervals of several months and after the eruption

(9) Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, P. 257.
(10) Taken from a book entitled "Sketches of Mission Life", quoted by Mrs. Lulu D. Grandall in her Other Days in Wasco County, in The Dalles Chronicle, January 25, 1922, p. 4. The only copy of this book known to be in the Northwest is in the library at Whitman College.

ashes fell on the country for hundreds of miles--at The Dalles to the depth of one half an inch. (11) Paul Kane reported seeing it smoking in 1847 and made a sketch of it on March 26 of that year. Theodore Winthrop mentioned seeing a black spot in the snow on the side (last crater) and wrote of it about 1855. (12)

An Indian legend which may have had its origin in geological reality (13) explains the formation of the region around The Dalles as follows: Years ago after Sahale had broken down the Bridge of the Gods, his sons, Kliekitat and Wiyeast, still quarreled over Lee-wit and when they quarreled great sheets of flame burst from their peaks and they threw huge rocks at one another. But they did not throw far enough. The rocks fell into the great river and blocked it. Therefore the river is very narrow and very swift at that point. Thus it is called the Dalles. (14)

Through the lava beds thus formed by the Cascade range in early times the Columbia has, through the centuries, cut its way in a succession of rapids, swirls, falls and cross-currents as it serpentine its way through narrow channels between gigantic blocks of lava. Along its banks have been carved somber sentinels of brown-black lava in forms of "terraces, towers, and obelisks." (15)

(11) Oregonian, March 29, 1855.

(12) Lancaster, Samuel C., The Columbia, p. 14. (footnote)

(13) Condon, The Two Islands, p. 122.

(14) Judson, Katherine B., Myths and Legends of the Pacific Northwest, p. 50.

(15) Wheeler, Olin D., The Trail of Lewis and Clark, p. 146.

Names

The names of The Dalles and of Wasco county are both very closely connected with the early history of this region.

The Dalles is probably derived from the French word, dalle, applied by the voyagers of the Northwest Fur company and of the Hudson's Bay company to the narrows of the river just above the present site of The Dalles. Dalle, in French, refers to a stone used to flag gutters and was probably suggested by the basaltic formation in the narrows, where the river pours through a narrow, chute-like channel of flat, basaltic rocks. The name is probably not, as is sometimes suggested, derived from the word galle, meaning trough. Mr. McArthur lists dalles on other rivers, notably those of St. Louis, St. Croix, and the Wisconsin, none of them, however, as well known as those of the Columbia. (16)

An item in the Dalles Mountaineer suggests that the "present popular meaning of dalle is a stone pavement, such as is frequently found in cathedrals. But it was likewise early applied to slices of fish, instead of the more suitable word darne.... In the Arabic we find dalla, a conductor of water; in the German galle, gutter; in the Spanish dalla.....in the French dalle, his pipes, troughs, water-ways, or canals. The first voyageurs on their way down the great river of the west, found many little dalles, but this was as they said, Le Grand dall de la Columbia."

(17)

(16) McArthur, Lewis A., Oregon Geographic Names, p. 548.
 (17) William McKay, in the Dalles Mountaineer, May 22, 1889.

The term dalles was probably applied to this part of the river for the first time in Franchere's story of his travels in this region under the date of April 12, 1814, where he employed it to describe the long narrows. (18) The narrows of the river then gradually became known as the Dalles of the Columbia.

The name of the community is legally now Dalles City but is colloquially, and for historical and sentimental reasons, known as The Dalles. Another reason for this adoption is to avoid duplication with Dallas, in Folk county, Oregon. A post-office was established in The Dalles in November 5, 1851, with the name Dalles, and with William R. Gibson as the first post-master. On September 3, 1853, the name was changed to Wascogan and on March 22, 1855, it was changed to The Dalles which it has since remained. (19)

The name Waseo has been the center of some dispute. It is believed to have been derived from waseo, meaning a cup or small bowl of horn, referring to a cup shaped rock near the present site of The Dalles. A more frequent supposition is that it has been derived from cup or basin made by the tribe inhabiting this region and for which they were known throughout the county.

Mrs. Victor gives the following legend which is often used to suggest the derivation of the name:

"The Indians being collected at the fishery, a favorite spot for taking salmon, about three miles from Wauquat, one of them was so unlucky as to lose his squaw, the mother of his children, one of whom was yet only a babe. This babe would not be comforted, and the other children, being young were clamorous for their mother. In this trying position with these

(18) Franchere, Gabriel, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, p. 264.

(19) McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, p. 349.

wailing little ones on his awkward masculine hands, the father was compelled to give up fishing and betake himself to amusing his babies. Many expedients having failed, he at length found that they were diverted by seeing him pick cavities in rocks in form of basins, which they could fill with water or pebbles, and accordingly, as many a patient mother does every day, adapted himself to the taste and capacities of his children, and made any number of basins they required." (20)

Wasee being the name of the horn basin which he made, his associates give this name to the ingenious father in ridicule of his domestic qualities. Afterwards, when he resolved to found a village at Win-quatt and drew many of his people after him, the name was applied to the settlement.

Though the exact derivation of the name Wasee seems as yet somewhat indefinite and based upon conjecture it is known to have been the name applied to a tribe of Indians inhabiting the region of The Dalles of the south side of the river. Exact and uniform knowledge of the specific position and identity of these Indians seems to have been lacking in the days of the earliest travelers and explorers if we are to judge from their journals and records. The tribe is not mentioned at all in the journals of Lewis and Clark, Henry, Thompson, or any of the very early men who passed through this region. Mr. Frederick Holman suggests that this may have been due to the fact that they were so few in number and in such poor circumstances that they did not impress the early travelers. Then, too, most of early explorers passed The Dalles when other tribes were gathered there in great numbers so that the diminutive group of Wasees

(20) Victor, Frances E., Oregon and Washington, pp. 94, 95.

may have been overlooked as a tribe. (21)

The first of the early adventurers to mention the name seems to have been Alexander Ross who wrote of *Wiss-co-pam*. (22) Somewhat farther on in his book he recorded the Indian tribes on the main Columbia beginning at The Dalles as the *He-coo-ino-eigh*, *Wiss-co-pam*, *Wiss-whams*, *Way-yam-puns*, *Low-hin*, *Saw-paw*, and *You-ma-tilla*." (23)

Other writers have briefly mentioned the tribe by the name of *Wasseo*. Commander Wilkes, in 1841 wrote of The Dalles Indians as *Wasseos*. Dr. Elijah White and other missionaries mentioned the Indian mission at The Dalles as the mission of *Wascopam*. Rev. Hines, in 1845, wrote of the *Wasseos* and *Wascopam*, saying of the Indians and the country, "They are known by the name of *Wasseo* Indians, and they call their country round the Dalles, *Wascopam*." (24). Lee and Frost spoke of *Wascopam*, but Daniel Lee, however, referred to the Indians only as *Dalles* Indians.

De Saint Amant, here in 1851 and 1852, as an envoy of the French government, mentioned the *Wasseos* in enumerating the Indian tribes east of the Cascades and wrote in one place of arriving at the mission of the *Wasseos* (25) S.J. McCormick, in his dictionary of Chinook jargon referred to the *Wasseos* while Armstrong wrote of them as The Dalles tribe. (26)

(21) Helman, Frederick V., History of Counties, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol II, p.59.

(22) Ross, Alexander, Fur Hunters of the Far West, p.146.

(23) Ibid, p.175.

(24) Hines, H., OREGON, p.159.

(25) Helman, Indians of the Northwest, Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol. II, p.40.

(26) Ibid, p. 40.

Paul Kane in writing of his wanderings through the northwest, stated that the "Indians who reside and congregate about the Chutes for the purpose of fishing, are called the Skeen tribe." (27) but there seems to be no other mention of this name. Mrs. Elizabeth Lord, a pioneer whom came to The Dalles in 1852, wrote of a treaty between Joel Palmer and the "Wasco, Deschutes, and John Day Indians." (28) In a study of Oregon Indians Henry J. Biddle lists the tribes for the mid-columbia region as Wascos or Dalles Indians near The Dalles while above The Dalles he lists the Deschutes or Falls Indians on the Deschutes, and the Wiam or Way-yam-pam at Celilo. (29)

Whatever the exact status of the Wascos was they undoubtedly were small in number and even though they lived on the scene of the greatest trading mart of the Columbia and are supposed to have owned its fisheries in that vicinity (30) they were probably somewhat overshadowed by the larger and more powerful tribes who made the Wasco territory an annual or semi-annual rendezvous.

Win-quatt, which means surrounded by rocky cliffs, is the name given to the village of the Wascos located at the present site of The Dalles. With headquarters here the Wascos

(27) Kane, Paul, Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America, p. 265.

(28) Lord, Reminiscences, p. 142.

(29) Biddle, Henry J. Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol. 27, pg. 125.

(30) From Sapir, Wichram Taxis, p. 240, Biddle, Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol. 27, pg. 125.

mingled with tribes from all parts of western and many parts of eastern Oregon at the great fishing center a few miles up the Columbia. The vicinity of Mill creek was called Quenett, an Indian word meaning salmon trout. (31) Mrs. Victor gives Gai-galt-whe-la-leth, meaning alone in its beauty, as the Indian name for a fine spring of water near the town and Shim-na-klath, the mountain denoting the sun's travel, as the name of a high hill south of the town, now known as Sunset Hill.

(32)

(31) McArthur, Geographic Names of Oregon, p. 349.

(31) Victor, Oregon and Washington, p. 95.

II

INDIANS

The Wascoos were a branch of the Chinook tribe and with their neighbors, the Wishrams on the north side of the river, at the present site of Spedis, Washington, formed the most easterly division of that stock, the principal centers of which were The Dalles, Cathlamet, and the villages at the mouth of the river. Eastward from the falls lived branches of the Shahaptian family and the falls marked a distinct change in language and dialect. The language of the Wascoo tribe would seem to have possessed some rather outstanding qualities. In 1885 a gentleman from the Smithsonian Institution made a trip to Oregon to study ethnology. He is reported as being "greatly interested in the study of Indian languages, and was astonished at the refined tongue spoken by the Wascoos and Warm Spring tribes." (33) Instead of the crudeness generally associated with Indian languages, he seems to have found the language of the Wascoos to be in many ways complete and constructed on true principles.

The Wascoos were not a roving people and, as we may judge from the comparative permanence of their wooden homes, were more or less settled in village and community life. Wilkes tells us that the "Indians of this territory are not a wandering race, as some have asserted but change for food only, and each successive season will generally find them in their old haunts seeking it." (34)

(33) Clarke, S.A., Pioneer Days in Oregon History, p. 109.

(34) Wilkes, Charles, Report O.H.Q., Vol. 12, p. 290.

This is probably more true of the Wasces than of surrounding tribes because of their location so close to the abundant Columbia fisheries.

The Wasco tribe claimed the territory extending from The Dalles fisheries above Win-quatt down to Wind mountain. Originally consisting of probably not more than 900 members, the tribe was greatly reduced by fever in 1829. Joseph Lane, territorial governor of Oregon, visited them in 1849 and estimated that there were about 200 of them with about 130 "Wyampaw" Indians on the north side of the river. (35) Anson Dart, however, visiting them in 1851, "found the Wascepana living on both sides of the Columbia River at The Dalles, and along the Deschutes River. They were divided into three bands which totaled 782." (36)

In 1855, as the white settlements crowded in and the white man's need for the site of the great trading mart grew, the "poor remnant of the once proud Wasces" was banished with other tribes, to the Warm Springs Indian reservation some miles south of The Dalles. They have been allowed to retain some of their fishing privileges and each salmon season finds many of them back on the fishing grounds of their ancestors in quest of food to be preserved for the lean days of the winter.

A common picture of The Dalles or Wasco Indians painted by many of the travelers and voyageurs who came in contact with

(35) Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st, 1st, S. 561 p. 171.

(36) Peterson, Ethel M., Oregon Indians and Indian Policy, Thesis, 1933.

them was a rather dark one. Their location so close to the portages and their avaricious regard for the white man's possessions built for them a reputation for craftiness and shrewdness that became widely known. Few early journals were written without reference to these characteristics, though occasionally here and there we find writers who see examples of more admirable qualities or who present a defense for the existing evils.

One writer, in his analysis of Indian character, in the Northwest as revealed by a study of the early journals, finds in it many desirable qualities--friendliness, helpfulness, generosity, strong family ties, honesty, faithfulness, and other qualities at times even superior to those of the white race. But to this happy picture he makes an exception of the Indians of The Dalles. He summarizes their characteristics as follows:

"To many of these generalizations there is one locality that is an exception, the region along the Columbia from The Dalles to the Cascades. Explorers and traders, going in either direction, always noted a change here. The experience of one can be duplicated many times over. Franchers, Henry, Cox, Ross, Irving, Thompson, Lewis and Clark--all have their word of condemnation for the Indians of The Dalles or Cascades. The worst elements among the natives seemed to flock here, till the place became an emporium of vice. The mouth of the Columbia and many other places soon became vice-ridden after the advent of traders but The Dalles seems to have been so from the beginning." (37)

This analysis, of course, may not refer solely to the

(37) Sperrin, O.B., The Indians of the Northwest, O.H.Q., Vol. IV, p. 38.

Wascos but to others who mingled with them also. Alexander Rees, who passed The Dalles in 1814, reported to John McDonald, a fellow member of the Northwest Fur company that the worst Indians along the Columbia were those at The Dalles and referred to The Dalles as "that noted haunt of Indian pillagers."

(38) In the same year, Rees, traveling from Fort George to his post at the She Whaps with the spring brigade, wrote;

"On arriving at The Dalles, the most suspicious part of the communication, we found the natives mustered to a number of about one thousand warriors. The war song and yell warned us of their hostile intentions and the fears of our friendly Indians only served to confirm our conjectures--the object of the natives, we were told, was to establish a perpetual tribute, which, if granted, would be the means of obtaining for us an undisturbed passage." (39)

This question of tribute had been a result of a settled plan among the natives. The first appearance of such a movement had been on the Willamette but had been spreading the gathering strength for some years, ever since the Northwesters had come to the country. Their question to the white man was, "How long are the whites to pass here; troubling our waters and searing our fish without paying us?" (40) The Ross party was saved the toll by the arrival of Donald McKenzie, the wise and genial peace-maker, a perfect Indian diplomat, whose under-

(38) Rees, Fur Hunters, Introduction LXXVII.

(39) Ibid., p. LII.

(40) Same note, p. 118.

standing of the Indian nature, easy manner, and keen penetration inspired the confidence of the natives and made it possible for him to do almost anything with them.

David Douglas, in this region on March 23, 1826, recorded that the natives collected in great numbers and showed a tendency to be troublesome when they did not get what tobacco they wanted, making necessary a strict guard all night. "After a tedious night, daybreak was to me particularly gratifying, as might be well guessed, being surrounded by at least 450 savages who, judging from appearances, were everything but amicable." (41) Lack of knowledge of the Indian language made conversation difficult and little could be done by persuasion. The Indians showed considerable cunning and cleverness, throwing water on the gun locks, and resorting to sly devices in an attempt to pillage the boats. (42) Imminent trouble was finally averted when a chief of the Cayuse (Kyansee) tribe and three of his men appeared and settled the matter. In payment Douglas "bored a hole in the only shilling" he had and "the septum of his nose being perforated, I suspended it to it with a brass wire. This was to him a great seal of Friendship." (43)

(41) Douglas, Journal O.H.Q., Vol. 5, pg. 159.

(42) Ibid., p. 159.

(43) Ibid.

They do these writers and others single out the Indians of The Dalles as outstanding examples of impudence, craftiness, and thievery. On the other hand there are those who seemed to find them no worse than other tribes of the Northwest and who noted in them many worthwhile qualities.

David Thompson, at The Dalles in July 11, 1811, camped near upper rapids or between them and the lower rapids. He found no trouble with the Indians of this region. He noted about "300 families, who gave us as usual a rude dance, but the respectable men among them had much trouble to reduce them to order, and they were the least regular in their way of behavior of any we have yet seen. At night they cleared off with difficulty and left us to go to sleep. A gale as usual, saw nothing of the reported bad Indians." (44) This reference to "bad Indians" evidently referred to the record of the Lewis and Clark expedition since Thompson carried a copy of the Patrick Gass journal of that expedition.

Gabriel Franchere, who made the portage of The Dalles on April 12, 1814, experienced no serious difficulty although a guard was posted because of previous trouble suffered by Stuart and Reed. Franchere's estimate of the Dalles Indians is interesting in light of the preceding testimonies. He says of them:

(44) Thompson, Journal, O.H.C., Vol. 14, pg. 60.

"In spite of the vices that may be laid to the charge of the natives of the Columbia, I regard them as nearer to a state of civilization than any of the tribes who dwell east of the Rocky Mountains. They did not appear to me so attached to their customs that they could not easily adopt those of civilized nations---generally speaking, they have a ready intellect and a tenacious memory." (45)

Sir George Simpson, on his trip in 1825 found the Dalles Indians tractable but not so much so in a later trip in 1829.

His entry of March 22, 1825, reads;

"Surrounded by Indians all Day who assisted us on the portage and conducted themselves with great propriety, indeed from what I have seen of the Natives on the communication am satisfied that if any serious evil or difference arises hereafter with them it will be our own fault as notwithstanding the bad character they bear I should not hesitate to pass up or down the River with merely the Crew of my Single Canoe." (46)

Later, in 1829, though his party had trouble in which they escaped disaster only by a narrow margin, Simpson still did not seem to regard the Indians of The Dalles region as much willfully hostile as primitively curious and covetous.

"At the lower end of the portage we intended to dine on salmon, which we had purchased from the Indians; but after cooking it we felt so incumbered by the crowd, that we pushed off to eat our dinner, while we were drifting down the river.Some Indians on the bank were watching, spear in hand, for salmon; and so intent were they on their occupation, that they never even raised their eyes to look at us, as we flew past them." (47)

Simpson expressed the belief that in the 1830's there seemed less impudence along the Wasco territory due possibly to

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- (45) Franchère, Narrative, p. 261.
 (46) Simpson, Journal, p. 126.
 (47) Simpson, Journal, p. 167.

(the influence of Dr. John McLaughlin.

Nathaniel Wyeth, in 1832, found them thievish but not dangerous. (48) Jason Lee, in his journal of Friday, September 8, 1834, says of the Indians near The Dalles that "They were said to be great thieves" (49) but he mentions no serious trouble with them. They helped his party make the portage and though a hundred or more of them crowded around and generally made nuisances of themselves there was apparently no real difficulty. Like many other tribes, they were capricious and not to be depended on in engagements. They would frequently agree to perform some service in return for a shirt and then decide when the task was finished that it was worth a vest, or trousers, or a half a dozen small presents. (50)

Paul Kane, among the Indians in 1845, found those at the "Outlet" "very numerous and willing to be employed," (51). He considered them hardy, brave and friendly, especially to the Hudson's Bay company. Colonel William Thompson, in 1832, found them friendly.

Father P.J. De Smet was one of those who found good qualities in the Wasco. He held the view that they probably did not have more vices than many of the white men. What could

(48) Wyeth, Journal, October 24, 1832, Sources of Oregon History
p.178.

(49) Lee, Diary, C.H.Q., Vol. IV, p. 259.

(50) Lee and Fort, Ten Years in Oregon, p.166.

(51) Kane, Wanderings of an Artist, p. 263.

be expected, for instance, when the white man set bad example by robbing the sacred sepulchre islands, taking canoes and buried utensils, and leaving the bodies exposed. This, with their location on the river, and consequent necessity to defend themselves against great numbers might explain the "plunder-bund" tendency of these Indians. (52) They could hardly be considered hopelessly corrupt considering their means of enlightenment. Father De Smet found in their beliefs, certain ideas of right and wrong. (53)

In later years, during the Cayuse war and the wars of the 1850's the Wasco were among the very few tribes in eastern Oregon and Washington who did not take the warpath against the white man. What Daniel Lee said of the Clatsop Indians might be applied to the Indians of the Wasco tribe;

"In respect to their moral character, I cannot in justice to them, and to myself, say, that it is blacker than that of thousands and tens of thousands of their white brethren in the civilized world." (54)

The general conclusion, if one can be made, would seem to be that while many of the travelers and explorers of early days found much unpleasantness among the Indians of The Dalles, many of them also experienced no difficulties and discovered in the tribes many very noteworthy qualities. Whichever attitude

(52) De Smet, Oregon Missions, p. 237.

(53) Ibid., p. 25.

(54) Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 104.

was taken, it is rather interesting to note that in nearly all the early records special mention of some kind was made of the Indians in this region.

It seems to be generally agreed amid diversion on other points, that their most distinguishing qualities seemed to be a great active curiosity and a strong tendency to pilfering and thievery.

These qualities may not, of course, have been characteristic of the Wasco or Dalles tribe alone in view of the fact that they were so mixed at most times of the year with other tribes. Simpson recorded that "We were badly ashore when we were surrounded by about a hundred and fifty savages of several tribes, who were all, however under the control of one chief." Here, we must remember, centered, in addition to the Wascos, the backwash of the many seasonably congregating tribes----wastrels and renegades of those who came to trade and secure food supply. It is reasonably possible that the Wasco tribe was not wholly included in the category of destruction many times attributed to the Indians of this region. Though they were the resident tribe they were almost constantly in a decided minority and possibly not representative of the character of treatment sometimes accorded explorers and travelers.

The shrewdness and craftiness of the natives of this region might be explained by their location. Their home was

the trade ground of dozens of surrounding tribes and competition with other tribes was unequal. Though they owned the land they were constantly forced to match wits with the herds who poured in on them from all parts of the country. Washington Irving, in his Astoria, wrote,

"These Indians were shrewd, and more intelligent than the other Indians,...trade had sharpened their wits but had not improved their honesty for they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters." (55)

In the account of his adventures on the Oregon, Alexander Ross wrote that during the salmon season there were probably more than 3,000 Indians gathered in the region of the mart but that the constant inhabitants probably did not exceed 100 persons. (56) Surrounded by such a majority of foreigners the Wascoes were undoubtedly hard pressed at times to maintain their existence and identity. The Kinse were believed by some to dominate the mart, exacting tribute from the Dalles Indians and buying articles at their own price. (57) With such herds of varied tribes crowded into so small an area there must necessarily have been strife and warfare and a struggle for existence in which the minority must develop traits of slyness and trickery to effect their lack of strength and in order to survive. Mrs. Crandall wrote that the "Wasco Indians were a superior tribe as compared with their neighbors. As a tribe they never

(55) Irving, Astoria, p. 448. (Estimate of Wilson Price Hunt)

(56) Ross, Adventures, p. 128.

(57) Lee and Frost p., 176-177.

took up arms against the whites but a few renegades at different times joined the hostile bands." (58) An article in the Mountaineer gave the following description of The Dalles Indians now on the Warm Springs reservation;

"Of all the Indians upon this reserve the Wascoos take the lead in civilization. Their farms, with houses and barns, wood sheds, fences, (with stone and lumber) with irrigating ditches required, and their large fields of wheat, oats, and barley, and corn, convinces the skeptical that Indians are not too indolent to work, and when they are so minded, can live as comfortably and happily as their peer white brethren across the mountains. (59)

One of the greatest of the Wascoos and the one best known to the white settlers was Billy Chinook (christened William McKendoe by the missionaries). His parents died when he was very young, leaving him to the care of an uncle until he was twelve years old when he became a member of the missionary settlement at The Dalles. One of the best hunters and salmon speareers of his tribe, he was intelligent and trusted by both his own people and the white men. He learned the English language and in 1843 went to Washington D. C., with Lieutenant Fremont. He returned with Fremont to California where he lived for a time and finally returned to Wasco county where he died in 1894 at the Warm Springs reservation. (60) Another well known chief of the Wascoos was Tilki who proved himself a friend to

(58) Mrs. Crandall, The Pageant Story, The Chronicle, May 20, 1921, p. 4.

