CHAPTER IV
The Politics of Religion

In 1832, a delegation of the Flathead and Nez Percé Indians journeyed to St. Louis, Missouri, hoping to visit General William Clark, the U. S. Indian agent. The exact purpose of the Indians' visit remains unclear. They may have ventured east to secure a greater share of trade with whites, who were visiting their homelands in increasing numbers. Perhaps they came to seek aid or munitions to repel their warring neighbors, the Blackfeet Tribe. During this highly publicized visit, however, the Indians allegedly inquired about the "Christians' Book and the white Man's God,"¹ a deity who had showered his subjects with abundant material blessings. Protestant and Catholic officials² alike interpreted the reported episode as a divine mandate to bring the "Word of the Great Spirit"³ to the wilds of Oregon country. Catholic officials were slow to commit personnel or funds to a Western mission, waiting to see whether Oregon would fall into the jurisdiction of American or Canadian bishops. The Protestants, by contrast, quickly mobilized their missionary forces. Having long
contemplated founding missions in the West, officials of
the Methodist-Episcopal Church saw the Indians' visit as a
catalyst to stir a "feeling of Christian sympathy" among
their constituents. If nothing else, the Flatheads' timely
visit provided the sensational copy they needed to gain
widespread interest and support for a mission "to elevate
and save the heathen from moral degradation and ruin."5

The Reverend William Fisk, president of Wesleyan
University, Connecticut, characterized as the "most potent
personality in the Church,"6 was first to send his mission-
ary forces westward. Sponsored by the Missionary Society of
the Methodist-Episcopal Church, the Reverend Fisk secured
the services of his former student, Jason Lee, to head the
first missionary party to the Indians of the Rocky Mountains.
Ordained in 1833, the Reverend Jason Lee in turn recruited
a little coterie of helpers to accompany him, including his
nephew, Reverend Daniel Lee, Mr. Cyrus Shepherd, and
Mr. P. L. Edwards. As they prepared for their journey, the
four were

gravely told by most of those of whom we asked
information that the attempt would be a useless
sacrifice of our lives as no Gentleman of our
profession would be able to endure the hardships
or keep pace with the veteran traders of these
Western Wilds.7

Travelling in the company of seasoned explorer Nathaniel
Wyeth, the missionary party set out for Flathead country in
the Spring of 1834. They were motivated by the thought that
they had been "counted worthy to carry the glad news of salvation to the far western world."8

Arriving in the Rocky Mountains, and seeing their prospective converts firsthand, the Lees quickly decided to establish their mission elsewhere. Daniel Lee reported that the Flathead Indian population was far smaller than had been reported, and that the Indians' "perpetual wars with the Blackfeet Indians had prevented their increase."9 The missionaries discovered that a "means of subsistence" for a permanent mission was "very doubtful,"10 since the Indians' homeland was six hundred miles distant from a stable supply source. Finally, the Flathead tribe was constantly at war with their Blackfeet neighbors, a tribe Daniel Lee perceived as "white man's enemy"11 as well. The Lees quickly concluded that the establishment of a Methodist-Episcopal mission among these Indians was untimely and perilous. After a hasty conference, the disappointed missionaries readjusted their sights, and decided to continue West with Nathaniel Wyeth. Wyeth was returning to the coastal lands for a second time, believing there was "a good chance to make money in this country."12 Inspired by the sentiment that "the sons of nature may soon be children of grace,"13 the missionaries continued on with the Wyeth party, and arrived at Fort Vancouver on September 15, 1834.

The missionaries and explorers had been enervated by the hardship and monotony of their cross-country journey,
and regaled at the welcome they received at Fort Vancouver. The Lees were surprised to find Chief Factor McLoughlin and his officers waiting on the shore of the Columbia to welcome the American party. Having subsisted for months on pemmican, the travellers were refreshed by a lavish supper at the table of John McLoughlin. After sleeping for months on dank mats of willow and sand, the missionaries reveled in the comfort of the guest house beds. The fatigue and boredom of the overland journey had come to an end. The missionaries felt certain that their biblical mandate to "Go, therefore, and teach all nations..." would soon bear fruit. Jason Lee frequently imagined himself preaching a message of "salvation in the ears of these red men...."

From the present comfort and safety of Fort Vancouver, Lee and his party did not foresee the tremendous physical hardships that lay ahead of them. Nor did they anticipate the difficulties involved in converting the Indians of the Pacific Northwest to the "God that the pale faces worshipped."