(59) Letter to the Mountaineer, December 31, 1887, Signed J.F.S.

(60) Mrs. Crandall, Other Days in Wasco County, The Chronicle Jan. 13, 1923, p. 4.

were than one explorer and traveler passing The Dalles. When he died in September 1834, one writer recorded in his journal the following: "Well, thought I, the white man has lost a friend, and long will it be before we see his like again!" (61)

Religion and Customs

The Indians of The Dalles were superstitious and religious, being especially under the spell of their medicine men.

"The nights among The Dalles Indians were spent in singing and dancing and their carousals could be heard a mile. One and then another of the medicine men would open his house for dance which was generally kept up five nights in succession; men, women, and children engaged in the chant while a man, or woman, or both danced on a large elk skin spread down on one side of the fire that blazed in the center of the group, keeping time to the measured knocking of a long pole suspended horizontally, and struck endwise against a wide cedar board-- the dancer jumping and invoking his 'tan-an-a-was' or familiar spirit, until exhausted he falls or, indeed, by the overpowering influence of his "familiar." (62)

Such influence was exerted by the medicine men and fire-eating was practiced to some degree. Burial services seem to have been rather elaborate and burial grounds were sacred. Mr. Waller told Samuel Hancock, in 1845, of an Indian chief who had recently died and was buried a short distance from the mission. All effects of the dead chief were buried with him; several horses had been shot and placed on the burial pile, and an Indian boy who had been his slave was buried with the master. The boy seemed reconciled to his fate, believing he

(61) Thwaites, Townsend's Narrative, Vol. 21, pg. 358.

(62) Lee and Frost, p. 163.

could be of some use to his master in the next world. (63)
 The Indians held their dead as sacred and often spoke of them only in a whisper. Their gods usually were believed to inhabit the bodies of animals. Speelyai, the coyote god was their most sacred and most powerful spirit.

In the rocks along the river above The Dalles on both the Oregon and Washington sides have been found paintings and carving perhaps several thousands years old. Those on the Washington side of the river were probably made by the same Indians as those at Big Eddy on the Oregon side and formerly extended more than one hundred yards up and down the river but they have now been partly blasted away by railroad construction. The Oregon designs are rather vague and indefinite while those on the Washington side are much clearer and show definite attempts at pictures, among which are those of a full antlered elk and a grasshopper, both designed in white paint of some kind. Other designs, which seem to be indicative of Phallic worship have been found in several places. (64)
 It is not certain, however, whether these paintings were intended for religious significance or not and they have been the center of controversy for a number of years. Some believe that they were religious symbols while others believe they were

(63) Hancock, Narrative, p. 36.

(64) The Dalles Chronicle, November 16, 1930, p. 5.

attempts at art, and still others think that they may have been signs or warnings which were placed there to be read by traveling Indians. (65)

More than one early writer has commented on the tendency to religious fervor evidenced by the Wasco Indians and the readiness with which they accepted teachings of religion. Father DeSmet says that "amidst all this misery, there is fortunately one redeeming feature, a constant desire to discover some power superior to man; this disposition renders them attentive to the least word that seems to convey the slightest knowledge of a Supreme Being, and hence the facility with which they believe anything that at all resembles the Word of God." (66)

The Indians of The Dalles dwelt in wooden houses very different from the tepee dwellings of those to the eastward. These houses were usually 20 by 30 feet and about 5 feet underground. This evidently was a precaution against the high wind of that area. The sides of the underground hole were lined with split pieces of timber, rising just above the surface of the ground and secured in their places by a pole stretched along the side of the building near the eaves, with roofs formed very much like that common to us. Near the eaves were perforated small holes probably for the purpose of discharging arrows in case

(65) Ibid., November 9, 1920.

(66) De Smet, Oregon Missions, p. 233.

of attack. The only entrance was by a small door at the gable end about 30 inches high and 14 inches broad, reaching only 18 inches above the ground. The house was entered by pushing aside a mat hung before the door, crawling through, and descending by a small wooden ladder.

Inside was a combination of storehouse for dried fish and berries, kitchen, living room, and bedroom. Such a house usually accommodated two or three families and sometimes 20 or 30 people. On each side arranged near the wall were small beds of mats placed on little scaffolds or bedsteads, raised 18 inches to 3 feet from the ground and in the middle of the room was usually a place for the fire or fires.

The chief food of these Indians consisted of salmon, roots, berries, game, and later a few things they were able to get from the white man. One chief at whose lodge Nathaniel Wyeth stopped gave the party some molasses obtained from the fort at The Dalles. He had a large stock of fish dried for the winter--according to Wyeth's estimate, about four tons, besides roots and other food. (67) One of their chief occupations was the drying and storing of salmon. In the spring, too, they dug roots of various plants and made them into cakes to be stored for winter use, while in the fall they gathered and dried berries. Acorns, also, were collected and prepared for use by

(67) Wyeth, Journal, Elliott, O.H.Q., Vol. I, p. 146.

baking them and burying in the mud. (68)

Highway workers, excavating near Big Eddy in November, 1920, uncovered some dust-like mummies and relics of copper and stone carving which caused a great deal of interest for a time. One of these relics was a crude carved representation of a frog, while another was a carved pestle which differed from anything else found in that region. (69) Other articles found included stone war clubs, plain and carved bowls and an instrument believed to have been used by the Indians for drawing. Copper ornaments, sehog shells, and arrow heads were other relics unearthed. Traces of fire and wood ashes found mingled with the remains of human skeletons led to the suggestion that the early inhabitants of the region may have cremated their dead. These relics, however, while probably not prehistoric, obviously long antedated the civilization of the Indians of the Dalles region who were living there when the white man came. Whether or not they were direct ancestors of the Wascos has not been determined. The nature of the relics found would seem to indicate that even in that more remote era the home of the Wasco Indians was the scene of a trading mart.

Many of the habits and customs of the Wascos typically primitive, have been described by the early writers. One practice was that of gashing their bodies to show their ability

(68) Lee and Frest, p. 181.

(69) The Chronicle, Nov. 7, 1920.

to endure pain or their grief for some incident. Townsend describes such a practice as follows;

"We observe on the breasts and bellies of many of the Indians here, a number of large red marks, mostly of an oval form, sometimes twenty or thirty grouped together. These are wounds made by their own hands, to display to their people the unwavering and stoical resolution with which they can endure pain. A large flake of the skin is taken up with the fingers, and sliced off with a knife; the surrounding fibre then retreats, and a large and ghastly looking wound remains." (70)

Indian Fairs

The Indians of The Dalles, tucked away in the barren and rocky recesses of the Warm Springs Indian reservation, have almost run their course as a race and are fast becoming a memory. Brought in close contact with the white race, and taught the rudiments of the white man's system of education, they have adopted many of the customs of the white race at the same time retaining some of their own. As a result they have become to a great extent a conglomerate nonentity; they have lost their individualism and freedom as Indians and yet they are not admitted to the social or economic order of the white man who has succeeded to their lands and homes.

Long before the advent of the white man the Indians made the vicinity of The Dalles an important rendezvous for trade and barter. Here were held yearly great annual fairs for purposes of trade--the Nishim-Nevgored of Oregon Indians, Three

(70) Thwaites, Townsend's Narrative, Vol. 21, p.389.

places in the Oregon country marked these great trading grounds, Yakima valley, about one hundred miles northeast of The Dalles, Sprague River Valley, about two hundred fifty miles to the south, and The Dalles. (71) Even as late as the early days of the fur trade we have records of these great meeting places where huge fairs were held each year. Especially in the fishing season did people flock to The Dalles. There were two yearly runs of salmon, one in May and one in October. The river was narrow at the falls, making the salmon easier to catch.

Here for the great autumn fairs flocked Indians from all distances and directions. Here came Indians from the north bringing horses, buffalo robes, furs, skins, robes, dried buffalo meat, and similar articles, to trade with the Indians from the south for skins, dried meats, hemp, camas roots, and all kinds of berries--blueberries, raspberries, salal, currants, and many others. From the west, from the region of the lower Columbia and along the coast came other tribes bringing ammunition, clothing, blankets, knives, axes, fishhooks, tobacco, and many other articles which showed evidence of contact of these tribes with white traders along the coast. Here came the Nez Percés and Cayuses with horses, the Klickitats with weapons of war or the hunt, the Klamaths with dried venison and bear skins and robes or the big horns of mountain sheep, and the Molallies with skins

(71) Clarke, Pioneer Days, p. 115.

and dried venison, to exchange them in a riot of sharp trading and bargaining and gambling. With all of these the local tribes traded and bartered dried salmon and other things. (72). Besides dried and smoked fish the Wasco traded pemican, salmon meat cleaned and pounded fine and packed in hempen sacks. A sack of this usually weighted 80 or 90 pounds and was worth as much as a horse. (73)

Father DeSmet records that "Indians flock hither from different quarters of the interior, to attend, at this season of the year, to the salmon fisheries. This is their glorious time for rejoicing, gambling and feasting; the long lent is passed; they have at last assembled in the midst of abundance-- all that the eye can see, or the nose smell is fish, and nothing but fish. Piles of them are lying everywhere,....." (74)

In summarizing the characteristics of the Wasco Indians one must bear in mind that in making general statements derived from the testimony of the early journals there arises the difficulty of segregating the small band of Wascos from the masses that usually haunted the region and considering them as a single group. However, as nearly as this can be done, it would seem to present the Wascos in a somewhat favorable light, comparatively speaking, despite their obvious failings. Greivous covetous, and thievish, they were never as a band openly hostile

(72) McKay, Wm., The Mountaineer, May 28, 1869.

(73) Clarke, p. 110.

(74) DeSmet, p. 233.

and never made war on the white man. Capricious almost to childishness, they seemed, nevertheless, willing to work on occasions as was illustrated in the building of the mission by Lee and Perkins. Though many of their customs were extremely crude and primitive, and their habits of living and eating were often disgustingly unpleasant, they showed evidence of a ready intellect, a certain shrewdness, and a tenacious memory, as well as a comparatively refined though primitive language and a promisingly religious nature. Why they made so little progress and failed to fulfill their early promise is probably a result of many influences to be detailed for the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that small in numbers though they were, they were able to make an impression, good or bad, on all who passed their habitations on the Columbia in the days of their dominion there.

Among the pines near the south boundary of Dalles City a slender, basaltic pillar rises abruptly, forming a natural pulpit from which in pleasant weather, the early missionaries preached to the Indians. It was first used for religious services in 1838 and is still used today once a year as the scene of Easter sunrise services.

Originally this pillar had two pinnacles rising about twelve feet from the base. One of these was chiseled off by Daniel Lee, the first missionary at The Dalles, for a table on which to place his Bible. The other is used as a seat. On this rock each Sunday Lee mounted and blew a horn which could be heard across the Columbia, to call the Indians to prayer. (75)

The first missionary work among The Dalles Indians began in the spring of 1838, when Jason Lee placed Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins in charge of missionary work there as the first branch mission of the Methodist church in Oregon. The Dalles had long before been considered a promising point for a mission and was probably first considered for a missionary settlement by Dr. Whitman, Spalding, and Gray in 1836 when, however, nothing was done, Gray being the only one definitely in favor of a settlement.

On March 22, 1838, Lee and Perkins arrived at The Dalles

in canoes and selected for their mission a site on a small elevation in what is now known as the Wiley block just across the street from the high school---approximately 308 Webster street. (76) Near here was a "valuable spring of water, some rich land, and a grand supply of timber, oak, and pine, and an elevated and pleasant location for a house almost in their shade; with a fine extended view of the Columbia river, three miles on either hand." (77) The high school grounds and the athletic field were part of the mission ground and the spring, long called Amotam, furnishes part of the water for the school and nearby residences. (78)

On this favored spot they pitched their tents and commenced the work of building for protection against the summer sun. On April 1st, work was begun on a house. With no teams and no conveyances of any kind the problem of securing building material was difficult. Fortunately, here the natives proved more willing to assist than in many places elsewhere and gave their services free, dragging in timbers a stick at a time and packing in shingles on horseback from the mountains, making it possible to finish the house before winter.

During the construction of the buildings plans were made to establish a mission farm. To do this it was necessary to

(76) Mrs. Crandall, The Chronicle.

(77) Lee and Frost, p. 152.

(78) Mrs. Crandall, The Chronicle.

get supplies from Willamette or Vancouver by canoes and several trips were made down the Columbia for this purpose. Daniel Lee also made an overland trip to Walla Walla for horses and one to Willamette station in September, 1838, for cattle. (79) With ten horses belonging to the mission and ten belonging to the natives, Lee set out. After much hardship he arrived back at The Dalles on the 5th of October with fourteen head of cattle, the first herd to be brought to The Dalles.

In the meantime the mission had been visited on April 7, 1838, by Jason Lee, P.L. Edwards, and others on their way from Vancouver to the States to raise funds for Oregon missionary work. They made a two-day visit to the new mission, going from there to Walla Walla. From Walla Walla, Jason Lee, writing back to his nephew, Daniel Lee, had the following to say:

".....be strong in the Lord, be firm, and let not the Indians trifle with you, let them know that you must be respected, and whenever they intentionally transgress bounds, make them feel the weight of your displeasure. I say the son of your late chief Tilki, and think you had better take measures if possible to bring him under instruction, or by some means get some influence over him, for he will, if he lives, be a great blessing or a curse to his people. He will come to you before long." (80)

During the winter Daniel Lee stayed at the mission with a Mr. Anderson, an American, fencing and getting the farm ready

(79) Lee and Frost, p. 153.

(80) Brosman, C.J., Jason Lee, p. 95.

In the spring of 1839 the farm was begun but did not prove very profitable. About twenty acres were planted in grain and vegetables on ground irrigated from the spring. Crops were small and part of what was raised was stolen by the natives. (81)

By autumn of 1839 a substantial settlement was under way. A one and one-half story mission residence had been completed. This was a log house thirty by twenty feet, with two rooms on the lower floor, living room and dining room, and six small rooms on the upper floor, a schoolroom and living room for the Indians. Underneath was an eight foot cellar. Other buildings added to this structure that autumn were the church, schoolhouse, and a small workshop. (82) Thomas J. Farnham, in his "Travels in the Great Western Plains," gives the following description of the church which was being built when he visited The Dalles;

"Its architecture is a curiosity. The frame is made in the usual form, save that instead of four main posts at the corners, and others at considerable distances, for the support of lateral girders, there were eleven on each side, and six on each end, besides the corner posts--all equal in size and length. Between these billets of wood were driven transversely, on which as lathing, mortar made of clay sand and straw was laid to a level with their exterior and interior faces."

Farnham mentioned the intention of the missionaries to cultivate the land, 20 acres of which was already under cultivation, and stated that a grist mill, a saw-mill, and other

(81) Bancroft, History of Oregon, P.186.
(82) Brosnan, p.167.

machinery were contemplated. As we know, these plans were never carried out by the missionaries. Farnham estimated that the "fruit of the oak" should support about 1000 hogs from the middle of August to the middle of April, while pasturage in the vicinity was good for sheep, horses, and cattle. Five acres of unirrigated ground in 1839 produced 25 bushels of small grain, 75 bushels of potatoes, and "considerable quantities of other vegetables" and, he believed, should produce more if it were irrigated.

In the winter of 1839-1840 revival services were held at Wishram where Lee and Perkins baptized more than 250 natives. In 1840 the mission was reenforced by Dr. J. L. Babcock, H.B. Brewer, and J.H. Frost and families and Mrs. Daniel Lee, making the first real settlement. Brewer came in capacity of manager of the farm which soon consisted of about 70 acres. (83)

A quotation from a little book put out in 1854 by the Sunday School Union, entitled, "Sketches of Mission Life Among the Indians of Oregon", gives some interesting sidelights on the life of the Brewers at The Dalles mission, and includes a detailed description of the mission grounds at that time.

"The house which our friends occupied was erected at the commencement of the Mission, and was, of course, a rough abode and built even in its rough style with much labor and inconvenience. The logs were brought by hand, with the aid

(83) Mrs. Skakelford, O.H.Q., Vol. 16, p. 24.

of the Indians about eighty rods. The boards of the floor and ceiling were sawed out by hand. The shingles were made twelve miles from the spot and brought on pack horses. At first it consisted of one room, but now a kitchen and woodshed had been added. The precise site upon the upper, south bank of the Columbia, about half a mile from its channel. The front door of the house opened toward the river, in which direction was a fine yard, inclosed by a high wall of earth, affording a pleasant playground for the children. From the south end of the house the door opened into a square of nearly an acre of ground of "Common" or public promenade. Upon the opposite side of the square, on the south, stood the church, a plain log building and near it a schoolhouse, which, if not beautiful to the eyes as many which ornament the growing villages of the States, was to the eye of the Christian very beautiful. On the east was the house of Dr. Perkins, who had assisted, as we have stated, to commence the Mission; opposite his residence, on the west, was what the missionaries pleasantly called their 'civilized barn,' because it was in the style of those in settled parts of the country. Near this was a workshop, which completed the settlement of the whites. A short distance from the square was a beautiful spring of pure water, which the Indians called 'Waseco', hence the name 'Wasecopam', which sometimes give title to the Mission. (84)

To Sir George Simpson, at The Dalles in 1841 the mission presented the appearance of civilization and comfort. One of the things that impressed him was the fact that his party saw growing timber there for the first time since they had left Okanagan. He tells us that

"On visiting the establishment, we were much pleased with the progress that had been made in three years---the missionaries said that they were as happy in their new home as they could expect to be; at the same time that they had not found the land of promise which they came to seek

Mr. Lee, (Daniel) head of the mission accompanied us to our encampment to supper; and while the meal was prepar-

(84) Sketches of Mission Life, (Author unknown) Quotation taken from Canse, Pilgrims and Pioneer p. 218.

ing we enjoyed a delicious bath by moonlight in the stream that now glittered so placidly before us." (85)

At first the meetings with the Indians were held outside.

"A few scattering stones afforded seats for some, and others sat quietly upon the ground; a manner of sitting to which they are well used and which they prefer to any other." (86)

Later the meetings were held in the house mentioned before.

Sometimes it was necessary to hold them in both houses at the same time so great were the numbers. Every morning and evening they came. The missionaries preached at Wishram, to the Klickitats, and down the river to the Cascades, working about fifty miles up and down the river. By 1839 there were numerous conversions and in the years 1839 and 1840 considerable religious excitement seemed to have prevailed among the

Indians of The Dalles or Wascopam mission. A notable series of revivals was held in the spring of 1840, probably the largest held in early Oregon. Jason Lee pitched his tent at the foot of the rocks about six miles below The Dalles and three miles from the mission at a place called Cow-S-laps, where he was surrounded by dozens of wigwams of the natives.

(87) Daniel Lee reported about 1200 Indians present from villages along the Cascades, "from Wishham and Caslasco, and from the neighboring Wallah-wallahs, and the Clickatats." (88)

(85) Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World, Vol. 1, Pp. 169, 170.

(86) Lee and Frost, p. 155.

(87) Lee and Frost, p. 189.

(88) Ibid. p. 190.

About 1840 things began to go wrong with the missionary attempts in Oregon and the next few years saw the abandonment of most of the branch posts in the region. The Indians had proved intractable and the interest of most of the missionaries seems to have turned more to business and less to the task of converting the natives. (89) In 1844 Daniel Lee and H.K. Perkins left for the east and Rev. Waller came to The Dalles to take their places. In the same year Jason Lee was recalled and was succeeded by Rev. Geo. Gary who had been sent to Oregon to reduce and keep down expenses of the work. Shortly after his arrival all branch missions were closed except the one at The Dalles which was maintained until August 1847, when it was transferred to the Presbyterian missions. The lay members were all discharged except H.B. Brewer. They were allowed a sum sufficient to enable them to reach the eastern states or enough property to equal traveling expenses if they chose to stay. Many chose to stay.

In 1847 Rev. William Roberts who had succeeded Gary, entered into an agreement to transfer the Dalles mission to Marcus Whitman. Waller and Brewer transferred the station, a canoe, farm implements, and grain and household furniture for \$600.00 and actual possession was given to Dr. Whitman who put the mission in charge of his nephew, Perrin B. Whitman and Alanson Hinman. (90).

(89) Ghent, Road to Oregon, p. 47.

(90) Mrs. Shakerford, O.H.C., V. 16, p. 24.

By the time the transfer was made The Dalles, which for nearly a decade had been settled solely by missionaries, was beginning to be affected by the immigrations pouring through its gates on the way to the Willamette valley. Then followed the Whitman massacre of November 29, 1847, and the Cayuse war in the following year. Perrin Whitman left The Dalles and during the war volunteer troops were, with his permission, stationed at the mission. After the war these were withdrawn but missionary work was not resumed and only an occasional traveler occupied the buildings. (91)

The massacre virtually closed all eastern Oregon to the white people for several years. A letter written by Captain H.A.G. Lee, stationed at The Dalles to Bishop Blanchet of the Catholic mission at Walla Walla, illustrates the state of affairs at the end of the war;

Fort Wascopan
June 15, 1848

"Rev. Messrs:--As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, it becomes my duty to inform you, with all due respect to your sacred calling, that it is desirable no further missionary efforts should be made with any Indians east of the Cascade Mountains, until the presence of well-organized and disciplined troops, under command of United States officers, shall render such efforts safe and judicious. At present the relations between the whites and the Indians are too precarious to allow missionary labors with the Indians to

(91) Ibid., p. 35.

be either prudent or effective of good. So soon as circumstances will allow, I shall take much pleasure in throwing wide the door of missionary labors among the natives to all Christian missionaries; at present prudence demands that it shall be closed against all." (92)

The Catholics conformed and suspended labors in the hostile districts. Bishop Blanchet, however, remained at The Dalles where, on May 16, 1848, St. Peter's mission was established with Rev. Rosseau as first pastor. Blanchet left in October 27, 1850, for Vancouver, and in 1851, shortly after his ordination Rev. Mesplie, later to become a prominent figure in Dalles history, was sent to succeed Rev. Rosseau. Under his direction two log buildings were put up near the site of the present Catholic cemetery west of the city, one for a church and one for a parsonage. The church was burned in 1852 and again in 1855, being replaced each time.

Rev. Mesplie took charge of the missionary work among the Wascos and other Indians and used his influence to keep them out of later Indian wars. "During the period of hostilities he was in communication with the various military posts and kept them informed of the hostile plans of the savages." (93) In 1863 he was succeeded by Rev. Vermeesch. (94).

(92) House Ex. Doc. 38, Brown, p. 415.

(93) O'Hara, E.V; Catholic History, p. 202.

(94) Lockley, Fred; History of the Columbia River, p. 839.

During this time the Methodists were holding occasional services at The Dalles preparatory to the establishment of a permanent church. Rev. James Gerrish presided from time to time as did Rev. Gustavus Hines and Rev. G.M. Berry. (95) In 1856 Rev. H.K. Hines came to organize a church and the Methodists had a second beginning at The Dalles. He bought a fourth of a block for \$175 and donated it to the church. In 1858 a chapel was built by the resident pastor, Rev. Kelly, and in 1861 a large church was built during the pastorate of Rev. J.F. DeVore. In 1879 Rev. Hines returned and aided in erecting a parsonage and enlarging the church.

The Congregationalists began in The Dalles in 1859 in the court room over the jail. In September, 1859, the first meeting was held and the first church organized with Rev. W.A. Tenney as first pastor. Mr. Tenney was succeeded in 1862 by Rev. Thomas Conden who started plans for the construction of a church which was completed by the summer of 1864. Articles of Incorporation of the First Congregational Church of The Dalles were filed in 1867 and by 1873 the church had 97 members.

1861 marked the coming of the Baptists to The Dalles. Ezra Fisher bought a small place about four miles from the

(95) Ibid.; p. 936.

city and started work. In the hard winter that followed they lost most of their stock and living was difficult. There were few Baptists in the community but by 1863 a few had been recruited and meetings were held in the court house at first and later a congregation of 16 members was organized but due to lack of revenue Rev. Fisher was unable to give all his time to the work. He divided his time between his congregation and his little farm and is assertedly one of the first to prove the superiority of Dalles cherries, now a world-known product. (96)

Among the last of the religious denominations to come to The Dalles were the Episcopalians who came in May 28, 1875. Various members had visited there before this but the church was not permanently organized until then. Several members of this church have been outstanding in The Dalles history among whom was Rev. Thomas F. Scott.

Though the Methodist mission station at The Dalles had been sold to Dr. Whitman, after the territorial government of Oregon provided that "title to the land, not exceeding six hundred and forty acres, now occupied as missionary stations among the Indian tribes in said territory....be established in the several religious societies to which said stations respectively belong." (97) The Methodists laid claim to the land on which their mission had been built.

(96) Fisher, p. 27.

(97) Oregon Archives, Vol. II, 1850-1851, p. 37.

This included part of the military reservation and the land on which part of Dallas City was built. The death of Dr. Whitman had prevented the occupation of the station by the American Board Mission and the draft which he had given the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal church had not been presented for payment. In March or February after the passage of the land act, arrangements were made to have the draft re-transferred and cancelled. (98) In February, 1859, the Society obtained from the American Board, a formal quit-claim to the premises, although in November, 1858, Messrs. Walker and Eals of the American Board, "professing to act upon a power to them from said Board dated February 28, 1852, for a nominal consideration, had conveyed the premises subject to the military reservation to Messrs. H.M. McCarver and Samuel S. White." (99) The Society then put in a claim for compensation and although there had been no occupancy of the grounds by them since the "sale", Congress, on the recommendation of Major Rains, paid \$20,000. for the satisfaction of the claim and \$4,000. for destruction of property upon the mission claim.

The Society then put in a claim against Dallas City for land assertedly belonging to the mission claim and which

(98) Mrs. Skakelford, Mission Claim to The Dalles, OHA, Vol. 16, p. 28.

(99) Ibid.

was then being settled by citizens of The Dalles. A. N. Armstrong wrote in 1857,

"A contention has arisen as to who are the proper owners of the soil. The law having donated one section to a Mission, the Methodists claim that the title is still vested in them---they left their claim during hostilities, which they do not consider a forfeiture of their rights. (100) The City of The Dalles brought suit for 112 acres and the case was tried in the United States district court which rendered a decision in favor of The Dalles. The Society appealed the case to the Supreme Court which upheld the decree of the circuit court though it was not until 1853 that the title of Dalles City to these lots was finally cleared and in 1855 the lots were formally conveyed to their various owners.

This is necessarily a very brief sketch of the mission site controversy which in detail is much too long for this paper and which has been rather thoroughly written up by Mrs. Shakerford and others in papers on that subject alone.

Viewed as a whole, the missionary work among the Indians was not successful and not in fulfillment of the expectations of those engaged in it. The Dalles was no exception. This may seem somewhat strange in view of the fact that the Wasco Indians seemed naturally rather religiously inclined and seemed at first so responsive to the teachings of the missionaries. Various accounts have appeared from time to time/^{by these} who came in contact with the missions of Oregon,

(100) Armstrong, Oregon and Washington, p. 88.

commenting upon the condition of these missions and offering opinions for their failure.

Lieutenant Wilkes, on his trip through Oregon in 1841, was not at all favorably impressed with the missionary achievements among the Indians.

"The number of Indians within The Dalles mission, "he wrote, "is reckoned at about two thousand; in but a few of these, however, had any symptom of reform shown itself." (101)

In another place, he expressed the view that more was being done in the material than in the spiritual line since "those (missions) of the middle section are succeeding well, and, although little progress has been made in the conversion of Indians to Christianity, yet they have done much good in reforming some of their vices and teaching them some useful arts, particularly that of agriculture, which has had the effect, in a measure, to attach them to the soil, construct better houses, exchanging their corn, and so forth, with those who hunt, for Buffalo meat." (102)

In another place he expressed the opinion that little had yet been affected by the missionaries in Christianizing the natives. "They are principally engaged in the cultivation of the mission farms, and in the care of their own stock in order to obtain flocks and herds for themselves, most of them having selected lands. As far as my personal observation went, in the part of the country where the missionaries reside there are very few Indians, and they seem more occupied with the settlement of the country and in agricultural pursuits than missionary labors." (103)

Sir George Simpson is even more condemnatory of the missionary work in the Oregon country. In a dispatch to officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated at Fort Vancouver on November 25, 1841, he expressed the opinion

(101) History of Central Oregon, p. 98.

(102) Wilkes, Report O.H.C., Vol. 12, p. 290.

(103) Ibid., p. 293.

that "The American Missionaries are making more rapid progress in the extension of their establishments and in the improvement of their farms, than in the extensible objects of their residence in this country, as I cannot learn that they are successful, or taking much pains to be so, in the moral and religious instruction of the natives, who are perfectly bewildered by the variety of doctrines incubated in this quarter." (104)

A letter written in 1845 by Mrs. Alvin T. Smith, then connected with the Presbyterian mission at West Tualatin suggests other reasons why the work of the missionaries might not have been successful;

"You have perhaps heard that we have given up our Mission among the Indians; but we still live in the same place which we selected for missionary operations. The Indians were not willing to stop and cultivate the soil. Emigrants are rapidly coming in and taking up the country. The Methodist Mission have also given up their operations in this part. They have one station at The Dalles, farther up the country which is the only one that remains. We have much reason to mourn over Zion; the spirit of the world prevails here too much, even in the hearts of the Christians." (105)

Colonel J. W. Newith, in an annual address before the Oregon Pioneer Association at its eighth annual reunion in 1860, expressed the opinion that

"Some misapprehension had, I conceive, existed relative to the self-sacrificing character of the early

(104) Simpson, Documents, p. 79, (Edited by Joseph Shafer)
 (105) Dobbs, p. 88.

missionaries who came to Oregon. My own observation of them was principally confined to the Methodist missionary station at The Dalles, and those of the Willamette Valley. They were not the sort of people who explore and develop the resources of a new country.....On their arrival they were provided with homes, food and clothing for themselves and families, and were exempt from the trials, privations and sufferings that fell to the lot of the poor immigrant, in his unaided struggle to support himself and his family. Their ostensible object was to convert the Indian to Christianity of which they made a lamentable failure." (106)

He further expressed the opinion that has been advanced by others--that it may not have been entirely the fault of the missionaries in view of the fact that inherent qualities in the natives often made very difficult the inculcation of the abstract doctrines of Christianity and the acceptance of the discipline and moral severity of its teaching. This, however, was probably less true of The Dalles Indians than of many others.

It would seem somewhat difficult to say exactly why the missionaries, many of whom later proved successful among the white people, failed so signally among the Indians of The Dalles and elsewhere in Oregon. It seems to have been due to a combination of causes the relative importance of which it is hard to determine. A summary of reasons seems to include, among others, the abstractness of Christian ideas and principles, the poverty of language in presenting these

(106) Nezmith, Address, Oregon Pioneer Ass'n Transactions, 1873-1886, p. 19.

principles, the stress upon the emotional rather than the practical in many cases, the lack of understanding between the two races, the fact that many of the missionaries rarely gave undivided attention to the work of conversion, and the differences in mind and viewpoint of the races. Besides this there was the common Indian tendency to be more interested in the present than in the future, and the vacillating character of Indian nature. At The Dalles the location of the native tribes at the great meeting place of peoples may have had some influence.

At first there seemed to be a great deal of progress and the work seemed to hold promise. The faith in the efficacy of prayer stressed by the Methodist religion seemed for a time to find a response to that tendency in the minds of the Dalles Indians and to impress them. (107) They prayed assiduously for a time and affairs augured well but the effects here as elsewhere were not lasting and native ardor cooled after a time. Unfortunately for permanent conversion, their belief in prayer seems to have been rather too closely associated with the attainment of material things and when it did not always bring desired and expected results they were disappointed and discouraged. One Indian told

(107) Raymond's Notes, (see Bancroft, History Ore. p. 180.

Daniel Lee he would "pray a whole year if you will give me a shirt and a capote." (108) When Lee did see his point of view, the Indian's interest in prayer waned. Another wanted a coat and when Perkins told him he must earn one he answered that he could earn one any time from the Hudson's Bay Company without praying. (109)

One good chief died even though he had prayed. This was beyond Indian understanding. If one died just the same, whether he prayed or not what was the use of praying? The white man seemed unable to answer that question satisfactorily. Then, too, the white man's religion frowned upon fighting enemies, revenge of wrongs, and many other Indian practices. And, furthermore, prayer did not place the Indian on an equality with the white man as he had expected. So faith was weakened and the disillusioned Indians, with less of trust in the white man's teachings, reverted in great numbers to their former state.

By 1844 the branches of the Methodist missions in Oregon were all closed but the one at The Dalles where it has been suggested that the maintenance of this station may have been somewhat influenced by the possibility of securing a valuable claim when Congress would enact the long

(108) Bals, History of Indian Missions, p. 61.

(109) Raymond's Notes, Bancroft, p. 180.

looked-for land law. At any rate, missionary labors among the Indians were virtually suspended and by 1850 most of them seemed to have reverted to their original state.

IV
FORT DALLAS

The Dalles, important as a trade mart for aborigines, a portage for explorers and traders, a frontier site for missionary endeavor, and a Mecca for the trail-weary immigrant, was undoubtedly most important as a frontier military post. Called by Dr. McLaughlin the "Gibraltar of Eastern Oregon," (110) it was the second military outpost to be established in the Oregon Territory. (111)

Established in 1850 during a period of uneasiness and restlessness occasioned by the Cayuse war of 1847 and 1848, it became a center of authority and comparative stability which was recognized by both Indians and white men. Later, as the continuous stream of immigration, the change from water to land transportation, the gradual settlement of the country, and the numerous clashes between the Indians and the white people increased hostilities to the point of a general war, it became a gateway of safety for neighboring settlers and a haven for immigrant wagon trains where "the responsibilities and fatigues of almost interminable days spent in plotting, driving and following the teams should give place to restful protection of an armed fort." (112)

The military history of the site of The Dalles can

(110) Riddell, H.H., The Dalles, Oregon, 1888, Oregon Native SON, July-August 1900, p. 151.
 (111) Mrs. Iain D. Crandall, Covered Wagon Stories, The Dalles Chronicle, December 10, 1924.
 (112) Lang, E.R., Oregonian, December 24, 1905, p. 18.

be divided into three periods: the period of the Cayuse War in the late 1840's, antedating the establishment of the fort, when The Dalles, then called Fort Wasscopan or Fort Lee, was the Eastern Oregon headquarters for the volunteer troops of the provisional government of Oregon; the period of the 1850's when, after the establishment of the military post, campaigns were carried on in the Indian territory to the east by the regular troops of the United States army; and the period of the 1860's when The Dalles was a center for minor campaigns against the depredations of the "Snakes" and other bands of roving Indians stirred up chiefly by mining activities in Eastern Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

The Cayuse War

With the coming of the great immigrations of the 1840's there arose, as might be expected, restlessness and hostility among the Indians, and much mutual distrust and resentment in the relations between the Indians and the white people. The Americans in Oregon became increasingly apprehensive and from time to time addressed memorials to the United States government for protection.

The first appeals were pleas for government; close on these came appeals for military protection. Agitation became particularly strong about the time the treaty settling the

ownership of Oregon was negotiated with England in 1846.

(113) However, the United States at that time was occupied by a war with Mexico and made no move to establish a government here. Troops recruited for service in Oregon were diverted to the Mexican border (114) and the people of the Oregon country were left alone to wrestle with their problems as well as they could for several more years.

Then came the unfortunate events of 1847. On August 22 of that year the first wagon trains of the immigration (115) reached The Dalles. Indians there stole some stock. The next day the white immigrants retaliated by stealing the stock of the Indians. When the natives resisted a fight ensued in which a Mr. Sheppard was killed and Messrs. Parker and AFam were wounded. A chief of the Wascoes was killed and several Indians were injured. (116)

Incidents of this nature and the general suspicion increased the fear of the Americans in Oregon and encouraged the continuance of appeals for government aid and for protection. George Abernethy, provisional governor of the Oregon country, made a trip to The Dalles in 1847 and reported the Indians there mostly restless and unfriendly. (117) On

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- (113) Brown, Political History of Oregon, p. 299.
 (114) Carey, P. 592.
 (115) Brown, Political History of Oregon, p. 299.
 (116) Ibid.
 (117) Brown, p. 299.

his return to the Willamette Valley he dispatched a letter, dated October 14, 1847, to the president of the United States, by J. Quinn Thornton, who was on his way to Washington in the interest of a territorial government. This letter urged protection, grants of land to settlers, land grants for educational purposes, appropriations for mails, steam transportation on the Columbia river, and better connections with the world east of them. (118) Other memorials were sent from time to time and became more insistent as the danger of trouble with Indians increased. The immense immigration of 1847 increased the tension; the Indians requested pay for their lands and expressed themselves tired of waiting for the coming of the government with which, so they said they had been promised, would come money and presents. (119)

Then, on November 29, 1847, Dr. Marcus Whitman and ten others at the Walla Walla mission were suddenly attacked and murdered by a band of Cayuse Indians. Settlers in the Oregon country were thrown into a panic. Preparations went forward immediately to raise troops and arms to avenge the massacre and punish the guilty Indians as well as to provide safety for settlers in that and other areas. Joseph Meek

(118) Brown, p. 300.

(119) Message of Abernathy to Legislative Assembly, December 7, 1847, Oregon Archives, Vol. I, 1843-1849, p. 210.

was dispatched to Washington, D. C., to present an appeal for aid and protection; (120) Jesse Applegate was sent to California for help; and Joel Palmer, Robert Newell, and Captain H.A.G. Lee were named peace commissioners to penetrate the Indian country to prevent, if possible, a coalition among the tribes east of The Dalles. (121)

In the meantime the campaign had begun. The Dalles was chosen as the eastern base of operations and the first and most important move was the occupation and holding of it as the key to activities in the region of the massacre.

On December 8, 1847, Governor Abernethy called for volunteer troops to be sent to The Dalles with the intention of meeting the Indians there and holding them east of the mountains. The Resolution authorizing this read as follows:

"That the governor hereby is required to raise, arm, and equip a company of riflemen, not to exceed fifty men with their captain and subaltern officers, and dispatch them forthwith to occupy the mission station at The Dalles, on the Columbia River, and to hold the same until reinforcements can arrive at that point or other means be taken as the government may think advisable." (122)

The first group which answered this call came chiefly from the most recent group of settlers and were ready for the trip within a very short time. In the opinion of one

(120) Brown, p. 334.

(121) Carey, p. 347.

(122) Brown, p. 327.

writer, they were equipped more with courage and zeal than anything else. They had no uniforms, no comforts, and were untrained in the art of war. (123) The group, called the "Oregon Rifles," in charge of Captain H.A.G. Lee, arrived at The Dalles on December 21, 1847. They were accompanied to that point by Meek and his overland expedition.

Captain Lee found the Indians at The Dalles generally friendly but to be regarded with suspicion on account of their tendency to thievery. (124) He expressed the belief that all the tribes east of The Dalles were hostile and that they had tried to induce the Wascoos to join them. The Wascoos had refused. (125) The Deschutes Indians were not openly hostile at that time but later became so. (126)

Lee was joined in January, 1848, by reinforcements from the Willamette valley commanded by Colonel Cornelius Gilliam who located a supply base at Cascades, named it Fort Gilliam, and then proceeded to The Dalles where he erected a stockade and mounted a nine-pounder cannon. Thus the old mission station of Wascopam became a military fort. It was renamed Fort Lee. (127)

The campaign carried on from The Dalles was ragged and accomplished much less than was expected. Lee's skirmishes

(123) Lang, Oregonian, December 24, 1905, p. 18.

(124) Lee to Abernethy, December 26, 1847, Brown, p. 327.

(125) Ibid.

(126) Captain William Williams to Abernethy, February 28, 1848, Brown, p. 328.

(127) Carey, p. 548. In much of the correspondence throughout the war, however, it was always referred to as Fort Wascopam.

in the vicinity of The Dalles before the arrival of Gilliam were rather mild gestures. Colonel Gilliam started out vigorously but subsided with only nominal success. With rather desultory skirmishing and alternate offers of peace and threatened attacks, he pushed into the regions of the Deschutes, John Day, and Cayuse Indians. Although victorious in the actual encounters he was unable to pursue the fugitives into the more remote country where they fled with the coming of spring. Supplies ran low and he was forced to return to The Dalles. On the return trip he was accidentally killed. Captain Lee was named to succeed him but resigned in favor of Lieutenant-colonel Waters. (128)

There were few big encounters in the war and not many lives lost but at the same time not a great deal was accomplished. The Indians refused to give up the murderers; (129) the troops were not in condition to pursue them after the breaking up of winter made it possible for them to escape to more remote areas; the peace commissioners met with small success and a break between them and the military men resulted in their withdrawal into the Willamette valley; (130) in Washington, Joseph Meek had little success;

(128) Carey, p. 548.

(129) Abernethy to Legislative Assembly, Feb. 5, 1849,
Oregon Archives, Vol. I p. 273.

(130) Carey, p. 553.

and Jesse Applegate was unable to cross the mountains of southern Oregon and was forced to send his dispatches by sea thereby delaying chances for aid from that quarter.

Generally considered the spring campaign seemed to have done more harm than good. Agerness for war, bitterness against the Indians, lack of order and discipline, disregard of right of friendly natives, and similar factors engendered an antagonism among the tribes that prolonged hostilities for years to come. The Cayuses, though reduced in numbers and considerably subdued, harbored an spirit of resentment and vengeance that was gradually imparted to their neighbors and laid the foundation for a future war.

In July 1848 the troops in the hostile areas were recalled to The Dalles and disbanded, leaving a few men to hold the post at The Dalles and Captain William Martin with a small force at Waiilatpu. (131) And so closed one chapter in the military history of The Dalles. After the Oregon country became the Oregon Territory the United States was asked to assume costs of this war amounting to \$87,230, the total cost being roughly estimated at from \$150,000 (132) to \$190,000. (132a)

(131) Abernethy to Legislative Assembly, February 5, 1849, Oregon Archives Vol. I, p. 273.

(132) Sen. Mis. Doc. 29, 31st, 2nd, Vol. I, S. 592, p. 10.

(132a) Sen Ex. Doc. 52, 31st, Vol. I, S661, p. 4.

Indian Wars of the 1850's

The Mexican war closed with the ratification of the treaty with Mexico on May 30, 1848 (133) The organization of a territorial government in Oregon was authorized by an act of Congress, August 14, 1848. (134) Joseph Lane of Missouri was appointed territorial governor.

With the announcement of the establishment of a new government and the coming of Lane, the Indians flocked to the territorial headquarters expecting to receive presents which they said they had been promised. (135) Though Lane, unprepared for this appeal, was unable to accede to their demands, they, though disappointed, did not seem to evidence unfriendliness. In April Lane received \$10,000 from the United States government for distribution among the Indians. The same month he made a trip to the "Dales of the Columbia, called together the tribes and bands in that vicinity including the DesChutes river and Yacamaw Indians; held a talk with them, made them presents to the amount of near two hundred dollars and had the gratification, at the request of the chief of the Yacamaws to bring about a peace between that tribe and the Walls-wallias who were at that time engaged in war." (136) Lane found the Indians in this

(133) House Ex. Doc.No. 1, 30th Congress, 2nd Session, Serial 537, p. 18.

(134) Ibid.

(135) Report of Lane to Secretary of War, Oct. 13, 1848. Sen Ex. Doc. 52, 31st, 1st, S. 561, p. 167.

(136) Ibid.

region generally friendly towards the whites and anxious, as were the Willamette valley Indians, to sell their lands.

In the meantime there was a growing restlessness among the tribes in the Puget Sound and neighboring areas. Wallace had been murdered at Nisqually and fear was felt for other Americans in that territory. Lane dispatched a letter to William F. Solmie asking him to warn the offending Indians. (137) Appeals for military protection continued. (138) Shortly after this orders were received from Washington appointing J. Quinn Thornton, Robert Newell, and George Preston Indian agents. Preston being out of the territory, Lane placed the Indian affairs in the hands of the other two. The situation seemed to call for action of some kind. The Cayuse murders had gone unpunished for their deed at Waiilatpu, and considerable uneasiness was felt in the territory concerning the next move of the natives. The Americans felt that other tribes were watching the situation and might be encouraged to take menacing steps if the Cayuse tribe were allowed to go free.

A memorial from the legislature of the territory to Congress in June 20, 1849, petitioned for military posts and roads for both civil and military purposes, one of which would extend from The Dalles to the Willamette valley.

(137) Ibid.

(138) House Ex. Dec. 1, 30th, 2nd, S. 537, p. 18.

Protection was asked for the incoming immigrants and for frontier settlements. (139) Considerable agitation was getting under way to have the Indians removed to reservations. A message of governor Lane to the legislative assembly in 1849 expressed a sentiment which seemed to be prevalent about this time. Part of his message included the following:

"Surrounded as many of the tribes and bands now are by the whites, whose arts of civilization by destroying the resources of the Indians, doom them to poverty, want and crime, the extinguishment of their title by purchase, and the locating them in a district removed from the settlements is a measure of the most vital importance to them.....This measure is one of equal interest to our people." (140)

In the meantime, until such a policy might be worked out, the people of the Oregon territory continued to insist on military protection in form of military posts, troops for Indian war defense, and for escorts of the westward bound immigrant trains. (141) Congress was finally free and sufficiently impressed to grant all of these.

In 1849, the Mexican question being laid to rest, General P.S. Smith's rifle regiment (which has originally been recruited for service in Oregon) started its march across the plains. The Oregon Mounted Rifle regiment, to give it its full name, was under command of Colonel W.W. Loring

(139) Sen. Mis. Doc. 5, 51st, 2nd S. 592, p. 4.

(140) Sen. Ex. Doc. 52, 31st, 1st S 581, p. 177.

(141) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 32nd, 1st, S. 611, p. 161.

had been recruited in Missouri by an order of the Secretary of War expressly for Oregon service to protect immigrant trains and to garrison forts along the trail. (142) The regiment started from Fort Leavenworth with 600 men, 51 commissioned officers, and several women and children besides the usual guides, train agents, and teamsters. (143) Part of the equipment of the train included 160 wagons and 1200 mules and 700 horses. (144)

Numbered among the personnel of this train were many men afterwards famous in Oregon and The Dalles history some of whom were W.D. Bigelow, Mathew P. Deady, and Francis and Justin Chenoweth who came as cooks. (145)

Difficulty stalked in the path of the train. In the first place a large number of the regiment enlisted only for the purpose of getting to the coast to join the gold rush to California and were not interested in the welfare of the regiment. Later, 120 of the men deserted for California and the efforts of Colonel Loring and Governor Lane succeeded in returning only 35. (146) Cholera broke out in the camps and resulted in great loss of life while the inexperience of most of the members of the train led to loss in both life and property. By the time the regiment

(142) Victor, Frances F., The First Oregon Cavalry, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 3, June 1908, p. 124.

(143) Ibid.

(144) Mrs. Grandall, Covered Wagon Days, Dalles Chronicle Nov. 14, 1924.

(145) Ibid.