For the moment, the Lees' spirits soared with thoughts that soon the spiritual desert of the West would be watered from "the fount of spiritual blessing." The excited missionaries wasted little time searching for a suitable location to set the foundation of their mission establishment. Acting upon the advice of Chief Factor McLoughlin,
the Lees reconnoitered in the lush Willamette Valley, among
the scattered homesteads of French Canadian retirees.
Travelling by canoe and horseback, the missionaries arrived
in the valley on September 19, 1834, near the farm of Mr.
Thomas McKay. They were taken aback by the beauty of the
Willamette Valley, a setting which surpassed their highest
expectations. Daniel Lee described the region as a
"Beautiful, rich extensive, gentle-rolling prairie, well­
watered, and in some parts well timbered...."18 After
tasting bitter disappointment in Flathead country, the Lees
felt like they had found the New Eden, a place where the
Natives' souls could be claimed in the name of Christianity.
"After mature deliberation...and earnest prayer for divine
direction,"19 Jason Lee concluded that the Willamette Valley,
ten miles above present-day Salem, was the place to carry
out the work of Indian evangelization.

The days quickly grew short, and the nights increas­
ingly inhospitable. Laboring from dawn to dusk, the Lees
and their two helpers hurried to construct rude tools, fence
a pasture for their borrowed cattle, and build a shelter for
themselves. Throughout the fall of 1834, the men frequently
retired to their soaking tents in rain-drenched clothing.
Their excitement to preach the gospel to Indians was
dampened by a more immediate concern--to roof the mission
house before the storms of winter set in. By early December,
1834, Daniel Lee reported that they were finally ready to
abandon their tents, "thankfully secure from the pelting storm without." Throughout the winter months, the men remained inside, finishing the interior of the house, and adding a fireplace, doors, and windows to the twenty foot by thirty foot dwelling. As the grip of winter relaxed, the men returned outdoors, still unprepared to begin the work of evangelization. In the springtime, they fenced and tilled twenty-four acres of land. The garden project was followed by the construction of a barn, which they eventually completed with the help of hired hands and French Canadian neighbors. Back-breaking labor consumed the missionaries' months, delaying the eminent object of their mission, the conversion of Indians. For the next three years, the preaching of the gospel was preempted by mundane cares. Jason Lee's daily diary of mission activity was replaced by three years of silence. In 1837, when he resumed his written record, Jason Lee lamented "...that when my time is chiefly occupied in worldly business, and in manual labor (as has been the case the past three years) it is even a burden to sit down to write a letter...." 

On the Sabbath, however, the missionaries set their axes, hammers, and ploughs aside. On that day, they gathered their scattered neighbors together for worship at the home of Mr. Joseph Gervais, a retiree of the Astor expedition. This motly gathering was comprised of French
Canadian Catholics, their Indian wives and children, and a few Indian orphans. The majority of the congregation were befuddled by the American missionaries' foreign babble. Jason Lee voiced disappointment that most of his assembly did "not understand the discourse." Nevertheless, he and Daniel were pleased to have this limited opportunity to exercise their ministry of preaching and prayer. All the while, he and Daniel grew increasingly concerned that toil and worldly concerns would forever displace their work of Indian evangelization.

As the months drew on, Daniel Lee grew ill, and was forced to vacate his post for a year. The Reverend Jason Lee urgently searched for ways to escape from under the crushing burden of manual labor. He longed to commence the work they had been sent to carry out—"the ultimate salvation of my fellow creatures." Forced to postpone their work among the Indians, the Methodist-Episcopal missionaries contented themselves to minister to the French Canadian families who lived in the Willamette Valley. They taught religion to their children, solemnized their frontier marriages, baptized their young and old, and buried their dead. Lee and his confreres also made special efforts to convert the settlers' wives to Methodism. These women hailed from various tribes scattered throughout the territory--the Chinook, the Cayuse, the Flathead, and others. The Lees
believed that the women would facilitate the conversion of their Indian families.