(146) Ibid.

reached The Dalles (late in October) many were barefoot and unable to walk, most of the horses were too weak to carry them farther, and there was no transportation down the Columbia to Vancouver or Oregon City. A raft, constructed out of a stockade that had been around the Methodist mission, manned by eight men, was overloaded, attempted to "run the Cascades," and lost six men. (147) Part of the group went over the Cascades by the Mt. Hood road and lost about two thirds of their stock on the way. (148)

On May 18, 1850, Major S.S. Tucker was sent from Fort Vancouver with two companies of the rifle regiment to establish a supply post at The Dalles. Thus began not only Fort Dalles but Dalles City also. Before this time few permanent settlers had remained at The Dalles; after the establishment of the fort people had the protection for which they had so long sued and homeseekers began to locate there. The numbers steadily increased until within a few years The Dalles had grown sufficiently to incorporate.

This post, at the head of travel on the Columbia river, became the base of supplies for regions east to where transportation was carried on by teams and wagons and pack trains for many years. With Major Tucker came Captain Claybourne, Lieutenants May, Ervine, and Lindsay and Surgeon

(147) This occurred October 18, 1849.

(148) Mrs. Crandall, Dalles Chronicle, Nov. 14, 1924.

G.H. Smith to assist in establishing the post (149)

"Selecting a spot about one-half mile west of Fort Lee, Major Tucker chose a tall pine tree, which cannot now be identified and from this center ran the lines of a government reservation 10 miles square, proceeding therein to build a log barracks, commanding officers quarters, quarters for the men, mess, guardhouse, storehouse, stables and a sawmill, and at its completion naming the new post Fort Dalles." (150) Later, as settlers began to locate here this reserve was reduced to one mile square or six hundred forty acres.

The "log barracks" which was erected on what is now site of 15th and 16th streets between Trevitt and Bridge, was a long log building of six or eight rooms constructed one after another, each with a door opening out upon a common veranda facing north. This veranda was wide, at one door being built around an immense pine tree. This building, with others, was later burned. (151)

Many immigrants, during the winter of 1850, found work in the construction of the buildings of the fort. (152) The buildings were not completed, however. In the spring of 1851, much to the disappointment of the immigrants and the

(149) Baneroff, Oregon, Vol. II, p. 91.

(150) Lang, E.R., Oregonian, December 24, 1905, p. 18.

(151) Mrs. Crandall, The Dalles Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1924, p. 4.

(152) Mrs. Lord, Reminiscences, p. 71.

people who had settled at The Dalles, the rifle regiment was ordered away. Construction was stopped and more than one hundred people were thrown out of work. Major Tucker and his force were ordered to California and Hathaway's artillery from Astoria held the fort until September, 1852, when the 4th infantry, Captain Bonneville commanding, was sent to Fort Vancouver, and companies J and K of that regiment were sent to Fort Dalles, under command of Captain Benjamin Alverd. There was one family at The Dalles at this time, that of W.C. Laughlin.

With this contingent of 1852 came a group of Indian fighters who were to play a large part in the development of the town and the territory surrounding it. Most of them, on receiving their discharge from the army, settled in or around The Dalles and became heads of families well known in the pioneer history of Wasco county. Chief among these were Dr. Polhemus Craig, discharged in 1855, who opened a drug store where he dispensed many a drug and bit of advice to settlers and miners; Milo Morris Cushing, in the quartermaster's department until his discharge in 1853 after which he married Miss Mary Bigott, (the first marriage solemnized in Wasco county,) and later became prominent in business in The Dalles; and Jacob Zukor, discharge in 1855, the first foreign born citizen to become naturalized (October 17, 1855) in the circuit court in Wasco

county, and later owned a cigar store on Main street opposite the Umatilla House. Others who afterwards became well known in The Dalles were Jeremiah Doherty, Jacob Fritz, Florian Dehm, Ben Karten, and Marjoe Fitzgerald. (153)

A report of Lieutenant J.J. Woods, acting assistant quartermaster, dated June 1, 1851, to Rufus Ingalls, chief quartermaster of the Pacific military division, included the following description of the unfinished buildings at the fort in June, 1851;

One long log house, occupied as officers' quarters, one hundred and twenty-four feet front and twenty feet deep--wants ceiling and flooring to finish.

One long frame house, occupied as men's quarter, one hundred and forty feet front and twenty feet deep--wants ceiling to finish.

One frame house, thirty six feet front and eighteen feet deep--wants ceiling to finish.

One slab house, shingled, used as storehouse, twenty-five feet front and twenty feet deep.

One frame stable with a loft, thirty feet front and one hundred and seven feet deep--wants stalls boarded to finish it.

One saw-mill--circular saw, by water power.

Ten thousand feet of lumber on hand.

Thirty thousand shingles, fifteen hundred pounds of nails, nineteen boxes of window-glass; the frame for a storehouse, one story erected, one hundred and twenty feet

(153) Mrs. Grandall, The Dallas Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1924.

deep-sinker for second story on the ground. (154)

Several years later Colonel Lawrence Kip, on a brief visit to Fort Dalles during the Indian wars, found the fort inadequate. He went from the Willamette valley with the party of Lieutenant Gracie to the Indian councils held at Walla Walla in May and June of 1855. While in this region they made Fort Dalles their headquarters. Though he was connected with the party only in the role of a spectator, Colonel Kip's description of Fort Dalles is timely;

"The post at The Dalles possesses none of the outward attractions of scenery which distinguish that of Vancouver. Its principal recommendation is its healthiness. Their buildings are badly arranged, having been planned and erected some years ago by the Mounted Rifles, when they were stationed in Oregon. The officers' quarters are on top of a hill, and the barracks for the men some distance down, as if the officers intended to get as far from them as possible. There is want of compactness, as there is no stockade---nothing in the shape of a fortification---in case of an outbreak by any of the hostile tribes of Indians, the post might easily be surprised. At this time two companies of the 4th Infantry were stationed there under Major Rains." (155)

This fear of insufficient fortification and troops was voiced loudly at the time of the removal of Major Tucker's command from the fort, and the general protest and dissatisfaction occasioned by the recall of troops from other parts

(154) J.J.Woods to Rufus Ingalls, Quartermaster, 11th Military Dept. House Ex. Doc. 2, 32nd, 1st, Vol II. Pt. 1, S. 634, p. 331.

(155) Kip, Col. Lawrence, Journal, Sources of Oregon History, Vol. I, p. 7.

of Oregon increased as more and more problems arose with coming of the large immigrations in the early 1850's.

A communication of Territorial Governor John P. Gaines to Washington on June 13, 1851, urged protection and stated that Oregon had but "skeltons of two companies of artillery and those divided between four posts; one at Steilacoom on Puget's Sound, one at the Dalles, one at Fort Vancouver, and one at Astoria; and these are no more than sufficient to take care of the public property at those places." (156)

Some memorials suggested military escorts for the immigrant trains across the plains as being cheaper than the maintenance of fixed posts (157) but the government seemed to favor the posts.

The great number^m of immigrants pouring into the country, augmented now by the passing of the Donation Land act of 1850, and the remoteness of frontier posts made more remote by the lack of easy communication turned attention to the need of better transportation facilities. The Dalles, the gateway to Western Oregon, was one of the first places to be considered. A resolution drawn up in 1852 urged the need of a road to The Dalles and gave reasons for that need based on the fact that, as far as information could be obtained,

(156) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 32nd, 1st, Vol. I, S. 611, p. 144.

(157) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 32nd, 1st, Vol. I, S. 611, pg. 161.

"about 3,000 wagons have come to the neighborhood of The Dalles, this season; some crossed or attempted to cross the mountains--others abandoned or sold their teams at a nominal price, while the main body boated their wagons down the river, driving their stock down the trail." (158)

Other reasons advanced in the argument for the road were the necessity of taking the wagons apart to send them down the river, the difficulty of obtaining boats, the portage at the Cascades, and the general high cost to the immigrant.

The resolution read:

"Whereas, the great necessity of opening a military road from Columbia Barracks to the post at The Dalles, and whereas great suffering, delay and pecuniary loss is sustained by immigrants to this territory, for want of a road down the bank of the Columbia river, Therefore be it Resolved, by the house of representatives, the council concurring, that our delegate in congress be and hereby is instructed to use his best endeavor with congress to secure an appropriation of \$20,000 to be expended in opening a military road, from the Columbia Barracks to the military post at the Dalles of the Columbia River." (159)

Indian depredations continued to some extent though no serious outbreak had yet occurred. The tribes, however, hitherto scattered and disorganized, were being crowded into smaller areas and were being forced to forget tribal animosities and unite for strength against the increasing white population. (160) A letter of April, 1853, from Rev.

(158) Oregonian, January 1, 1853.

(159) Ibid.

(160) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. I. 33rd, 1st, Vol I. S. 691, P. 4.

Pandary, a priest at the Atahnam mission to Rev. Mesplie, the Catholic priest stationed at The Dalles, mentioned a feast held by the upper Nez Perces to "unite the hearts of the Indians to make a declaration of war against the Americans." (161) Throughout the winter there had been restlessness and resentment among the tribes, especially among the Cayuses and the Nez Perces, the reason being fear that the white people were going to seize their lands. Union among themselves seemed to be the only way to prevent this. The secretary of war, in his report in December, 1853, called attention to the need of Oregon for more military protection and urged that more troops be sent, mentioning particularly the "arsenals of the Columbia River." (162)

In 1853, Captain Alford, in command at Fort Dalles, was promoted, and was succeeded by Major Rains who was in charge of Fort Dalles at the time Wasco county was officially created in 1854. In the summer^{of}/1854 he was promoted to the position of commandant of Oregon and Washington and his place at The Dalles was taken by Major Granville O. Haller who came from New York around Cape Horn with troops for Fort Dalles. This group of regulars brought with it several families of the officers, (163) a fact which added an aspect of community life to the small but growing frontier

(161) House Ex. Doc. 38, Vol. 10.

(162) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. 33rd, 1st, Vol. I, S. 691, p.6.

(163) Mrs. Crandall, The Dalles Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1924.

post.

During the winter of 1854 the tension of hostilities tightened. Kamiakin, chief of the Yakimas, in resentment over broken promises, sent runners to stir up neighboring tribes and urged them to fight for their lands. Peu-peu-mox-mox of the Walla Wallas, hitherto a friend of the white man, now after the murder of his son, became an enemy. Excitement ran high. In May, 1855, a council was called on the Walla Walla river. A large quantity of goods for gifts was transported up the Columbia to Walla Walla and a company of 25 packers was organized at The Dalles to convey tentage and provisions to the camp. (164) Nathan Olney was sent from The Dalles to the Walla Walla region with five hundred dollars in silver and some presents in partial payment of money promised in treaties. Governor Stevens of the Washington territory and Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian affairs in Oregon, were present for the purpose of negotiating treaties with more restless tribes. (165) These treaties, "highly advantageous to the United States government." (166) were not effective. The peace overtures of the council were fruitless. War was imminent.

(164) Carey, p. 592.

(165) Oregonian, June 23, 1855, p. 2.

(166) Ibid.

On May 22, 1855, Governor Stevens urged the necessity of more protection and suggested establishing the greater portion of troops at Walla Walla with only depots at The Dalles and Vancouver giving as his reason, the hostile attitude of the Indians in the Walla Walla region and the peaceful nature of the Indians around The Dalles. (167) The military department, however, retained The Dalles as a major base of activity.

By the end of June, 1855, all available troops stationed at Vancouver and The Dalles had been ordered out under command of Major Haller for service in the hostile Indian region. (168) In the summer of 1855 word was received at The Dalles that an immigrant party of Kentuckians, led by Alexander Ward, had been attacked by Indians near Fort Boise and nearly all the party--twenty-one^e in all--were murdered. The Dalles, 300 miles away, was the nearest military point and Major Haller of that post received orders to penetrate to the Boise region at once. He left The Dalles August 14 with a party of twenty six regulars and was followed on August 31 by a party of some thirty volunteers, one of the longest expeditions of the entire war. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville sent Company

(167) House Ex. Doc. 76, 34th, 3rd, S. 906, p. 236 (Letter of Stevens to Wm. department commander).

(168) Oregonian, June 30, 1855, p. 2.

L from Vancouver to The Dalles. (169)

In September Sub-Indian agent Bolon, on a trip of investigation in the Yakima country, was shot. At this time there were only three military posts in the country; one at Vancouver, one at Steilacoom on Puget Sound, and one at The Dalles were two companies of the 4th infantry and a small detachment of dragoons had just returned from the Snake region under command of Haller. When the news of Bolon's murder reached Vancouver Rains, on October 3, 1855, ordered 5 officers and 102 men under Haller from The Dalles to the Yakima country to meet Lieutenant Slaughter and about 40 men from Fort Steilacoom. (170) On this trip Haller was surrounded by the enemy before he could join the force from Steilacoom and was forced to send to The Dalles for aid. Lieutenant Day with 45 men was sent to relieve him. On October 10, Haller reached The Dalles, having been forced to retreat with considerable loss of life and property. (171)

The Indians seemed emboldened by this success, and about this time Major Rains ordered all regulars into the field and called for volunteers to be mustered into service with the regular army. This was a step which was to cause much subsequent friction and bitterness of feeling between the military men and the civil authorities in the Oregon and

(169) House Ex. Doc. 88, 35th, 1st S. 956, p. 104, Report of Wool to Lt.-Col. Thomas U.S.A. New York.

(170) House Ex. Doc 1 35th, 2nd, S. 1014, p. 90.

(171) Ibid.

Washington territories. Governor Curry called for eight companies instead of the four requested by Rains and then ordered them into service in "cooperation" with the regular troops but under separate commands. From then on the Indian war has parallel histories of contradiction, rivalry, and cross-fire criticism between the regular army and the volunteers mustered and sent into the field from time to time.

A second expedition into Yakima territory left Fort Dalles on October 30 with about 350 regulars under command of Major Rains. About the same time Colonel MeSmith started for the same place with the volunteer companies from the Willamette valley. Another battalion under Major Chinn left Fort Dalles for Walla Walla. In the meantime reinforcements were ordered to Fort Dalles. (172) None of these campaigns were very successful; Rains drove the Indians back beyond reach, communication between the various points in all this region was interfeeringly slow, and the coming of winter banished most of the chances of success. By November most of the espaigners were back in The Dalles where General Wool ordered all the regulars to assemble for later operations. (173)

A few contemporary accounts of conditions during the fall months of 1855 will serve to illustrate the state of

(172) Ibid. p. 91.

(173) Ibid.

intense excitement and apprehension which prevailed in the vicinity of The Dalles and farther east. An excerpt from a letter of Rev. Ezra Fisher written from Oregon City on October 3, 1855, follows;

"Last Thursday I took the steamer for The Dalles and arrived at the Cascades about eight in the evening. Found the Cascades in a high state of excitement through fear of a nightly attack of the Yacima and Clackitaw Indians, which was daily expected. About 500 of their warriors were reported to be encamped in a plain about 35 or 40 miles northeast of The Cascades, who are said to aim at the destruction of the whites at The Cascades and thus cut off communication between the Willamette Valley and the upper country (or Middle Oregon). Some 15 whites are reported as already murdered by these tribes, chiefly miners; one Indian agent is included in the number. Yet Indian rumors are uncertain. Suffice it to say that I found The Cascades mostly deserted by women and children. The men had organized themselves into a military company for self defense. The family residing on the north side of the river midway between The Cascades and The Dalles had moved to The Dalles for safety. Thirty soldiers had been sent down from The Dalles to guard the house and outbuildings. While I lay at the Cascades an express came down from The Dalles making a requisition for all the soldiers that could be spared at Vancouver to be sent immediately to The Cascades. With this state of excitement, I thought little could be expected from a visit to The Dalles, as this warlike appearance from the Indians will seriously retard the settlement of the whole upper country for a year or two at the least. Consequently I returned without even spending a night on the land." (174)

In another place Rev. Fisher wrote, "About 25 or 30 white families are settled in the vicinity of The Dalles, and ten or twelve more, besides some fifty or sixty French whites or half-breeds, are in the Walla Walla valley in the vicinity of the Whitman Mission Station. Although we have some 80 or 100 regular troops at The Dalles, these scattered families will be in great danger, should the Indian war become a general with the tribes above the Cascade Mountains." (175)

(174) Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher, QM., Vol. 20, March 1919, p. 127-128.

(175) Fisher, Correspondence, p. 478.

A communication from The Dalles to the Oregonian for October stated that people were flocking more and more to The Dalles as the hostilities grew and estimated that more than sixty had come in. It also stated that Nathan Olney had come in and had not succeeded in his mission. Part of the communication follows:

"The Polk county volunteers arrived last night; (October 25, 1855) the Washington and Yamhill boys will be here today; the Multnomah boys are well. Spok Whitley, chief of the Deschute tribe has joined the enemy; the Cayuse, Walla Walla, half of the Nez Perce and Palouses have also joined.....

We must have supplies; we must have horses; we must have arms, ammunition, etc. Captain Wilson's company has no horses as yet, and there are none here for them. More anon." (176)

The Oregonian, in later months of 1855 and in 1856, carried daily items and stories of the war, the men, both volunteers and regulars, and the expeditions into the Indian country, many of them very interesting but too long for this paper. Many of them throw interesting sidelights on some of the undercurrents of the struggle. The following quotation from a communication of Mark A. Chinn, with the volunteers at The Dalles, suggests the existence of the friction between the regulars and the volunteers already referred to. After writing of difficulty in getting supplies Major Chinn thus ends his letter:

(176) Oregonian, November 3, 1855, Communication written October 26, 1855.

"The Hudsons' Bay Company, a foreign corporation, has done us much service, and acted with greatest humanity. We feel sometimes that these are our fellow-citizens, and that the representatives of the United States government are foreigners and not even friendly allies." (177)

Colonel NeSmith, out of supplies, was forced to disband about 125 of his volunteers during the month of November. (178)

At the close of 1855 the situation remained critical. To make matters worse the winter of 1855 and 1856 was extremely sever, making the lack of supplies and other deprivations worse than the actual war. On January 31, 1856, the territorial legislature of Oregon addressed a memorial to Congress asking the federal government to assume the expenses of the existing Indian war, stating that the treaties had been violated within a few weeks after their negotiations, that settlements had been attacked, and that the entire state was in a condition of unrest. The memorial recorded the call of Major Rains for volunteer assistance, "which call was promptly responded to by both Territories." (179)

The year 1856 began vigourously for the regular army. In January it was reenforced by the arrival of troops from New York under the command of Lieutenant Philip Sheridan who was to distinguish himself at the Cascades, and Colonel George Wright of the 9th United States infantry

(177) Oregonian, November 17, 1855.

(178) Carey, p. 592.

(179) House Mis. Doc. 77, 34th, 1st, S. 866, p. 2.

who was sent to make his headquarters at The Dalles where he succeeded Major Haller in command. With the coming of Colonel Wright came the rebuilding and strengthening of the fort at The Dalles and the launching of an aggressive and more successful campaign which was to push the war to a close shortly after the middle of the year. Wright was later promoted to the rank of commandant of Oregon and Washington with headquarters at Vancouver and then commandant of the department of the Pacific with headquarters in California. He was drowned in July, 1865, when the "Brother Jonathan" sank off the coast of California. (180)

With Wright came two men who were to become very prominent in the history of the fort and of The Dalles. One was Captain Thomas Jordan, quartermaster, who had charge of the rebuilding of the fort and who was later to publish one of the first newspapers printed in eastern Oregon. When the Civil war broke out he resigned his commission in the federal army and joined the Confederate forces under General Beauregard. The other man was Lewis Schell, a civilian soldier who served as a civilian engineer and architect under pay of the federal government during the Indian wars in Oregon and on General McClellan's staff

(180) Mrs. Crandall, The Chronicle, Nov. 20, 1924.

of topographical engineers in the Civil war. Returning to The Dalles in 1864, he married Elisabeth Fulton, daughter of Colonel Fulton, a pioneer who settled in The Dalles in 1857. Later he went to Boise and from there to Walla Walla. While in the country he mapped roads into the region from Fort Dalles to Boise, naming the Harney, Jordan, and Stein valleys and other places in Eastern Oregon. He died in California in 1911 at the age of 82. (181)

Mrs. Crandall describes Fort Dalles about the time of the coming of the 9th infantry as follows:

"All that portion of this city west of Liberty street and adjacent to Ninth street, was devoted to stable, barns, and corrals for hundreds of animals, horses, mules and oxen that were necessary to transport military supplies to the new interior points at Fort Simcoe in the Yakima valley and Fort Walla Walla, where the city of that name now stands, and Fort Boise." (182)

The buildings erected under the direction of Captain Jordan and made from the plans drawn by Lewis Schell were probably the most picturesque and attractive of any in the Oregon country. On July 9, 1856, Captain Jordan wrote that "This post will be of permanent importance and will be made a most pleasant one." (183)

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- (181) Mrs. Crandall, *The Dalles Chronicle*, Nov. 18, 1924.
 (182) Mrs. Crandall, *The Chronicle*, Nov. 17, 1924.
 (183) Mrs. Crandall, *Covered Wagon Stories*, *Chronicle*, Nov. 20, 1924.

The new fort was constructed of native woods and materials and with considerable labor. With almost no machinery of any kind, most of the work had to be done by hand with simple hand tools. Even the nails were hand-made, and the builders burnt their own brick, and prepared their own stone, basalt, sandstone, and other materials with which they worked. Many workmen found employment here, Captain Jordan having more than one hundred men working under him at one time, and wages were said to be as much as \$10 a day for many of the crafts. (184)

"Colonel Wright's quarters were the most pretentious and stood on the knoll at the intersection of Fifteenth and Garrison streets. There were brass cannons placed on the long veranda that ran the length of the front of the house which faced the parade ground toward Mill creek. The flag pole at the rear of the Colonel Wright school building was painted in 1856." (185) These quarters were comfortably and attractively finished inside with fireplaces and oak sideboards, wardrobes, and many other pieces. They were burned December 24, 1856. Colonel J. J. Coppinger, whose wife was the daughter of James G.

(184) Ibid.

(185) Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1924.

Blaine, was in command at the time. (186)

Two barracks, 150 feet in length, were erected, one for the cavalry and one for the infantry with cook houses in the rear. The men's quarters were also comfortable. Fireplaces in each room furnished the means of heating them. Water was brought from Hill creek in barrels for use at the barracks and for irrigation of the parade ground which was planted in white clover. (187)

"The bandstand built around an oak tree, for shade, in the center of the parade ground, furnished rare old classical music from German composers. The bandmen, for the most part, came from musical centers of the countries of Europe and were accomplished musicians." (188) Fire and time have taken their toll of this attractive and picturesque old fort until the only building standing today is the one used as the surgeon's quarters. It is now the headquarters of The Dalles Historical society where may be seen many relics of the past history of The Dalles.

Hostilities for 1856 opened with the attack on the Cascades on March 26. Colonel Wright had started his march from Fort Dalles to the Walla Walla country with

(186) Mrs. Crandall, The Chronicle. Nov. 17, 1924.

(187) Ibid.

(188) Mrs. Crandall, Life Story, Dalles Chronicle, Oct. 19, 1926.

six companies of infantry, artillery, and dragoons and was camped about five miles out of The Dalles where news was brought to him that an attack had been made on the Cascades by the Yakima Indians. Colonel Wright retraced his steps to The Dalles and on the 27th left on the steamers, Wasco and Mary, for the Cascades with Companies A, E, F, and G of the 9th infantry, 23 dragoons of Company E, 1st regiment, a detachment of Company L, 3rd artillery, 250 rank and file and two mountain howitzers. (189) After subduing the Indians there and hanging the leaders, Wright returned to Fort Dalles where he was visited in April by Colonel Wood who ordered him to suspend his advance into the Walla Walla country and march into the Yakima region where a coalition among the natives was feared. Before he left Fort Dalles Wright protested the activities of the volunteer companies in that region and asked that they be withdrawn. (190) His request was not honored, however, and Governor Stevens proceeded with the recruiting and organization of new volunteer forces. (191) From June 15 to 30 he was in The Dalles giving orders and organizing a force of volunteers to move from that point on the 25th into the Yakima region to meet Colonel Shaw commanding a force of

(189) House Ex. Doc. 118, 34th, 1st, S. 859, p. 8.
 (190) House Ex. Doc. 114, 35th, 2nd, S. 1014, p. 113.
 (191) House Ex. Do. 76, 34th, 3rd, S. 906, p. 163.

volunteers at Walla Walla. (192)

In the meantime Colonel Wright had advanced into the Yakima country and had camped on the Na-ches river. (193) From there he reported that most of the chiefs seemed to want peace and seemed to think they had good reasons for the murders they had committed both of the miners and the Indian agent. (194) He indicated that some outside force seemed to be keeping them from making terms of peace and stated that if he could not defeat them at once he intended to harrass them so as to drive them out of that region. (195) His chief dissatisfaction seemed to be the presence of the volunteer armies in the country, particularly that of Colonel Shaw. He seemed convinced that their occupation of the region was hindering the efforts of the regulars to bring about a peaceful settlement. His attitude was echoed by a letter from Rev. Cherouse, a priest at Walla Walla, to Rev. Masplie at The Dalles. This letter, though probably overdrawn, reflected the tone of most of the correspondence of the United States regulars for this period, and reads;

"The volunteers are without discipline, without order, and similar to madmen. Menaced with death every day, the inhabitants of the country, and the Indians who have so nobly followed the order of Mr. Palmer to remain faithful

(192) House Ex. Doc 114, 35th, 2nd, S. 1014, p. 113.

(193) Sen. Ex. Doc. 5, 34th, 3rd, S. 894, p. 154.

(194) House Ex. Doc. 1 34th, 3rd, Vol. 2, S. 894, p. 152.

(195) Ibid.

friends of the Americans, have already disposed of their provisions.

"Today these same volunteers are not yet satisfied with rapine and injustice, and wish to take away the small remnant of animals and provisions left. Every day they run off the horses and cattle of the friendly Indians." (196)

The writer urged Rev. Mesplie to call the attention of General Wool to the state of affairs to see if they might be remedied.

During this time word had been conveyed to General Wool that Colonel Wright had left The Dalles insufficiently garrisoned. In a communication to Wright on July 3, 1856, W.W. Mackall, writing for General Wool, suggested among other things that "with your ample forces there would be no necessity for leaving so important a post as The Dalles unprotected or without troops to defend it. A company, he thinks, (General Wool) would not be too large a guard for that post." (197) On July 18 Wright reported the fort amply protected by a detachment equal to nearly a company and by more than one hundred employees engaged in the construction of the new fort, who could be used in case of necessity. (198)

In a letter of May 23, Captain Jordan had written that "they left me a detachment of 50 soldiers on duty. The rest are sick but I place my chief reliance in holding the post until the troops return in the large number of

(196) House Ex. Doc. 1 34th, 3rd, S. 893, p. 746.

(197) House Ex. Doc. 1 34th, 3rd, S. 894, p. 166.

(198) Ibid, p. 179.

quartermaster's men I have employed about the buildings, all of whom I shall arm today." (199) He estimated that he could hold the fort against a thousand Indians if necessary but indicated that there was little danger of the necessity arising.

The war was brought to a close in August, 1856. A communication from Colonel Wright to headquarters on August 17, reported that a post had been established at Walla Walla where four companies had been stationed and were awaiting a supply train from The Dalles under command of Colonel E.J. Steptoe of the 9th infantry. (200) Troops were reduced in the Indian country, the volunteers had been disbanded and arrangements were made for removing some of the Indians to reservations. (201) General Wool issued orders that no persons would be permitted to settle in the Indian country. Miners would be allowed to stay in the region as long as they cooperated but if they caused any trouble they would be immediately sent out. (202)

Prospects for peace seemed good and the greatest danger from the Indians had passed from this time on the history of eastern Oregon is primarily a history of the white man. At The Dalles the history of Fort Dalles gave

(199) Mrs. Crandall, Covered Wagon Stories, The Chronicle, Nov. 20, 1924.

(200) House Ex. Doc. 1, 34th, 3rd, S. 894, p. 192.

(201) Ibid.

(202) House Ex. Doc. 114, 35th, 2nd, S. 1014, p. 114.

way to the history of Dalles City. Led by the prospectors and miners the white man pushed out into the more remote regions of the country, exploring and settling. Both the miners and settlers clashed intermittently with the Indians but there were no large or general wars in the vicinity of The Dalles in the period which followed. Fort Dalles became less important as the "frontier" receded and settlement came. Though it was used for a short time as headquarters for troops in the 1860's, it never reached again the peak of importance it held in the 1850's and by the end of the decade, was abandoned.

Indian Depredations in the 1860's

The period of the 1860's might well be termed the "mining era." It was marked by great numbers of miners flocking into the ore regions of eastern Oregon, Washington, and Idaho; by local skirmishes with the natives in the mining localities; and by Indian raids on pack trains, pony express, freighters, prospectors, and isolated miners, immigrants, and settlers. There were no major hostilities but there were constant smaller clashes between the Indians, chiefly the Snakes, and the white people and an intense bitterness between the two races. The Dalles Mountaineer of this period printed constant stories and news items of the intermittent warfare in the region to the east and south and reflected the animosity of

the white settlers toward the Indians. An article quoted from the Walla Walla Statesman by the Mountaineer illustrates the tone of these articles. The quotation reads;

The Dalles has greatly suffered from Indian depredations in the country south of here but the measures now being taken to rid the country of these pests, are such that it is scarcely possible that they can fail, and with these savages removed, a great improvement in the trade of the town is sure to follow." (203)

After the close of the Indian hostilities of the 1850's some of the regular troops were retained in the country for a time exploring, protecting immigration, and building roads. (204) That summer surveying was done under the direction of Captain H.D. Wallen of the 4th infantry for a wagon road from The Dalles to Salt Lake City, (205) and considerable agitation was under way to secure one from Vancouver to The Dalles. When the approach of winter made field work impracticable the troops were sent into winter quarters at the various posts in the country, at which time one company of 1st dragoons and one of the 9th infantry were assigned to Fort Dalles.

At the outbreak of the Civil war the main body of the regular troops was withdrawn from the Oregon and Washington territories, and The Dalles was virtually abandoned as a

(203) Quoted in the Mountaineer, March 2, 1867.

(204) House Ex. Doc. 65, 36th, 1st, S. 1051, p. 143.

(205) Ibid.

federal post. In 1861 there were only about 400 men and 19 commissioned officers left in the whole area of which only 54 were stationed at The Dalles under Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan. (206) People, however, generally viewed the decreasing of protection occasioned by this withdrawal with apprehension, and as in the 1850's there was widespread demand for more guarantee of safety. To satisfy this demand Colonel Wright in some places replaced the regular troops with volunteer troops from California. On November 20, 1861, 5 companies arrived in Oregon under command of Major Curtis one of which was sent to The Dalles. (207)

The crowds of miners and settlers continued to stream into the country bringing matters to a somewhat serious state about 1864. On March 4 of that year the first expedition against the Indians left The Dalles under command of Lieutenant Waymire to quiet raids and robberies along the roads to the south and east. In June Major Alverá called for 40 men to guard the Canyon City road. Bancroft states that

"The people of The Dalles, whose interests suffered by the frequent raids of the Indians, offered to make up a bounty in addition to the pay of the government. The

(206) Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 37th, 2nd, Vol. II, S. 1118.

(207) Bancroft, Oregon, Vol. II, p. 497.

company was raised, and left The Dalles July 19th, to patrol the road between The Dalles and the company of Captain Caldwell, which performed this duty on the south fork of the John Day River." (208)

In the summer of 1864 every man in the Oregon cavalry was in the field and troops were constantly moving to and from The Dalles, guarding supply trains, escorting the mails, and protecting settlers. Activity continued through 1865. In April of that year one hundred men were sent to guard the Dalles-Boise road. About this time Postal Agent Brooks, representing The Dalles-Canyon City Stage Company, called upon General Halleck, in command of the Pacific division of the United States army and asked for more military protection, and a larger force of soldiers. Halleck refused on grounds that his force was not sufficient. His refusal aroused much resentment in the Oregon region. By the end of 1865 the volunteers, having had not too much success and not much support from the federal government, began to disband.

"Little by little the whole volunteer force was disbanded until in June 1866, there remained in the service only Company B, 1st Oregon cavalry and Company I, 1st Oregon infantry." (209)

These volunteers were gradually succeeded in the latter part of 1865 by the regular troops which began coming in October. Activities of the succeeding campaigns

(208) Ibid.

(209) Bancroft, Oregon, Vol. II, p. 517.

were, however, concentrated farther in the interior in the Snake region, and Fort Dalles passed from the scene as the main base of operations. In a communication of October, 5, 1866 Brigadier-general O.C. Babcock made the following recommendation concerning Fort Dalles;

"This post is useless and ordered by the commanding officer military division of the Pacific, to be sold. I think the government would get much more for the property if the sale of the land went with the buildings. The Secretary of War might authorize the leasing of the ground so long as it is used as a reservation. This would apply advantageously to all abandoned posts." (210)

The reaction of the Mountaineer to this move is interesting;

"One of the most foolish movements ever made by the military department--and there has been many--was the withdrawal of troops from Fort Dalles. There is no person who is acquainted with the country south and east of The Dalles who will not agree in the opinion that the abandonment of this post was giving to the Indians a more extended field of operations and a greater confidence in their ability to drive the white settlers from the country than they had ever before enjoyed. In proof of this, we have the fact that never before the present summer have hostile Indians made their appearance so close to The Dalles, for it must be remembered that the Indians were as well posted--through their spies--on the military movements made in their section as the officer by whose orders the movement is executed." (211)

The post, however, was not sold at this time but was retained for some years as a supply post and was not garrisoned. (212) In 1869 it was in charge of a quartermaster's agent and was the supply base for the Klamath

(210) House Ex. Doc. 20, 39th, 2nd, S. 1288, pp. 11-15.

(211) The Mountaineer, October 19, 1866.

(212) House Ex. Doc. 1, 41st, 2nd, S. 1412, p. 145.

Warner, and Harney regions. In October, 1869, Major-general George Crook reported peace in the Oregon region and the surrender of most of the small bands of Indians who had been the center of the hostilities and listed the distribution of military quarters in Oregon and Fort Stevens, Camp Warner, and Camp Harney, and others, and appended the following report on The Dalles:

"Fort Dalles, Oregon, is in direct communication with these headquarters and on the direct line of communication to posts in the interior. It is recommended that the use of Fort Walla Walla as a depot for public animals be discontinued, that the public buildings at that post be sold, the reservations thrown open to settlers, and that in the future Fort Dalles, where the government has reservations and fine buildings, be used as a depot for public animals, and that the company of infantry now at Fort Vancouver be stationed there, in order that officers may have immediate command of and supervision over the depot." (213)

On October 3, 1870, Brigadier Canby recommended that the post be discontinued entirely.

"This post has not been garrisoned since June 1867, but has been used as a depot for the transshipment of supplies to interior posts and for public animals awaiting distribution. Some of the buildings have been destroyed by fire, and the others with the exception of the storehouse and stables, are of but little value. The post has no military importance, and it is probable that after another year, with increased facilities of communication, it may be dispensed with altogether." (214)

The next year the post was discontinued. (215) Thus passed the frontier post with the emergency that made it

(213) House Ex. Doc. 1, 41st, 2nd, S. 1412, p. 139.

(214) House Ex. Doc. 1, 41st, 3rd, S. 1446, p. 59.

(215) Mrs. Crandall, Covered Wagon Stories, The Chronicle, Nov. 17, 1924.

necessary. With the gradual settlement of the country east of the Cascades, the development of easier and more rapid means of communication, and the removal of most of the Indian tribes to reservations danger disappeared and military protection was no longer necessary in the territory guarded by Fort Dalles, and civil rule took the place of military authority as frontier difficulties gave way to the problems of settlement.

V.

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF DALLES CITY

The first white men to visit the present site of Belling City were probably the party of Lewis and Clark. On the 22nd of October, 1805, they passed the Deschutes river, then called the Tomahwahicoks, and reached Celilo falls. Here they found the Indians friendly but not easy to trade with. They saw little game except a sea otter which they shot in the narrow channel as they came down. Being low on provisions they bought eight small, fat dogs, the Indians being averse to selling their fish, which they were reserving for the market below. (216)

On the 24th of October they camped near the Keheloot Indian village just above the last dangerous part of the river, at a place known as Timm, pronounced by the Indians so as to imitate the sound of the distant falls. The party was received with great kindness by the Indians here and a peace was arranged between the Keheloots and the Chopunniah tribe of the upper Columbia region. Clark was impressed by the great quantities of dried and pounded salmon and by the wooden dwellings so different from those of the Indians of the interior.

Here the two Indian chiefs, Twisted Hair and Tetch, who had so faithfully guided the party insisted on returning to their own people. They did not understand the

language of the tribes below the falls and feared trouble because their people were at war with the lower Columbia tribes. They were persuaded to stay until the party reached the mouth of Quenett Creek, now Mill Creek, just below the steamboat landing and near what is now an auto park. Camp was made near a high bluff of rocks and named Camp Rockfort. An entry for October 26, 1805, records that a fire was made in the middle of the camp and as the Indians sat around it the men danced to the music of the violin," which so delighted them that several resolved to remain with us all night; the rest crossed the river." (217) In this neighborhood game seemed more plentiful. Deer were bagged, a goose was shot, and signs of beaver, bear, elk, grouse, squirrels, and cranes were noted. In the willows were found several snares set by the natives for the purpose of catching wolves. Trout were seen and one of the party saw a fish "which he took to be a drum-fish." (218)

Lewis and Clark found Win-quatt to be the chief town of the Wasco and found the natives there friendly. In 1892 there was found in a grave near The Dalles a curious relic of the Lewis and Clark expedition--a branding iron, attached to parts of a human skeleton, apparently that of an Indian.

After Lewis and Clark came a succession of historic

(217) Wheeler, p. 225.

(218) Ibid. p. 224.

historic figures passing The Dalles in their various roles in the history of the Northwest. On July 11, 1811, came the famous David Thomas, and in August of the same year came Alexander Ross. 1812 brought the Hunt expedition in January and Ross Cox in July. The Hunt party reached the Indian village of Wishram on January 31 and described the Indians there as sly and somewhat thievish. They exchanged some horses that they had obtained from the Tushpaw Indians farther up the river near Umatilla for canoes and made the rest of the journey westward by boat down the river. (219)

Cox was passing on the way from Astoria to the interior with a party consisting of three proprietors, nine clerks, fifty-five Canadians, and twenty Sandwich Islanders, besides Messers, Crooks, McLellan, and H. Stuart, who with eight men, were proceeding with dispatches to St. Louis. The company was traveling in bateaux and light canoes and carried a heavy load of guns, spears, hatchets, knives, beaver traps, kettles, blankets, colored cloths, calicoes, beads, rights, thimbles, bells, and other articles for trade with the Indians, besides supplies of beef, pork, rice, flour, biscuits, tea, sugar, rum, wine, and similar articles. The Indians kept a close watch but were not harmful though utmost precaution was necessary to prevent stealing. One Indian caught pil-

fering was shot in the arm. "This piece of severity was deemed necessary to prevent repetitions of similar aggressions." (220)

In 1814, Gabriel Frachere visited the region on the trip of which he has written so frankly and minutely. In 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company established a post at The Dalles with James Birnie in charge. Birnie, who has been considered the first white inhabitant of The Dalles, died at Cathlamet, December 21, 1864, at the age of 49. When the company removed its headquarters from Astoria to Vancouver the post was removed to Walla Walla much to the resentment of the Wascopam Indians. An assembly of protest was called to which came chiefs, warriors, medicine men, and wise men to decide a way of retaliating for the loss of the post. The women of the tribe were the ones who most resented the change. They were the ones who had benefitted the most from the various stores of goods, wares, and merchandise sent out each year from Vancouver. (221) According to Dr. William McKay, they decided to capture Vancouver and fitted out a pretentious force for this purpose, but Dr. McLoughlin, with his usual tact, and with the aid of Kiasno, chief of the Maltnomahs, and a friendly Cascade chief, overawed the irate Wascopam and settled the matter peaceably. (222)

(220) Cox, Adventures, p. 78.

(221) Clarke, Pioneer Days, p. 231.

(222) Interview, Mr. Clarke, Dr. McKay in 1885 Clarke, p. 231.

David Douglas, at The Dalles in March 23, 1826, records, "We reached the lower part of The Dalles at dusk 6 miles below the Great Falls; camped in a small cove, under a sheltering rock." (223) John Work, who left Vancouver August 18, 1831, with a Hudson's Bay Company trading and trapping expedition bound for the Snake region, passed through The Dalles on August 24, and reported many sick among the Indians, ill with fever. He made the portage at the falls on the south side of the river where the Celilo canal has since been built. (224) John Ball, passing through The Dalles the next year makes special mention of great mortality among the Indians (225) On October 11, 1835, Samuel Parker and Captain Wyeth met at The Dalles. Filki, chief of the Wascoes furnished Parker with a canoe and three men with which to proceed to Vancouver with the Wascoes as guides. (226) Wyeth, on this occasion, furnished Parker with a short vocabulary of the Chinook language to use among the natives below The Dalles. (227)

Throughout the fur trade era, before the advent of

(223) Douglas, Journal, p. 158.

(224) Work, Journal, p. 11.

(225) Ball, Autobiography, p. 90.

(226) Parker, Journal, p. 140.

(227) Bancroft, History of Oregon. Vol. I, p. 111.

the missionaries, brigades up and down the river passed The Dalles, bearing traders and trappers from Fort St. James, Fort Kamloops, Flathead House, Kootenai Fort, Spokane House, and Fort Colville. Scenes of comedy or tragedy were enacted weekly on the trips and the annals of Northwest history include very interesting accounts of these. Gay companies speeding down the river to the rhythm of a Canadian boat song met their first great obstacle in the region of The Dalles. A week or so of reunion and relaxation at Fort Vancouver and then back to the interior on the highway of the river. These companies always passed up and down at the high water season and sometimes the more daring of them ran the rapids to escape the tedium and delay of the portage--often at great risk and loss of life (228)

Early in this period the first mail route across the continent between the east and the far west was established along this route. It was connected with the fur trade and as early as 1813 the "express" from Vancouver or Fort George passed this way annually in March enroute by the way of Athabasca Pass to the Red River Settlement. For William, and Montreal, or farther still across the

(228) Elliot, Dalles-Celilo Portage, CHQ., Vol. 16, pg. 140.

Atlantic to the homeland in England or Scotland. In October it returned laden with mail from Montreal, Boston, New York, or the countries across the sea. For a long time this express formed the only means of communication between the east and the remote west. (229)

With the waning of the fur trade era came the beginning of missionary activities in the 1830's. In 1836 the Methodist missionaries came to The Dalles; the Presbyterians were there for a brief time in 1847; the Catholics came permanently in 1848. By the time the other denominations reached there in the 1850's and 1860's most of the large scale missionary enterprise among the Indians had been abandoned and the various churches were turning attention more and more to the needs of the white settlers streaming into the country. During 1847 and 1848 The Dalles was headquarters for a military post for soldiers set to protect settlers during the Cayuse war. *

IMMIGRATION

Meantime, the settlers had been streaming into the country by the thousands, Indian trails and buffalo paths had been converging into immigrant roads leading westward to Oregon. The Oregon Trail was taking form and in 1839 and 1840 the first organized emigrant bands reached

(229) Ibid., p. 139.

the Oregon Country, and The Dalles became a rendezvous of supplies and safety for the immigrant. Thomas J. Farnham of the Peoria party spent a week in The Dalles in 1839, "eating fish and growing fat; an event that had not lately occurred in the republic of the members of my mortal confederacy." (230)

The first wagon to come through from the plains was that of Robert Newell, who reached Walla Walla in 1840 and had his wagon shipped down the Columbia the next year.

(231) In August of 1841 Joseph Williams mentions reaching the Methodist Mission at The Dalles where "Daniel Lee, brother of Perkins, brother Brewer, and their families are stationed." (232)

By 1846 the natives at The Dalles had begun to show the results of contact and trade with the white traders and emigrants who had been from time to time passing through. Farnham gives an interesting description of them.

"The Dalles may be called the Sillingsgate of Oregon. The diversity of dress among the men was even greater than in the crowds of natives which Captain Wilkes saw at the Polynesian isles; but, he says, they lack the decency and care of their persons which the islanders exhibit. The women go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breechcloth of buckskin which is black and filthy with dirt; and some few have a piece of blanket. The children go entirely naked, the boys wearing a small string round their bodies. To complete the picture of the

(230) Farnham, Journal, Inwaites, p. 357.

(231) Elliot, C.H.Q., Vol. 16, p. 149.

(232) Williams, A Tour to Oregon, p. 49.

degree of their civilization, it is only necessary to add that some forty or fifty live in a temporary hut, twenty feet by twelve, constructed of poles, mats and cedar bark." He estimated their number to be about 2000. (233)

The immigration of 1842 was the first real immigration and from then on The Dalles played a constant and important part in the lives of hundreds of homeseekers pouring into the Willamette valley and other parts of Oregon. This immigration, encouraged by the trip of Jason Lee to the east in 1839, contained probably 112 people, consisted of 18 wagons and included on its roll the names of such later well known people as Medora Crawford, F.K. Matthieu, and Mr. Elijah White, the first Indian agent sent to the Columbia Valley.

Crawford's Journal of September 26, 1842 tells us that when the party reached The Dalles they "Visited Mr. Perkins at his house, was very kindly rec'd and hospitably treated, got potatoes, etc., and started at 1 o'clock with an Indian Guide, rose a long hill and left the river, travelled over the most romantic country I have yet seen. The day is very pleasant indeed and the tall trees through which we are passing adds much to the beauty of the prospect." (234)

(233) Farnham, Life, Adventures and Travels in California, p. 457.

(234) Crawford, Journal Sources, p. 21.

When Indian Agent White arrived at The Dalles on December 25, 1842, he found the Indians there much excited by rumors of war and in the spring he received word from Lapwai, Waiilatpu and other points that the natives were again threatening. The Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces, and others were becoming apprehensive at the sight of the incoming immigrants and were beginning to fear for their lands. (235) About this time the Indians of the Willamette valley became somewhat insolent and in April of 1843 White received a letter from Brewer at The Dalles urging him to come at once to endeavor to quiet the excitement then prevailing among the natives. Affairs this time were settled peaceably and without violence.

In 1843 Lieutenant J.C. Fremont[†] made a survey of the immigrant road to Oregon. He found a good wagon road as far as Fort Hall, near what is now Pocatello, and a passable one from Fort Hall on. He surveyed as far as The Dalles from where he went down the river to Vancouver, later retracing his steps to the Nesbutes and thence southward into California. (236)

(235) Bancroft, History of Oregon, p. 21.

(236) Davis, Oregon Trail, pp. 28, 29.

The ~~ere~~previous to 1843 saw most of the transportation below Walla Walla on the river. The hazards in the untried wildernesses between Walla Walla and the Willamette valley seemed too great to be risked by the small numbers who came before that time. The land journey was superseded by a river journey from Walla Walla. But the year 1843 brought a change. It saw a shift from river to land transportation. Hudson's Bay Company employees continued to use the river but they were withdrawn after the treaty of 1846. A large group came in this year, a thousand or more, numbering among its names those of Burnett, Nesmith, Lovejoy, Applegate, and others, the first group of real home builders, stirring up the Indians once more. These were, however, quieted by the far reaching influence of Dr. McLoughlin.

Progress, justice, and material prosperity were planted on the Pacific coast by this group. The first party to leave Platte City, Missouri, left on April 9, 1843, and included David Lenox, captain of the first wagon train to cross the Rockies to The Dalles, Dr. Marcus Whitman, returning to his mission from the East, Rev. Jason Lee, A.L. Lovejoy, Jesse Applegate, Rev. Vincent

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not '43

Snelling, and Peter Burnett. After experiencing most of the hardships incident to life on the Oregon Trail-- buffalo stampedes, river fords, hostile Indians, intense heat, lack of pasture, loss of stock, fever, death, accident, and discord among the trail-weary travelers--the party reached Fort Hall where Dr. Whitman received word that the Indians were threatening his mission so he left the party and hurried on.

The party pushed on and reached The Dalles on the first of November. A few of the group, including the Burnetts, Applegates, and Hambrees, 71 souls in all, came by way of the Columbia though the larger group came overland. Those who chose the river route met with difficulty and several members were drowned, including some members of the Applegate family. Those of the expedition which followed the landroute met with little difficulty except in crossing the John Day and Deschutes river where, however, none of their accidents were fatal. (237)

At The Dalles the trail ended and the company disbanded. Some hired Indians to take them down the river in canoes; others went in rafts; some continued overland with their stock. They drove their herds fifteen miles

down the Columbia and there swam then across two at a time beside a canoe guided by an Indian. From there they drove them to Fort Vancouver, swam the river again and proceeded to Oregon City which they reached on November 26, 1843 (238)

Thus, in 1843 The Dalles became the end of the Oregon Trail, the western terminus of a 2000 mile wagon road. It became a rendezvous, a ^Ktough of civilization after weeks of wandering along uncharted paths, a resting place before the last difficult and dangerous lap of the journey, and a supply station for exhausted immigrant stores. This position it held until the Barlow road was blazed across the Cascades in 1845. Even after that many chose the stop at The Dalles and make the hazardous journey from there by water instead of the still more hazardous trip across the mountains. This was especially true of the immigration of 1852 which came in such great numbers.

The Diary of Peter Burnett, afterwards the first governor of California, contains this comment on The Dalles:

"When we arrived at the Methodist Mission (1843) located at the foot of the Dalles, I saw at once that there must some day grow up a town there, as that was the head of

safe steam navigation. From there to the Cascades, a distance of about fifty miles, the river is smooth and without a rapid.....I determined at once to settle at The Dalles; and after consultation with Mr. Perkins, the minister in charge, I left my family there and proceeded to Vancouver. (239) Later, however, influenced by Dr. McLoughlin and Douglas at Vancouver, he returned and on November 26, moved his family to the Willamette valley.

The immigration of 1843 was somewhat different from those which preceded or followed it into Oregon. It was much larger than the small groups that had gone before and therefore could not be so easily given assistance as it went along. It was necessarily self-supporting and independent. The ones who came after were different because the way had been paved for them, experiences had been piled up to guide them, and precedents had been set. But the pioneers of 1843 had to help themselves. When they came to the end of the wagon road they went into the forests around The Dalles, felled trees, made rafts, and embarked down the river on these. A few had friends in Oregon, and a few more called on the Hudson's Bay Company for aid, but the majority depended only on themselves.

(239) Barnett, Recollections of an Old Pioneer, p. 130.

In the years that followed even the resourcefulness and independence of the hardy pioneers wavered at times before the strain put on them by the conditions resulting from the large numbers of people who came in those years. Most of the 1844 arrivals came late in the season, many after the snowfalls had begun, and arrived with supplies nearly exhausted. More and more The Dalles became a depot, a stopping place, and a supply point as great groups crowded there awaiting transportation or passage to the Willamette Valley. It became the one point after the long, weary trip through eastern Oregon where a degree of civilization and comfort could be enjoyed. Sarah J. Cummings, a member of the first immigrant train to cross the plains for Oregon in 1845, reached The Dalles on September 14, of that year, and found there the missionaries and a few families. The earlier immigrations had gone on and the main group of that year had evidently not yet arrived. Mrs. Cummings wrote; "My husband and I attended church there on Sunday, September 19, and heard a sermon by Mr. Waller. Five or six families besides ourselves made up the congregation. A dozen or so Indians were present. (240) From the Klickitane across the river the party was able to buy peas, onions, turnips, and potatoes, as well as venison.

(240) Cummins, Autobiography, p. 42.

There was a small store or trading post kept by Hudson's Bay Company where some supplies could be purchased. Here, at The Dalles, before the long trek down the river, the immigrants tried to recapture some of the routine of civilization. They washed clothing, repacked their goods, and "for the first time in many months, used flatirons, thus enjoying a good degree of wholesome comfort." (241)

Later, 1845 saw the largest of the five great immigrations. Oregon received more than 3000 immigrants in the days that followed and the commodities necessary for home and comfort which Mrs. Cummins found at The Dalles were soon exhausted.

From 1844 to 1846 the difficulty of getting transportation down the river as great crowds of people came pouring into the old Wascopam mission caused much tedious delay and unfortunate congestion. The old mission became a frontier camp and hundreds of prairie wagons and large herds of cattle belonging to crowds of travel-worn people crowded its river shore. Stephen Meek and his party tried a shortcut through Eastern Oregon and finally, after intense hardship, suffering, and loss of life, reached The Dalles. Becoming confused, they had strayed off the trail to far to the southward getting into the central Oregon desert. (Somewhere in the Malheur Mountain district this

(241) Ibid. p. 43.

group found gold but at the time were more interested in finding a trail out. This was the famous Blue Bucket mine which was much searched for later but never found.) In desperation Meek finally made a three day journey to The Dalles to get help. Being unable to obtain any from the mission he finally secured the aid of Moses Harris, called the "Black Squire", and an old mountain man and companion of Joe Meek, who secured supplies from the Indian and started out to rescue the stranded party. (242)

Meanwhile, at The Dalles provisions were running low, money was scarce, and disease, death, and starvation reared in the face of those thousands who came crowding into Oregon in search of homes. Only two boats were available to take them down the river. Wascopam resources were taxed to the utmost and had it not been for relief sent by the Hudson's Bay Company and the aid given by the Hudson's Bay men, "the immigrant camps at the old mission post must have become a scene of awful suffering." (243) The Hudson's Bay Company loaned all boats available and Dr. McLoughlin gave instructions to bring the sick and destitute to the valley first. (244).

On September 29, 1845, Joel Palmer wrote in his diary;

"This day we traveled about 5 miles, which brought us to The Dalles, or Methodist Missions. Here was the end of

(242) Leekley, Tetheron, p. 6.

(243) Bailey, The Marlow Road, O.H.C., Vol. 13, pg. 286.

(244) Rector, Biography, O.H.C., Vol. 30, pg. 67.

of the wagon road, as no wagons had ever gone below this place. We found 60 families in waiting for a passage down the river; and as there were but two small boats running to the Cascade Falls, our prospect for a speedy passage was not overly flattering. " (245)

The train of Samuel Barlow was among the last to reach The Dalles that autumn. When Barlow saw the state of affairs at that point he at once made plans to go west by way of the mountains. Many tried to dissuade him and people declared the attempt to be folly especially as it was late in the season. But Barlow, energetic, strong-minded, and determined, answered that God never made a mountain range without making a place to go over it if a person exercised a proper amount of energy and perseverance in finding that way. So Barlow started out with a small train.

When Joel Palmer came to The Dalles shortly after Barlow left, and found that the two boats were engaged for at least two days and that their charges were high, he also decided for the mountain road. He found that "a Mr. Barham and a Mr. Nighton" had already had that same idea and had penetrated some twenty or thirty miles into the interior. Nighton had returned but "Barham" had stayed to try to force a passage through. Palmer succeeded in persuading fifteen families to try the trip and on October 4,

(245) Palmer's Journal, Thwaites, Vol. 30, p. 119.

he took up the march in an effort to overtake Barlow. (246)

Others joined the caravan and some dropped out but after much suffering and hardship the Barlow-Palmer trains pushed a trail across the mountains. The way was blazed. This trail was widened later and improved to become the famous Barlow road over which passed many a train into the Willamette valley in succeeding years. The road extended south from The Dalles to Fifteen Mile crossing (near Dufur) and from there to Tygh Valley, turning south and west, keeping to the south of White River, to pass through the Cascades at the south of Mt. Hood and into the Willamette Valley. This road served two purposes. It lessened the congestion on the Columbia and served as a means of communication and trade with settlers east of the mountains then and later.

The road was undoubtedly a benefit and was especially so in the summer time. The late comers, however, found it more expedient to go by way of the Columbia rather than risk the storms and snows of the Cascades. "We reached The Dalles on the 15th of October, 1845", writes W.A. Goulder, "where we had to decide whether we would take the 'Barlow Trail' across the Cascade Mountains, or follow the course of the Columbia River from The Dalles to Fort Vancouver. The approach of winter, the conditions of the families and

(246) Palmer's Journal, Lancaster, p. 85.

that of the worn-out stock, compelled a decision in favor of the last-named route." (247)

Late comers at The Dalles that year were handicapped not only by transportation difficulties but even after the main body had passed on, by high prices of commodities due probably to the depleted stores of the settlement. Ezra Fisher, writing February 6, 1846, says, "Do you ask how our means are exhausted so soon? We answer, that when we arrived at The Dalles exhausted of provisions (December 1845) we paid \$8 per hundred for flour and \$6 for beef; at the Cascades from \$6 to \$10 for flour and \$6 for beef....." (248)

The year 1846 brought to The Dalles probably the first white settler not connected with the missions or the Hudson's Bay Company. In that year Joseph Lavendure, a French trapper, established a land claim there, built himself a log cabin and fenced in a few acres. Just how long he stayed or where he went does not seem to be definitely known, although it is believed that he left for the California gold fields. Conditions at The Dalles did not seem to improve in the next year or so, probably due to the decline in the mission and to the restlessness of the Indians. Mrs. Elizabeth Geer, who came through in 1847,

(247) Goulder, Reminiscences, p. 134.

(248) Fisher, Correspondence, p. 168.

wrote in her diary of October 27 of that year; "Passed what is called The Dalles Mission, where two white families live among the Indians. It looks like starvation." (249)

A quaint, small book called "Route and Distances to Oregon and California", published in 1846 as a guide to emigrants traveling westward over the Oregon Trail has this to say of that part of the trail passing through The Dalles:

"Here I wish to remark that, when I left the settlement (Fort Boise) a well known mountain man, Black Harris, in company with Dr. White, was about to start to look out a road across the Cascade mountain, by keeping up the Mallair and crossing over a depression in the mountain to the headwaters of the Santyam, the eastern branch of the Wilhamet. If they have succeeded they have shortened the road for the emigrant at least 3000 miles. It would land him just where he wants to be, for the land north of the Santyam is nearly all taken up. Another important benefit to be derived is that there would be no Indians along this way to molest the emigrant; but if the road has not been opened, we must take the old track. And here let me put the emigrant on his guard--for from this camp to the Dalles, a distance of 320 miles, you will be surrounded with swarms of the most mischievous Indians that ever disgraced the human form. They are now hostile, and you must have your guns in good plight, and travel in large companies; keep them from your camps, one and all. Here for the first time, on the log road, you must set rigid guard over your camp and stock. 130 miles brings you to the fertile valley of the Grand Round; water, wood, and an abundance of grass all the way. Here you may meet some friendly Indians of the Skyuse tribe--but watch them close.

"From the Grand Round, it is 70 miles to Dr. Whitman's mission, over the blue mountain, which is not bad..... From Dr. Whitman's to Malwala is 25 miles--here you strike the Columbia.....I would advise all to keep down the river by land to the Dalles mission, 100 miles; here you

can repose yourself and families in comparative security. Here you take your wagons to pieces, and take all by water except your stock, which is driven across the Cascade mountain." (250)

This same writer offered a bit advise on the first page of his book to the affect that "When you start over these wide plains, let no leave dependent on his best friend for anything for if you do you will certainly have a blow-out before you get far." (251)

The last family to cross the Cascades by the Barlow road in 1847 was that of a relative of Wilson Price Hunt of the Astoria party of 1811, John S. Hunt and family. Five dollars paid for toll on the Barlow road left Mr. Hunt with only fifty cents in cash and with a family of six sons and three daughters to provide for. Fortunately, he was one of the few/^{who} had relatives, a brother, already here, to whom he could go for help in getting started. (252)

In 1848, James D. Miller, wrote of The Dalles, where his party camped on the Columbia near where the Umatilla House later stood;

There was only one house in sight at this camp. Indian agent Nathan Olney had a cabin, one-half mile below on the flat. He had an Indian wife. This was the first house or settler that we found on our route, after leaving Big Blue River, not over 100 miles from St. Joseph, Missouri, except at the different forts on our route, namely, Forts Laramie, Hall and Boise, all of which had

(250) Shively, Routes and Distances, p. 10.

(251) Ibid, p. 1.

(252) Lockley, To Oregon by Ox-Team, (Life of Ezra Meeker) p. 6.

abode huts occupied by traders, who followed the business of trading with the Indians for their furs." (253)

This party, like many others came too late to gove over the Barlow road. They moved camp west to Crate's Point and constructed rafts to take them down the Columbia.

Part of the immigration of 1848, arriving late in the year, had to wait at The Dalles for a Chinook wind to break up the ice in the river. The mountains at this time of the year were impassable, and the river could not be traveled until the ice cleared. This occurred about the 20th of December. There was little at The Dalles except the deserted mission, tenantless since the Whitman massacre in the fall of 1847. Many of the immigrant party took refuge there. A mile below was the Catholic mission of Bishop Blanchet and Rev. Rosseau where the forty-niners were able to procure oxen and good beef to use as long as they stayed. (254)

By 1850 some of the Indians trouble had been quieted; a military fort had been established at The Dalles, the Cayuse war had been brought to a close, the Catholic missionaries had taken the place of the Methodists and Presbyterians at The Dalles and the site in general faced a period of growth and settlement in the 1850's which laid

(253) Miller, Early Oregon Narrative, O.H.Q., Vol. 31, p.64.

(254) Chenoweth, P.A. Address Oregon Pioneer Transactions, Vol. 1873-1886, p. 28.

the foundation of the gold discoveries of the 1860's and was to become one of the busiest and most picturesque centers in the Northwest.

Beginning of Dalles City

1850 may be considered the beginning, very generally speaking, of The Dalles, for in that year troops of the United States regular army were sent to The Dalles to make their headquarters and to establish Fort Dalles. This gave the long desired protection and led to the growth of a settlement. Exposure to Indian hostilities and frontier hardships had been two important influences in discouraging settlement.

One or two settlers however, had defied all frontier dangers and had taken up claims near The Dalles even before the coming of the rifle regiment. One of these was Joseph Lavendure already mentioned, who settled on what was later the Christmas place in the southeastern part of The Dalles. (255) Another was Nathan Olney, the first American to settle in The Dalles, who settled in 1847 on Chenoweth creek. In 1855 he sold to Dr. Shaug and located on a stock ranch on Ten Mile creek where the immigrant road crossed the creek, now the railroad station, Fairbanks. Later he moved to the Ketchum place at the junction of Five and Eight Mile creeks. Olney, for many years prominent in Indian affairs before

(255) Mrs. Grandall, Covered Wagon Stories, The Chronicle Sept. 3, 1924.

the coming of the settlers, was afterwards prominent in civil affairs. He was the first justice of the peace in Wasco county, was deputy sheriff in 1855, city marshal in 1864, and was one of the organizers of the Republican party in Oregon. (256)

The Mountaineer, in an article on The Dalles before the coming of the main body of settlers, records the following;

"At or near The Dalles there had been a solitary settler ever since the close of the Cayuse war; and also a settler named Tomlinson, and two Frenchmen on farms near Tygh Valley, fifty miles or more south of The Dalles. These pioneers of eastern Oregon, after the missionar-ies, made money as well as a good living, by trading in cattle and horses with emigrants and Indians, which they sold to the miners in California. After the establis-hment of a military post at The Dalles, it required a government license, issued by the superintendent of Indian affairs, to trade anywhere above the Cascades, and a special permission from the commander of the post to trade at this point." (257)

One of the most continuous accounts of life in The Dalles after the coming of the troops in 1850 is contained in a book, "Reminiscences," written by Mrs. Elizabeth Lord who came with her family, the W.C. Laughlins, to The Dalles in October, 1850, and who subsequently spent the greater part of her life there. Her family came to Oregon with the intention of going on to the Willamette valley but as Mrs. Lord has quoted, "Man proposes and God disposes."

(256) Ibid.

(257) The Mountaineer, May 28, 1869.

They found the boats on the river loaded to capacity and, as supplies and money were running low they finally decided to settle at The Dalles, at least for the winter. They first settled at Crate's point about five miles from the post. Mr. Laughlin, the father of Mrs. Lord, put up a small house alone, and they lived for a time by hunting, with occasional trips to Nathan Olney's store for supplies they had to have. (258)

Mrs. Lord says of The Dalles at this time;

"The land was unsurveyed; the reservation from the military post was five miles square, with the camp for the center. And one could, if so desiring, settle on land outside of the reservation, but it was hardly considered safe, as the Indians, while peaceable, were more or less treacherous and untrustworthy." (259)

The only houses in the garrison at this time were the long log barracks with six or eight rooms, used for many years as officers' quarters, and a commissary and guard house. Because they were unable to obtain sawed lumber, the soldiers were quartered in tents until a mill could be built. Many immigrants were employed during the winter of 1850 erecting the mill, building quarters for the men, a barn for the horses, and a cottage for the commanding officer. (260)

The business part of The Dalles had its beginning when John C. Bell of Salem opened a butcher's store, the first

(258) Mrs. Lord, Reminiscences, p. 70.

(259) Ibid., p. 71.

(260) Mrs. Lord, p. 71.

to be built that was not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. When the rifle regiment was ordered away in 1851, Bell sold the store to William Gibson. The second store to be constructed was that of Allen, McKinlay and Company, built in 1851, and placed in charge of Perrin Whitman, nephew of Dr. Marcus Whitman. (261) In the fall of 1850 G.W. Hunt sold his interest in a store in Waldo Hills to his father and bought an outfit to trade with Indians in Eastern Oregon. With Henry Williamson and Thomas Boggs he crossed the Cascades by the Barlow road to Five Mile creek not far from The Dalles where they established a trading post, trading flour, bacon, and other supplies to the emigrants for worn-out stock. They also traded tobacco, powder, and similar commodities to the Indians for horses. (262)

The year 1831 saw the erection of the first house in The Dalles and on November 5 of that year the first post-office was established with Willian R. Gibson as the first postmaster. In March of this year, according to Mrs. Lord, the rifle regiment was ordered away and two hundred men were thrown out of work because of the fact that the government decided not to construct any more buildings at The Dalles, the buildings which had been completed "being

(262) Lockley, To Oregon by Ox-Team. (The Hunt Family to Oregon) p. 6.

amply for the sixteen privates, two non-commissioned officers and the lieutenant" who were to take the place of the regiment.

The emigrants of 1851 found the Laughlin home a welcome base of supplies after the long cross-country trip. They were starved for a change of diet and eagerly bought at almost any price asked whatever Mrs. Laughlin could spare---butter, milk, buttermilk, vegetables, pickles, eggs and other foods would break the tiresome monotony of their emigrant diet. The winter of 1851 and 1852 was a mild and pleasant one with only a few inches of snow in December, and things at The Dalles progressed very well. (263)

The year 1852 was an exciting and eventful one for The Dalles as well as for the rest of Oregon. That year brought by far the largest immigration that had yet crossed the plains to Oregon. Thousands came. The main body of travellers began arriving in August and continued through September and October and into the winter. On October 5, 1852, Mr. Alvah I. Davis entered in his diary; "made eighteen miles to Fort Dalles; crossed Deschut s River passed 440 wagons from Fort Boise; here over 100 wagons with families and many left to be forwarded at this place." (264

The Dalles became a "veritable city of tents." As in

(263) Mrs. Lord, p. 95.

(264) Davis, A.I. Oregon Pioneer Transactions, p. 339.

As in previous large immigrations the earlier comers fared rather well but the later ones found their difficulties increasing as the season advanced and the crowds at The Dalles grew; All possible supplies were recruited at The Dalles and relief supplies were dispatched from the Willamette valley. (265)

Ezra Meeker, who reached The Dalles in September, 1852, after a five-month trip of 1800 miles from the Missouri river over plains and mountains, found a restless, changing crowd of travel-worn people waiting at The Dalles. He has recalled the following picture;

"The appearance of the crowd of emigrant beggars description. Their dress was a varied as pieces in a crazy quilt. Here was a matronly dame in clean apparel, but without shoes; her husband perhaps lacked both shoes and hat. Youngsters of all sizes were running about with scarcely enough clothing to cover their nakedness. Some suits and dresses were so patched that it was impossible to tell which was the original cloth. The color of practically everyone was that of desert dust." (266)

They were at the end of the trail with home 1800 miles or more behind them. Many of their number had been left on the plain and the provisions of all were running low. But they looked forward from The Dalles with fortitude and with that same hope that kept men pushing westward since the days of the Fertile Crescent. They were of every nationality and all stations of life but class lines

(265) Oregonian Nov. 6, 1852.

(266) Meeker, Ox-Team Days of the Oregon Trail, p. 60.

and prejudice had been lowered by the consciousness of a common goal and worn down by the common trials of the dust-laden trail.

And still they came, far into the winter. An item in the Oregonian of December 4, 1852, says,

"We have just learned from a reliable source that all the immigrants have arrived at The Dalles, except one family. They were at Willow Creek, and had lost everything but one steer. Mr. I.B. Smith, of this city, who was at The Dalles when this information arrived there, went out with supplies and animals to bring them in." (267)

It has been estimated that more than 3000 immigrants wagons came to The Dalles that season. A few stayed, but most of them pushed on westward. The main body disassembled their wagons at The Dalles and descended the Columbia by boat, driving the stock over the mountains. Since many of them were poor and the cost of river transportation was more than \$100 some of them tried the mountain roads, often with disastrous results. Many were compelled to sell their belongings and suffering was intense. (268)

To add to their misery the winter of 1852 and 1853 was unusually severe, causing heavy losses of the stock which were not lost in other ways. Mr. John T. Kerns, finding transportation down the river unavailable, entered the following terse note in his diary of September 18, 1852. "If we have yet to take to the mountains, it will be tough beef, certain. 2414 miles." The next day he added, "Lay at The Dalles all day, concocting a plan to get

(267) Oregonian, December 4, 1852.

(268) Oregonian, January 1, 1853.

over these hills west of us, and at last concluded to divide off Father, Thomas, James and the women, to take the goods and take water, while James McCoy, Samuel and myself take the team, cattle and horses over the mountains. A glorious time 'we' will have, no doubt. Weather pleasant. No other news. 2414." (269)

F.A.Chenoweth, in the Oregon territorial legislature, urged an appropriation of \$10,000 for a road down the Columbia but his motion failed because it was estimated that a sum of \$50,000 to \$100,000 would be necessary for the construction of such a road and that sum was deemed too expensive for the territory. (270)

As might be expected, with so many people on its site, the frontier post of The Dalles gradually began to take form as a town and gradually came to be recognized as such in the minds of the passing immigrants. John T.Kerns wrote in September 14, 1852, that there was "a store, the Government Barracks and a Catholic mission, besides some few dwelling houses below the narrows, forming a small town called The Dalles." (271)

In the summer of 1852 a Mr. Thompson built a crude hotel and that same year M.M.Cushing who came with the regulars but later severed his connection with them, began

(269) Kerns, J.T., Oregon Pioneer Transactions, p. 187.

(270) Oregonian, January 1, 1853.

(271) Kerns, J.T., Oregon Pioneer Transactions, p. 187.

the erection of another hotel, the first frame building in The Dalles. (272)

By 1853, what had in 1850 been the camp of Indians and a stopping place for passing immigrants was the nucleus of a promising town. Besides the hotels there were several houses in The Dalles or at the landing, two stores, and Gibson's and Allen, McKinlay and Company's which was sold to Simms and Humason. W.C. Laughlin took a donation land claim and erected a substantial house upon it. More people were coming, traders were numerous, and cattle buyers were "thick as flies, which were not scarce." (273) Later some of these people took up land. Among those who did were Charles Denton, Dr. Shaug, and a family by the name of Mathews. A Mr. Bigelow brought a small stock of goods to The Dalles, chiefly groceries and liquors, and build a store. William Gibson moved his store from the garrison grounds to the town; it was subsequently purchased by Victor Trevitt. A Mr. Forman built a blacksmith shop, Lieutenant Forsyth erected a two-story frame house, which was occupied the next year by Gates as a hotel, and Cushing and Law soon put up another log store and James McAuliff a third. (274)

(272) Riddle's Native Son, p. 28.

(273) Lord, p. 105.

(274) The Mountaineer, May 28, 1869.

freight

Passenger and freight facilities on the river continued to be scarce until the summer of 1853 when things began to clear a bit. The military post, which had become a nucleus of trade and business, made it necessary to improve the means of transportation that the government supplies might be more easily and rapidly carried. (275) In the spring of 1853 the steamboat, Allan, was brought to the Columbia to run between The Dalles and Cascades, the first steam boat to run on that part of the river. The trip required seven hours to travel the distance of fifty miles but it was a much needed step toward relieving congestion, and marked the passing of the extreme frontier and the coming of an era of comparative comfort and certainty.

The year 1854 emphasized this idea still more. In the first place, this region was given recognition when, on January 11, 1854, the territorial legislature passed an act creating Wasco county with The Dalles as the county seat. The county at this time comprised all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains and east of the Cascade mountains with the northern boundary at the Columbia and the southern boundary at the California line. Despite this vast extent of territory actual settlement of the region except at The Dalles had been so slow that Major Rains, then

Ibid., (275).

stationed at Fort Dalles, opposed the formation of a county because he said that only 35 white people actually resided within the proposed county limits.

Mr. Laughlin in this year imported some fruit trees from the East--pears, apples, peaches, and some grapes, currants, gooseberries, and a few hives of bees. Building in The Dalles went forward steadily. The town grew at first up Main street for some distance, and then up Union one block. Then an effort was made to start it up Washington street. R.R. Thompson, who was afterwards very prominent in the public and business life of The Dalles, came in 1854 as an Indian agent. On August 14th he entered 640 acres under the Donation Land act, part of which later became Thompson's Addition to Dalles City (276)

The year 1854 saw the passing of the historic remains of the frontier mission post when the Methodist mission buildings were torn down and a military commissary and guardhouse were put up in their place. (277)

About this time gold was discovered in the Colville region and the march for the gold field was started. From Portland and other places in the Willamette valley large

(276) Elliott, T.C. Dalles Galile Canal, OHQ, Vol. 16, pg. 161.
 (277) Lockley, p. 986.

parties left daily for the Colville mines. Those who had but a short time ago passed through The Dalles on their way westward in search of homes now flocked back in great numbers in search of wealth in the mines. The Oregonian of July, 1855, observed that "We are glad to see among those going, many of our most energetic and determined citizens, who are not easily discouraged or disheartened, but who will penetrate and explore the length and breadth of these newly discovered gold fields." (278)

Letters from The Dalles came daily and the pages of the paper for this time ran frequent articles and items of news from the mines. Supplies at The Dalles became scarce and the price of commodities rose accordingly. Common Indian horses sold from \$60 to \$80 and those travelers from the Willamette valley were advised to bring their own horses and supplies if possible rather than purchase them at The Dalles (279) In 1855 there were several stores in The Dalles with good stocks of goods and a surprising amount of good business. There was also "an intelligent community and a pleasant locality for a large town. Only disagreeable feature is the high winds, and the size of the gravel-stones which are hurled by them." (280)

(278) Oregonian, July 21, 1855.

(279) Ibid.

(Oregonian, Aug. 4, 1855. (280)

From this time on buildings went up rapidly and many hotels and restaurants were erected to meet the needs of passing travellers as well as the incoming settlers. Meanwhile settlers had been taking up land in the vicinity of The Dalles and in the surrounding country. In 1855 and 1856 when the restless natives again went on the warpath these out-dwelling settlers took their goods and flocked to The Dalles for safety. Among those who came were William McKay from Umatilla and a Miss Margaret Campbell from Fort Walla Walla. In 1856, these two were married, taking out the first marriage license issued and recorded under the new Wasco county. Two other marriages had taken place in The Dalles before this, one of George Snipes on September 18, 1853, and the other of M. M. Cushing and Miss Mary Pigott on April 16, 1854, but that of William McKay was the first one officially recorded (281)

On September 15, 1855, a mass meeting was held by the residents of The Dalles to formulate rules for a government and division of property, the first regular town meeting. A board of trustees was elected to serve as executive officers, consisting of W.C. Laughlin, president and R.D. Forsythe, J.C. Geer, W.H. Fauntleroy, and Orlando Humason. This board decided to hold an election on April

(281) Article, Oregon Native Son, October, 1900, Vol. II, p. 249.

7, 1856, for the selection of the first regularly elected officers of The Dalles. Those elected at the meeting were H.P. Isaacs, chairman of the board of trustees, N.H. Gates, James McAuliff, J.P. Booth, recorder, and Orlando Humason, treasurer. (282)

On November 1, 1856, a school district was organized with C.R. Meigs as the first teacher. Before this time education at The Dalles was taken care of more or less privately. In 1854 a small, roughly built log hut, called the Sims schoolhouse, was built near the Sims donation claim at a convenient distance from the garrison and ^{the} town was then known as "The Landing." Mrs. Grandall tells us that "Peter Fair, a sergeant of Company E, Ninth Regular infantry, of Old Fort Dalles, was the first one to teach school in eastern Oregon, according to a good authority. Rev. James Gerrish, a Methodist minister, also held the first public preaching services of the present Methodist church in this little building." (283) The second teacher was Charles R. Meigs, who later was a representative of Wasco county to the constitutional conference that framed the constitution of Oregon. Others who taught were a Mrs. Seonce who taught two terms in 1854, and Mr. M.R. Hathaway who taught in 1855.

The first schoolhouse to be erected in the district established by taxation in 1856 was built in 1859 and was

(282) Lockley, p. 92.

(283) Mrs. Grandall, Other Days in Wasco County, The Chronicle, Feb. 16, 1923.

located at the foot of the bluff below where the present Dalles hospital stands, on Fourth and Laughlin streets. The first teacher here was Mr. Frank Johnson, later a member of the faculty at the University of Chicago, and a well-known scientist. He was succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. Post. Some of the subjects taught included Latin, algebra, geometry, natural history, English, with, of course, the usual spelling bees. (234) In 1864, Rev. Verneesch, resident Catholic priest at The Dalles, invited the Catholic sisters to open a school there which invitation was accepted. (235)

The population of the region had been gradually, Rev. Ezra Fisher, writing from Oregon City in January, 1855, described The Dalles as follows:

"I take my pen to give you a brief account of my late tour from this place to The Dalles, a rising town and a military post on the Columbia near the east base of the Cascade Mountains.

.....I found twenty-four families, including three or four of the officers and soldiers, in this place and vicinity, besides a number of white men who had married Indian women and some thirty or forty single men in trading and farming, as I had good reason to suppose. Here are stationed two or three companies of government troops to defend our frontiers from Indian invasion. Here also are constantly a considerable number of Indians, amounting to forty or fifty families, who dwell here and cultivate small fields of potatoes, corn and melons." (236)

It has been estimated that the population of The Dalles in 1856 was about 250 persons (237) Mrs. Lord gives an

(234) Ibid.

(235) Lockley p. 585.

(236) Fisher, Correspondence, pp. 453, 454.

(237) Lockley, p. 928.

interesting sidelight on life in this frontier town in the days of its early growth;

"Sunday was always a turbulent day at The Dalles in early times," she says, "We only attended the Sunday school one Sunday. On our way home, just as we got opposite the saloon at the foot of Washington Street, a lot of drunken men came out of the saloon, swearing and talking excitedly. Two men had come out of the saloon to settle a quarrel, and one man killed the other as we were passing by. Father said that we receive more harm than good by being on the street Sundays, so he wouldn't let us go to Sunday school any more." (288)

1857 was an eventful year for Oregon and for The Dalles. Then began agitation to make Oregon a state and in that year The Dalles received its charter as an incorporated town. Wasco county was represented at a constitutional convention urging statehood held at Salem August 11, 1857, by George R. Meigs. Colonel N.H. Gates was sent to the legislature to introduce a bill for the incorporation of The Dalles. On June 26, 1857, a charter was granted under the name of Dalles City. The first officers to serve under the charter were N.H. Gates, president of the board of trustees, E.G. Cowne, R. Hall, B.F. McGermick, P. Crain, Charles R. Meigs, recorder, and Orlando Humason." (289)

Some changes were made in the charter in 1859 when the limits of the city were extended to the second bluff and provision was made for the election of regular city officials instead of trustees. Other small alterations were

(288) Lockley, P. 956, (Quoted from the writings of Mrs. Lord.)
 (289) Lockley, p. 928.

made in 1862, 1866, 1870, and 1880.

On May 3, 1859, an ordinance was passed by the board of trustees organizing Hook and Ladder Company, No. 1, the first fire department at The Dalles. This was disbanded in 1860 and in 1862 the Diligent Hook and Ladder Company replaced it. In 1860 an engine house was constructed. (290) By this time the town was building up Union street one block from Main, up Court street and up Washington one block. The Main street grade was then level with the beach. After the building of the railroad through Main street later, the grade was lifted twelve or fifteen feet. (291)

On February 25, 1862, James S. Reynolds was granted a franchise to lay water pipes in the streets and alleys of The Dalles and three months later he received a second franchise to lay a plank walk from Union street to low water mark on the Columbia with permission to collect toll from all pedestrians using it. In the same year, in September R. Pentland began construction of waterworks for the city. (292)

Gold

[The era of the early 1860's was a gilded age for The Dalles. In the spring of 1860 E.D. Price, a trader, dis-

(290) Lookley, p. 936.

(291) Mrs. Crandall, Covered Wagon Days, The Chronicle, Sept. 20, 1924.

(292) Lookley, p. 930.

covered gold on Orefine Creek in Idaho near where it empties into the Clearwater river. The news spread like prairie fire; first to Walla Walla, then to The Dalles, and on to Portland. In an incredibly short time many of those multitudes who had poured through The Dalles westward bound in search of homes in the Willamette Valley now came rushing back through The Dalles eastward bound in search of wealth in the gold fields. Thousands rushed in. New areas were explored, new mines opened up and small mining towns sprang up almost as if by magic.] Pierce, Elk City, Florence, and other town in Boise Basin became famous almost over night, and yielded thousands of dollars. Rumor states that a man named Misener rocked out \$80,000 in six weeks and another man made \$36,000 in a very short time. As the news spread it has been estimated that probably 30,000 people crowded the mining camps of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. [Then, 4 too, the winter of 1861 and 1862 broke all records for severity. The thermometer went down to 30 degrees below zero and three feet or more of snow fell. This meany heavy loss of stock and crops sent many people prospecting.]

[All of this reacted like an Aladdin's lamp in The Dalles, stimulating it to a remarkable development. Particular impetus was given by traffic from the mines of the John Day, Powder and Owyhee river regions,] (293) A letter in

(293) McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, p. 348.

the Oregonian in 1862 gave a colorful description of the erstwhile military post turned into a rendezvous of miners. The letter was dated June 6, 1862, and contained the following description;

"This town, (The Dalles) some forty miles above the Cascades, is the best business point on the river..... A heavy business has been done here this season, and there are perhaps not less than fifty business houses of various kinds. Many of the largest establishments have been driven into tents, and the numerous white tents on the hill sides and all over the town, give the place a novel air. The lower end of Main street is three or four feet under waterThe damage done by high water is estimated at from forty to sixty thousand dollars, and the river, after falling, is slightly rising. The town has a population of about one thousand; has some half-a-dozen hotels--some pretty good; nearly as many lawyers--as many doctors; a tasty Catholic Church--two or three preachers; some Indians, a fair share of gamblers, and all the other features which make a variegated and wide-awake town. Its future, like everything in this upper country, depends upon the mines. If they 'pan out' there will be a good town here. (294)

This letter finished with a description of the military post at The Dalles and was signed, "An Observer." The Oregonian, in the early 1860's included many descriptions of life and conditions at The Dalles and ran constant news and feature articles on the mining regions for which The Dalles was the supply base. Another communication to the editor of the Oregonian, dated September 9, 1862, had the following to say about The Dalles;

"I propose during my sojourn in The Dalles to drop you a letter occasionally, and I send you my first today by Express. Why by Express? Because the mail is tri-weekly and because it is allowed to be two days in making

the trip from here to Portland and vice versa.....The trips are certainly being made in so short a time, and the amount of mail matter already is large enough to warrant a daily mail.

"The Dalles is in a very flourishing condition. Business is lively--good buildings are in constant process of construction--the streets are always crowded--the hotels and restaurants full--rents high, and the demand for room greater than the supply--miners are constantly coming and going, and money appears to be plenty. Of course in the midst of all this bustle and business we have "dead-falls," dance houses and places unmentionable, with a goodly portion of professional and non-professional chaps seeking whom they may devour. No prudent man needs caution against these, no prudent man will take caution if offered." (295)

The mining district nearest to the settlements was that of Roek creek, about 140 miles southeast of The Dalles. The mines here were not extensive but returns were good. About sixty-nine miles east of Roek creek, was the famous Canyon City district, one of the best camps on the coast. In the years from 1862 to 1865 life in Canyon City was seething with activity and mining history was written here that equalled any written in Virginia City or any other of the riotous mining centers of the west. Twenty-five miles north of Canyon City the Elk creek mines lured people by the hundreds. Smaller mines, too, were located at Dixie about twenty-five miles east of Canyon City, at Vincent's fifteen miles northeast of Dixie, Olive creek twelve miles north of Vincent's, a very good one at Granite creek and good ones in the Burnt and Powder river districts. (296)

As the gold from these mines was brought bank it brought to The Dalles an era of feverish activity, change,

(295) Oregonian, September 13, 1862.

(296) Oregonian, September 14, 1865.

show, free and easy spending, a sort of cosmopolitan mingling of classes, ascertain weakening of moral laws-- gambling, hold-ups, daring deeds, and free from all enforcement of individual law. And by the side of all this came comparative comfort, growth of wealth, unrivalled examples of pioneer courage, and perseverance, and development in business, transportation, and communication. Over all of this hung a glamour of romance, gripping, appealing, though tinged with brass. This was the era of the unrestrained life in mining camps, of the pony express, of the stagecoach, of the great wagon trains of freighters, of the overland mail and of development of railroads and steamboats.

[The Dalles, though not a mining town, was, as the base of supplies for all eastern Oregon and even Idaho and Montana mines, greatly affected by all the phases of the age. Regular communication was early established between The Dalles and Canyon City] and maintained in true picturesque western style during the height of the era. Regularly from The Dalles the pony express left, on swift, tireless horses, to carry news to "a lone frontier" at Canyon City and points east. It carried welcome messages eagerly looked for in far-off camps. It met all the hardships of trails pushing into the frontier--loneliness, fatigue, danger from Indians, the menace of hold-ups, and constant similar tests of courage and resourcefulness. In the fall

of 1862 when Thomas H. Brents and his partner started the first express line from Canyon City to The Dalles the way led through virtually untouched country; there were no ferries on the rivers, no bridges, little protection from the Indians and frequent menace from highway men. (297)

Close upon the pony express to care for the heavier demands as the era advanced came the stagecoach with its sturdy, swaying body peculiarly fitted for its task. Drawn usually by four or six fleet horses carefully chosen and skillfully matched, and driven by rugged, able pilots, these old Concord coaches bridged the distance from the railroads to the remote frontier in spite of danger. They are only a memory now but they were a long step from the plodding ex-teams of a few years earlier.

"They were jaunty enough in their day with their cavernous bodies extended behind into a platform or boot for the reception of baggage, and were built high up in front to furnish a throne for the driver, who deced a high seat not only that he might keep a better lookout for the Indians and road agent, but also that he might the better supervise the six horses bounding along under his skillful management. They were not uncomfortable, those old coaches, for the bodies swung on great leather straps which softened the jolt and gave a gentle swaying motion to the heavy contrivance." (298)

Slavin and Company operated a stage line between The Dalles and Bannock City in 1863. Semi-weekly lines were established in 1864, between The Dalles and Canyon City and in that same year lines were sent out to the Owyhee and Boise mine regions (299)

(297) Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, P. 127.

(298) Talkington, Story of the River, OHQ., Vol. 16, p. 129.
(Taken from a quotation. No. footnote.)

(299) Oregonian, September 14, 1865, p. 2.

Along with the stagecoach and pony express came the great freighters, wagons of twelve to twenty horses driven with a jerk-line, the driver riding a wheeler and managing the rest of the team with a single line. Great supplies of freight came by boat as far as The Dalles or Umatilla Landing and then were transferred to the wagons and hauled over long and often almost impassable roads to distant mines in Eastern Oregon and southern Idaho. These, too, were targets for the incident dangers of the trail. An item in The Mountaineer in October 1866, states that "There is now a large amount of freight accumulated here from Canyon City. Teamsters are demanding eight to ten cents per pound, owing to the danger attending a trip of this kind. (300)

Drivers of these wagons wrote the history of these times in dust, figuratively speaking. Their lives were necessarily rough and laborious and their vocabularies at times more forceful and expressive than refined, but they supplied the needs of hundreds of souls in those distant, outlying communities, and played no small part in the building of the western empire. These drivers and the freighters held sway until the coming of the railroads in the early 80's when this last remnant of the old Trail passed into oblivion with other heroic associations of those early days. Since the first railroad did not reach The Dalles until the 1860's it is somewhat outside the scope of this paper.

(300) Oregonian Oct. 12, 1866, p. 5. (quoted from the Mountaineer)

Mr. Samuel Bowles, who in 1845, made an overland trip to the West with Honorable Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, wrote of The Dalles;

"At the Dalles lies the second town in Oregon, bearing the name of The Dalles, and holding a population of twenty-five hundred. It is the entrepot for the scattered mines of eastern Oregon, for we are now on the eastern slopes of the mountains, and very much also for the Boise and Owyhee mines in Idaho?" (301)

Mr. Bowles estimated that two millions dollars in gold dust came in from eastern Oregon and Idaho in the single month of June, 1865.

The discovery of gold turned a new page in the history of the Northwest. It ended a chapter of the privations of frontier life and turned to a new one of a comparatively comfortable civilization. The ox-team era was a slow-moving one until gold changed its pains-taking existence to a dynamic period of rapid growth in trade, transportation, communication, wealth, and cities and towns. It opened up the country; it explored every nook and cranny. It removed isolation, lessened hardships of family life and supplied many comforts; it increased population and located trade centers; Helena, Boise, and The Dalles are only a few of these.

The Dalles, as has been said, was the trading center not only for Oregon but for parts of Idaho, Montana, and eastern Washington. Supplies were sent not only to the dozens of isolated mining towns but to centers at Walla Walla, Missoula, and Boise. Most of the trade of this period was to the eastward and much interest was felt in the development

of the upper country. Trade with the Willamette where the returns to the merchants were chiefly flour, grain, fruit, or hides, compared to that which poured in from the upper country on daily steamers in form of gold dust, was little. "The latter is immediately converted into coin and seeks new channels of investment, and is turned over a half-dozen times a year, whereas the former must bide its fortunate market and sales were thus delayed from week to week and from month to month." (302) The need for a United States mint was urged for the Pacific northwest, preferable at Walla Walla but if not there, "then at The Dalles--the great Golden Gate of the Upper Columbia." In 1865 Congress appropriated \$100,000 for construction of a mint at The Dalles but before it was completed they decided that the one in San Francisco was enough and sold the site and building before it was completed.

For a picture of The Dalles during the peak of its prosperity in the days of the gold rush I have depended upon the narrative of Colonel Henry Ernst Dosch, a prominent Oregon horticulturist and pioneer, a member of General Fremont's bodyguard, a one-time pony express rider, and a resident at The Dalles in 1864 and 1865, when that town was one of the most important and picturesque mining bases of the Northwest, as told in an interview with Mr. Fred Hockley

(302) Mullen, O.H.C., Vol. 4, p. 209, Sept. 1905, from Walla Walla to San Francisco, (from Walla Walla Statesman 1862).

Colonel Doseh was born in Meing-on-the-Rhine, June 17, 1841, and came to America in 1860. When the Civil War broke out he enlisted in Fremont's bodyguard, was wounded at Springfield, October 25, 1861, reenlisted in the 5th Missouri Cavalry when the bodyguard was discharged in 1861, and finally became colonel of his regiment. On his honorable discharge from the army he came west to Salt Lake City as a book-keeper with the dry-goods firm of Kimball and Lawrence. From there he went to California to Virginia City where western mining life was at its peak of lurid activity, and where "saloon men, barkeepers and gamblers were the aristocrats of the community, and their vassals were black-legs, road agents and thugs. (303)

After experiences with pick and shovel and as a pony express rider from Virginia City to Friday Station on Lake Tahoe, he went to San Francisco where after much searching, he landed another pick and shovel job. Incidentally the engine used to haul away the sand from the shovels was later sent to be used on the portage road at the Cascades, the first engine used in Oregon. (304) Shortly afterwards Colonel Doseh was given a job making out bills for A. Cohn and Company of San Francisco, who operated a store in Portland known by the same name and one in The Dalles known as Block, Miller and Company. They also operated stores in Walla Walla, Boise, Placerville, and Colville. (305)

(303) Doseh, Narrative, p. 4.

(304) Ibid., p. 8.

(305) Ibid., p. 9.

In 1864, Mr. Doseh was transferred by the company to their store at The Dalles, arriving there April 10, 1864. Bloch, Miller and Company, had at that time, the largest store and the only stone building in the state, and handled general merchandise and miner's supplies besides operating a warehouse for transferring goods by pack train to the mines. The stable population in The Dalles at that time was estimated at about 2700 while the transient population raised that figure many hundreds. Mr. Doseh expertly tells us that there was "more life in The Dalles than there was in Portland in a month." (306)

He says, "I was put in charge of buying the gold dust.... Gold dust from districts where there was silver in which the gold dust had a certain alloy of silver was worth \$10 an ounce, while the gold dust from Canyon City was worth \$17 an ounce. If the gold dust came from a district where there was copper, it had a different color and commanded a lower price. I averaged to buy \$50,000 worth of gold dust a month, which was sent direct to the mint in San Francisco." (307)

He further tells us that "The Dalles was a wide open town. It was never a tough town like Virginia City." George Clayton's gambling house was the largest in eastern Oregon where money could be put into action through poker, faro, three-card-monte or bets on the small horses. Cigars were fifty cents; drinks were twenty-five cents; and the 25 cent piece was the smallest coin used. "Mary St. Clair, who was known from British Columbia to Old Mexico, was one of the famous characters of The Dalles in those days. She would

(306)Ibid., p. 9.

(307)Ibid., p. 10.

charge you \$20 a bottle for champagne, but she would hand the money over to anyone who needed it just as cheerfully as she took it. She had a heart as big as an ox, and if anyone was sick she was the first one to offer help and the last one to leave."

Victor Trevitt was another well-known person in The Dalles in those days and afterwards. He "ran the Mt. Hood saloon just across from Mary St. Clair's place. Vic really ran a sort of a gentlemen's club. He wouldn't allow a drunken man in the place, neither would he stand for rough house nor rough talk. In fact, you saw very few drunken men in The Dalles in those days." (308) Mr. Trevitt was another army man, enlisting in the Second Ohio Regiment in 1846. He served one year here, mustered out with his company in June, 1847, and came to Fort Dalles about 1854. Later, besides being active in the business life of The Dalles, he became a leader of the Democratic party and served for a time in the state legislature. His high regard for the Indians and his kindness to them made him a life-long friend of that race. His last request was to be buried among them one of the burial islands in the Columbia river. He often said: "I have but one desire after I die, to be laid away on Memaloose Island with the Indians. They are more honest than the whites, and I live up to the light they have. In the resurrection I will take my chances with the Indians." (309) When he died

(308) Ibid. p. 10.

(309) Mrs. Crandall, Indian Fighters. O.H.C., Vol. 31, p. 385.

in San Francisco on January 23, 1883, at the age of 56, his remains were brought up the Columbia on the famous steamer, Hassalo, and buried on Memaloose.

Another outstanding figure in The Dalles in early days was Robert R. Thompson. A native of Pennsylvania, he came in 1846 to Oregon City where he spent two years working at odd jobs,--blacksmithing, carpentering, and others. The gold rush took him to California in 1848. In August 14, 1854, he moved his family to The Dalles and entered 640 acres under the Donation Land Act. Part of this land later became Thompson's Addition to The Dalles. In 1852 he went East, and in 1853 brought back across the plains a band of sheep. On his return he was appointed Indian Agent and became at once, landowner, sheep raiser, and Indian agent. In addition to this he took a contract for transportation of government freight on the upper Columbia where he operated the first steamboat on that part of the river. Freight from the Deschutes to Wallula was said to be \$100 a ton by bateaux and \$80 by steamboat. Fortunes were made in the business, and Thompson became one of the early millionaires of Oregon. (310) In 1860 he was taken into the O.S.N. company on his own terms, \$18,000 cash bonus and 120 shares, the largest amount held by anyone.

"For his services as director, which were advisory and not administrative, he was paid \$1000 per month." Forceful,

(310) Elliot, Dalles-Celilo Canal, O.H.Q., Vol. 16, p. 161.

confident, possessing good judgment, experienced, and dominant--the J.P. Morgan of the Columbia, he was seldom oppressed and ruled rather much as he pleased. In later days in California he told H.H. Baneroff that one reason for his success in life was that "he had always from the very start believed very strongly in a certain man named Thompson." (311)

Dr. Thomas Condon was another well-known man who spent some time at The Dalles. He was born in Ireland on March 3, 1832, and moved to New York when he was eleven years old. He later lived in central New York where he finished his education, taught school for a time, and made a collection of paleozoic fossils. In 1852 he finished the Auburn Theological Seminary, married Miss Cornelia Holt, and left New York for Oregon where he settled in the Willamette valley. In 1862 he went to The Dalles where he was for several years in charge of the Congregational mission, later serving two terms as mayor of Dalles City, during his residence here he made frequent trips into the interior of Eastern Oregon to study geologic formations and made a valuable collection of fossil specimens which became a center of interest not only for chance visitors but also for many noted men of science who were glad to pay tribute to the work of Dr. Condon. In 1872 he became professor of geology and natural history at Pacific University

(311) Ibid., p. 162.

and in 1876 took over the same position at the University of Oregon where he remained until 1905. (312)

Steamboats

As we have seen, the river furnished the first means of transportation for the Columbia district; first came Indian canoes, then the bateaux of the trapper and trader, and later the barges, flatboats, and rafts of immigrant days. With the 1850's came the steamboat in regular use on the Columbia. In 1850 F.A.Chenoweth laid out a portage road around the Cascades, built of wood and with power furnished by a mule. Later he sold it to P.T.Bradford who rebuilt it in 1856 as the steamboat era began. The first steamboat to run on the river above the Cascades seems to have been the James R. Flint built by the Bradfords, J.^O.Verbegen, and James R. Flint of San Francisco. This was a small side-wheeler with a single engine geared to the shafts and when in motion sounded more like "a thrashing machine than a steamboat." (313)

In 1851 it was hauled over the Cascades and operated from time to time on The Dalles route. In 1852 the Lot Whitecomb and the Multnomah were on the river above the Cascades but none of these was running a regular schedule and they were

(312) Two Commonwealth Builders, O.H.Q., Vol. 8, pg. 201.
 (313) Gillett, O.H.Q., Vol. 5, pg. 122.

subject to change or removal at any time. In 1853 the Bradfords constructed and launched on the middle river, the Mary, a double engine boat and the first steamer constructed on this part of the river. The Mary has long been noted as the center of attack by Indians when a group of natives on the warpath ambushed and tried to capture her at the mouth of Mill Creek during the Indian war in 1856.

The first regular steamboat combination on the river from The Dalles to Portland appeared about 1856. Business and industry in The Dalles had not before this time developed to any extent and the main supplies carried were those for the army post and for emigrants bound for the Willamette valley. With the coming of the Wasco in 1855 and the Hassalo in 1857 more regular and more dependable service was established between The Dalles and the lower Columbia.

In the meantime, on the upper river, at Celilo, R.R. Thompson and L.W.Coe had built a small boat called the Venture.

This craft was accidentally wrecked by going over the falls before it had been put in use. Then in 1859 the Colonel

Wright was successfully launched on this part of the river and for many years virtually coined money for its owners.

Buckle and Olmstead launched the Mountain Buck on the Portland-Cascades run in 1859 or 1860 and this steamer, with the Wasco above the Cascades, and the portage road at the Cascades owned by this company formed the first through line from Portland to The Dalles. (314)

After 1855 and 1856 settlers began spreading over the country, business was beginning to develop and the need for supplies was increasing. The country east of the Cascades was rapidly growing in the production of agricultural products. The increase was chiefly in wool, vegetables, and hides.

By 1859 transportation had increased enormously and freight was heavy. Rates were high, \$40 a ton being charged for transportation between The Dalles and Portland. Hay purchased by the government in San Francisco for The Dalles Post cost \$77 a ton by the time it reached The Dalles. (315) Before long the profit of the business attracted various people into the field and by 1860 there were two through lines running between the Dalles and Portland and competition became keen. A rate war was threatened but before this became well under way those concerned formulated a plan of merger and one of the most significant events in the history of the river took place--the organization of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company.

Steamboats, portages, wharfboats, and all property connected with them were appraised and valued at \$175,000 and on December 29, 1860, articles of incorporation for the Oregon Steam Navigation Company were filed at Vancouver, Washington, which shares at \$500 each. The chief stockholders at this time were R.R.Thompson, Ladd and Tilton, T.W. Lyles, Jacob Kamm, and J.C.Ainsworth. In October, 1862, new articles of incorporation were filed at Salem, Oregon, with capital stock

valued at \$2,000,000, the largest stockholders this time being Bradford and Company, R.R. Thompson, Harrison Olmstead, and Jacob Kamm. Other names among them were Simson G. Reed, Benjamin Stack, Richard Williams, George Hoyt and Josiah Myrick.

From this time on the history of the river from Portland to The Dalles was the history of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. The first monopoly in Oregon pressed its tentacles in for a strangle hold on river traffic and every bit of freight down the second largest river in America passed through its hands at its own prices. The discovery of gold opened the treasure trove for O.S.N., Trade grew by leaps and bounds, freight piled up, steamboats were overloaded, new ones were built and launched, companies waited in line by the hundreds at the docks in Portland for a chance to ship their goods, and still more were turned away.

In the spring of 1862 an iron railroad was put in around the Cascades on the Washington side. The old portage road at The Dalles, owned by Orlando Humason, and long worked by its oxen and mules and heavy freight wagons, was found inadequate and in 1862 a fifteen mile railroad was begun at that point. The Oregonian of April 21, 1863, reprinted the following:

"We learn from The Dalles Journal that the passenger cars of The Dalles and Celilo railroad were to leave the depot of the O.S.N. Co. yesterday morning at nine o'clock, for Celilo, there to connect with the steamer, Tenino for Wallula, Lewiston, and all intermediate points for the first

time." (316) Charges along the river were enormous, and some of the new boats paid for themselves on one trip. (317)

A brief rate competition by the Peoples' Transportation Company from the Willamette River reduced charges somewhat for a short time but when that company weakened before the stone wall of the O.S.N. Company and retired to the Willamette in 1864 charges went up higher than before. Measurement for shipment was taken on the largest possible way of the article. A wagon, for instance, was measured from the hind wheels to the end of the tongue, and then the tongue was turned up and measured from the tround to the tip. In computing the freight rates on this no allowance was made for the unoccupied space in between and, as someone has remarked, the tongue was usually removed and packed under the bed where it took up practically no room. Eph Day, a well known purser of the O.S.N. Company received the highest approval of the company for his practice of sending in reports and cash for 250 to 300 tons from boats only large enough to carry half that much. (318)

The O.S.N. Company, organized in 1860 with a capital of \$175,000 was sold in 1875 to Henry Villard for \$5,000,000. While pressing a desire not to censure too much this company

(316) Oregonian April 21, 1863.

(317) Gillette, O.H.Q., Vol. 5, p. 126.

(318) Ibid.

these officials did only what many another group of individuals may have done in their place. Mr. Gillette, writing in the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly has this to say of the general effect of the company on the region in which it operated.

"Unquestionable the Oregon Steam Navigation Company had held in check and kept back the growth of the country east of the Cascade Mountain for years, though perhaps unintentional on its part. It had so long been accustomed to receive such exceedingly liberal compensation of its services that I have not doubt they believed farm products could not be carried to Portland at rates that would leave anything for the farmer."

(319)

Early Newspapers

The first newspaper published in The Dalles was The Dalles Journal, which began publication in March, 1859, published by A.J. Price, and sold April 1, 1860 to W.H. Newell. The second paper was began on February 8, 1860, by Captain Thomas Jordon of the Fort Dalles garrison. This paper, called The Mountaineer, ran only a few months, until April, 1860, when it was purchased by W.H. Newell, consolidated with The Dalles Journal which he had also purchased, and published under the name of The Mountaineer.

(319) Ibid., p. 131.

In 1862 The Mountaineer, during the high point at The Dalles began issue as a daily and continued so until 1866 when Cowne and Halloran purchased it and returned it to a weekly publication, In 1867 it was sold to W.M.Hand who ran it until 1881. In 1901 it was combined with the Times and ran from then on for some time as the Times-Mountaineer. The Democratic State Journal, which was published at The Dalles for a time was sold in 1863 to W.W.Bancroft who moved the plant to Idaho and published a Union paper. The Dalles Republican, which was started in 1870, was another early paper published in The Dalles and ran for thirty-one years. (320)

Mail

The first mail route through The Dalles region was, of course, the cross-country route of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first one established from The Dalles in later days was probably the one from The Dalles to Canyon City which for a long time was the only one. This was not maintained by the government and was beset with many uncertainties and dangers. (321) Canyon City was 225 miles away and when the first mail was carried there in 1862, there were no trails except Indian trails or those made by the pack trains of the miners and these were not safe. At first, the same horse was ridden clear through but later relay stations were established every

(320) Ludin ton, Newspapers of Oregon, O.H.C., Vol. 26, pg. 259.
 (321) Oregonian, February 12, 1866.

twenty-five miles. The riders rode all year round and were constantly in danger (322) Rates for carrying letters were 50¢ each. Portland and Willamette valley papers were bought for 10¢ each and the Sacramento Union cost 25¢ even though it was usually ten days old when it came. They sold all papers they could carry at Canyon City for 50¢ each. This was during the era of the Civil War and the people were anxious for news even though it did come late.

The express often carried gold dust as well as mail. Mr. Thomas Brents, at one time express rider between The Dalles and Canyon City, recalls the following interesting experience:

"In the spring of 1863 I was coming out from Canyon City with \$4,000 worth of gold dust in my cantinas. This was before we had established our relay stations. I used to camp wherever dark hit me if there was good grazing for the horse and wood and water. When dark overtook me, I found that the grazing for my pony would be poor so I decided to ride on till I came to a good camping place."

He saw a campfire soon and went to it for shelter, only to find it the camp of Berry Way, noted bandit, murderer, and jailbreaker. He escaped robbery by passing the gold-dust off as saddle irons. Way was shortly afterwards captured and hanged at Canyon City. (323)

A study of The Dalles Mountaineer in the middle 1860's reveals great interest in the securing of better mail service with other parts of Oregon and with the East. Reference to a mail route from The Dalles to Salt Lake City are found in the Oregonian as early as 1852, but the Mountaineer references

(322) Lockley, Oregon Folks, (Interview with Thomas H. Brents.) pp. 49-51.

(323) Ibid.

indicate that it was irregular and unsatisfactory. An editorial in the Mountaineer for October, 1860, in commenting on an article in the Morning Oregonian, to the effect that Postmaster General Randall had agreed to increase the mail service from Salt Lake City to The Dalles to six times per week, suggests that "This is as it should be, and we are glad that the Department has at length concluded to give Oregon a mail route by which the people can get their mail at least a week sooner than by the present circuitous route. The mail from Salt Lake is received here in eight days, and this fact alone shows the absurdity of supplying Oregon by way of Sacramento. We hope that the new route will be immediately put in operation." (324)

On October 19 this paper gives thanks and credit to Senator Nesmith for securing this route. The change comprised a direct route from Salt Lake instead of the customary roundabout route through California. "We have played second fiddle long enough since the discovery of gold in that state," reads the irate Mountaineer. "We are viewed as a province of that state, and our resources are known only through California newspapers; our mines are of no value without California indorsement." It strongly urges more initiative for Oregon. (325)

About the same time the Oregonian in Portland was beginning agitation for better mail service throughout eastern

(324) The Dalles Mountaineer, October 12, 1860, p. 3.

(325) The Mountaineer, October 19, 1860, p. 6.

Oregon and regions east. In April, 1867, it contained this note;

"The irregularity and slowness of the mail service in several parts of Oregon has been, almost from time immemorial a fruitful theme for newspaper discourse and for general malediction. The service in Eastern Oregon has been especially inefficient, and has caused much inconvenience here as well as there/.....From numerous complaints which have come from Union and Baker counties, we are made aware that our newspaper is about two weeks reaching that part of Oregon. This is just about as convenient as having no mail at all."
(326)

Most of the mail at this time went to Baker and Union counties by way of Walla Walla. But in the general promise of change in service there was a prospect of a tri-weekly route from The Dalles to Boise through the John Day region. With agitation starting at this time the mail service has steadily improved until we can read with serious interest the statement in the Oregonian of that time that "It will certainly be a great event when people in all parts of the state shall be able to obtain the news the same week it is published."
(327)

Umatilla House

A history of The Dalles would be incomplete without a description of the Umatilla House which stood so long as a landmark of early days when it was one of the most famous stopping places in the Pacific Northwest. Built in 1857 by H.P. Isaacs near the boat landing in the days when steam-

(326) Oregonian, April 22, 1867.

(327) Ibid.

boat travel was in its ascendancy, the Umatilla House was a rendezvous for travellers all up and down the river. During the gold rush it was a stopping place not only for travelers, but for steambot men, and for hundreds of miners on their way to and from the fortune areas of eastern Oregon. It was also a meeting place and rendezvous for sheep men, cattle men, freighters, and the citizens of The Dalles. The most interesting part of the history of this building does somewhat beyond the scope of this paper but since it had its beginning in the earlier period and so long remained an historic point it might be interesting to follow it through.

In 1877 the original Umatilla House was burned, was rebuilt, and was destroyed by fire again in 1879. This time the local stores refused credit to the owners, Sinnott and Handley, who turned elsewhere. Martha Ferguson McKeown quotes the following articles written by George P. Cooper in The Dalles Chronicle:

"Hearing of their misfortune Corbett and McLeod Portland wholesale grocers, offered to stake them to merchandise and to vouch for their hardware bill.

A Mrs. Summerville, at Chicago, wired them to draw on him up to \$50,000, if they needed it. Summerville had been an itinerant peddler who had been at the Umatilla House, ill, years before. When he left, he owed a considerable bill, but Handley and Sinnott never dunned him for it. When Summerville became wealthy, he remembered his former benefactors. Handley and Sinnott wept when they received his telegram. There was no bank here at the time, and the shop men kept their wages in Handley and Sinnott's big safe, drawing it as they needed it.

Denied store credit, Handley and Sinnott went to the railroad men and asked them if they could use this money on

deposit to rebuild their hotel, and, almost to a man, the workers agreed. The hotel men mortgaged their homes and created the present Umatilla House (since torn down) at a cost of \$91,000." (328)

This hotel paid for itself in a very short time and was considered the best "west of Minneapolis and north of San Francisco." Besides being the general rendezvous for all kinds of people it was the stopping place for boats, ticket office, baggage depot, and passenger depot for trains, and ticket office and general stopping place for stages.

Among the illustrious names on its register were those of President Grant, General Sherman, Henry Villard, Thomas and Mrs. Edison, John L. Sullivan and James Corbett, and countless others of that day. Besides this it was a center for local people and a popular location for various important functions both social and political.

Its dining room seated 250 persons or more; at times kept busy as many as 16 waiters and 12 cooks, and was elaborately furnished as was the entire hotel. Costly furniture and elaborate fixtures graced the whole building. The bar-room especially, was elaborate, with expensive hardwood finishings and a carved and inlaid pool table.

Meals were 25 cents, rooms 25 cents, and the entire cost \$1 per day. An interesting feature was the substitute for modern refrigeration which was achieved by ice brought on horseback from ice caves near Mt. Adams and stored in saw dust in the basement. (329)

(328) McKown, Historic Umatilla House at The Dalles, O.H.G.
Vol. 21, pg. 38.

(329) Ibid.

Business declined after 1890 and after that date the town grew away from the district in which the hotel was located. Mr. Handley died on November 10, 1890, and Mr. Sinnitt on October 21, 1897. After this the building changed hands many times until it was finally abandoned and became one of the most famous relics of pioneer days in the country. It was ordered torn down in June 26, 1929, and now no tract of it remains except in odd pieces of its costly finishings purchased here and there by those who value their historic significance or their beautiful workmanship.

VI.

THE DAILIES IN 1870

After the feverish activity of the mining period had somewhat subsided The Dalles settled back to a more normal and stable existence, and to a gradual development into a town of business stability and permanent homes. When the gold mines decreased about 1867 or 1868 the mushroom growth which had taken place in the town during the mining era collapsed, reducing the population from more than 2,500 inhabitants to less than 1000. Most of those who left represented the transient element while those who stayed were a more stable group who turned their attention to farming--cattle, wheat, and fruit.

In 1867 the Dalles Woolen Mill Company was incorporated agricultural products were taking the place of those from the mines; and the population gradually increased again until the census of 1870 showed 1542 inhabitants in The Dalles. (330) The rest of this part of the paper includes quotations from contemporary writers and observers concerning the conditions at The Dalles about 1869 or 1870. The first quotation taken by the Oregonian from the Walla Walla Statesman

"During our late trip below we were agreeably surprised to see the marked improvements that have been made at that point (The Dalles) during the last few months. In walking around the town, we noticed quite a number of pretty dwellings that have been put up lately. Mr. Robert Pentland has just

finished a large and handsome flouring mill. The woollen mill is in course of erection; it is the intention of the stockholders to make it a fine imposing edifice. We are informed that the Secretary of the Treasury has given orders of the commencement of the work on the mint at any early date. Taken altogether the Dalles presents quite a business-like appearance. (331)

Another description comments on the important position enjoyed by The Dalles during the height of the mining era and sums up the picture of its departed glory with the following description of it as it appeared in 1869;

"Dalles, is, however, yet a place of some importance, being quite centrally located as any town can be, in a large district of country rich in grain and fruit-growing lands and inexhaustible pasturage. Wasco is destined yet to be developed into one of the wealthiest counties of the state, and Dalles will be its chief city as well as the chief town in Eastern Oregon. It contains, beside the depot and buildings belonging to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, a considerable number of substantial stone or brick stores, at least two creditable hotels, two or three snug little churches, and many handsome residences with surroundings to compare favorably with any town in the State." (332)

Many strange and unusual houses which were built in the fever of the gold rush and which impressed the later traveler unfavorably were beginning to be cleared away by this time to be replaced by new and more substantial buildings. Though the products of the surrounding country never entirely took the place of the mines they helped to build a more stable if smaller and less riotously flourishing town. The Dalles, which in 1865 probably resembled any other mining center of the west in appearance, with its dusty

(331) Oregonian, March 19, 1868, p. 3. (Quoted from Statesman.)
 (332) Oregonian, September 6, 1869, p. 3.

streets, lack of shade trees and laws, hastily erected buildings, and its throngs of people of every kind and description, had, by the decade of the 1870's, come to be "quite a cheerful and handsome town." (333) Real homes occupied the places of hastily constructed dwelling; gardens blossomed with beautiful flowers; shade-trees were planted along the streets in the residential districts; excellent churches and schoolhouses were built; business held promise for the future; and the place was "one of the pleasantest in Oregon". (334) Mrs. Victor gives the following description of the country in the vicinity of The Dalles;

"A ride up the little valley of Mill Creek, brought us through the garrison-grounds--a lovely spot--and out past some very pretty places and well-cultivated farms. It quite surprised us to come upon such well-to-do-seeming farmers, when the general aspect of the country is so uncultivated. But here is the evidence of successful and profitable farming; good houses, fine orchards, grain-fields, gardens, and fat cattle." (335)

By 1870, Indian rendezvous, mission center, immigrant terminal, military base, and mining supply depot were names which were but memories written in the past history of The Dalles as it took its place more substantially, if less romantically, as a center of a large and productive fruit, grain, and grazing district surrounding it. It became, in a few years, not only a shipping point for products of this district

(333) Mrs. Victor, All Over Oregon and Washington, p. 92. (written 1872)

(334) Ibid.

(335) Ibid.

but also a consuming and manufacturing center for many of these products.

VII.

C O N C L U S I O N

The story of the party played by The Dalles in the history of Northwest from early times until about 1870 resembles the sequence of scenes in some great historic pageant. On a stage set by nature on the banks of the mighty Columbia were enacted, one after another, all the great episodes of aboriginal and frontier life.

The curtain rose on the great trading mart, one of the three great ones in the Northwest, where natives gathered by the thousand each year to trade and fish. Then followed the first thrust of the white race into the region--the trapper, trader, and explorer, in the lives of all of whom the portage and the natives of this region played an important part, and all of whom singled out this part of the river for special mention. After this came the missionaries to establish here, in 1838, one of the most important and most enduring of the missionary outposts in Oregon.

Close on this came the great immigrations passing through The Dalles gateway to the Willamette valley. Here, from 1843 on, ended that "historic highway," the Oregon trail, over which thousands of homeseekers and empire builders traveled to transform a wilderness into producing territory. Here for more than a decade was the supply base for provisions exhausted by the demands of the two thousand mile trek from the East. Here was the resting place for weary travelers who for months had daily fought disease and death and hardships along

the dusty course of the trail.

Then, as the adjustments of settlement brought its manifold problems and difficulties, came the need for military protection. The Dalles as Fort Wascopam, Fort Lee, and Fort Dalles, became the base of military campaigns in Eastern Oregon which assured the dominance of the white race over red.

As the need for military protection declined The Dalles faded from the picture as a military base to take its place as a center of mining life in a feverish era of gold, when it was one of the best known frontier town in the west. Besides being head of navigation on the Columbia river, it was a supply depot for the mines and the center of communication between the mining regions and the various parts of Western Oregon and California, as well as the headquarters for the pony express, the stagecoach, freighters and great lines of pack trains.

The mining era, transient in itself, left The Dalles, a stable element which became the foundation for the building of a conservative and substantial business and shipping center which has enabled The Dalles to take its place among the substantial and progressive towns and cities of Oregon.

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