In 1835, about a dozen French Canadian families lived in the Willamette Valley. Other families soon joined them. A few were former *engages* of the Hunt and Astor expeditions, but most were recent retirees from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. All planned to remain permanently in the fertile valley, even though the official policy of the Hudson's Bay Company legislated against settlement. During the ministers' initial encounter with the French Canadians, Daniel Lee described them as a "prosperous and happy" people, firmly rooted on choice tracts of Willamette Valley land. Intent on establishing their homes in that region, the French Canadians had spared no expense in providing for their families. American explorer Nathaniel Wyeth described the scene, reporting "...they have now been there one year have Hogs, Horses, Cows, have built barns, Houses, and raised wheat, barley, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, corn, pumpkins, melons (sic)..." To the missionaries' surprise, the French Canadians had even contracted the services of American school teacher Solomon Smith, in order to provide a rudimentary education for their children. Three months before the Methodist-Episcopal missionaries arrived in Oregon country, the settlers had also sent a petition to the Catholic bishop of Red River, requesting that he send a priest to Oregon for "their children and themselves."
On February 25, 1835, the settlers followed their request with a second, more urgent appeal to Bishop Provencher, reiterating their request for a priest. By June 8, 1835, the bishop replied that he had no priest available at Red River, and that one "must be obtained from Canada or elsewhere...." Provencher promised to do all in his power to honor their petition. The bishop's positive reply gave the settlers "a new heart," and as a result, they built a small log church in anticipation of their clergyman's arrival. In the meantime, the bishop admonished them to "raise their children as best you can...give them good example...exempt from the great disorders which exist among christians (sic) beyond the mountains...." By 1835, the Methodist-Episcopal missionaries and their helpers had added more rooms onto the original mission house and prepared to take in homeless women and children. Daniel Lee, who had been forced by illness to vacate his post for a year, returned to find considerable change at the mission. Arriving from the Sandwich Islands, where he had recuperated from his illness, he found Jason Lee and his helpers caring for eighteen children and adults, "making the number now in the family twenty five." The Methodist-Episcopal community had begun cultivating even larger tracts of farmland to feed the newly acquired boarders. After a single season the fertile land was producing five hundred bushels of wheat, along with peas, oats, corn, beans, and potatoes.
Outside help was hired to assist with the expanded workload. In the springtime, Mr. Cyrus Shepherd, who had been teaching at Fort Vancouver while also recuperating from illness, rejoined his colleagues in the Willamette Valley. In his first season at Willamette, thirty children, including eight children of the French Canadian retirees, attended Mr. Shepherd's Sabbath school. Other French Canadian children were enrolled in the Sabbath school, though not everyone was pleased with the arrangement. A few French Canadian fathers voiced objection to the idea, hoping that their own priest would soon arrive to teach their children. The Indian wives and mothers, none of whom was Catholic, overrode the fathers' complaints, delighted that their children could enjoy a basic education.

While the Methodist-Episcopal community was now abuzz with new activity, Lee knew that the main object of the mission remained undone. He continued to search for ways to satisfy the mandates of the Board of Foreign Missions, which had sent him and his confreres to Oregon to convert Indians to Christianity.

As early as 1835, Jason Lee asked the Board of Foreign Missions for additional assistance to lighten his burden of labor and administration. He hoped that a reinforcement would free him and the missionaries for preaching and teaching the gospel to the local natives. Lee assured the Board that the Oregon mission was in a prosperous state,
wanting only for more men and women to assume the worldly responsibilities of the mission. In his report, Lee told the Board that he and his fellow workers had been forced to expend all their time and energy "upon the cultivation of the farm, ploughing and sowing seed." Not wishing to alarm the Board, Lee also reiterated the "fair prospect of succeeding in reclaiming these wandering savages...to the blessings of Christianity and civilized life." Responding to his "glowing description" of Oregon affairs, the Missionary Board was "induced to send a reinforcement to the mission." By May, 1837, thirteen persons arrived in Oregon, including a "physician and blacksmith, with their wives and children, a carpenter and three female teachers...." The Board also sent a large quantity of household furniture, clothing, medicine, and farming implements. In September of 1837 a second reinforcement arrived, which included the "Reverend H. K. W. Perkins, and Reverend David Leslie, wife and three children, and a pious young lady." Jason Lee continued to forward optimistic reports to the Board regarding the prospects of Indian evangelization. At the same time, he assiduously withheld information that specified the exact number of natives "which have been brought into church fellowship." To date, Indian converts were few and far between. Annoyed by Lee's failure to provide detailed information, the Missionary Board reported to its contributors, "we are
assured that our missionaries have not labored in vain, nor
spent their strength for not. 38 For his part, Reverend
Jason Lee remained convinced that once adequate reinforce-
ments arrived, Indian conversions would abound. In the
meantime, as additional men, women, and children arrived at
the mission, the mission residents busied themselves
preparing accommodations for the new arrivals. All hands
were occupied building two more dwelling houses for the
reinforcements. By autumn of 1837, Lee and his new col-
leagues were ready to discuss plans to bring the gospel to
the natives of Oregon.

During the spring of 1837, the French Canadian settlers
felt certain that their own priest would be arriving any day
aboard the Company express. As the Methodist-Episcopal
mission grew in members, and missionaries of other persua-
sions arrived, the Catholic settlers composed a new letter
to their prospective priest, advising him of the rapid
growth and influence of Protestantism in Oregon. On
March 8, 1837, the French Canadians complained to the priest
that they were now surrounded by almost "Every Religion but
oure (sic) own." 39 They added that they were finding it
more difficult "to bring oure familys up to oure owne
Religion Wen There's so maney others around them...." 40
They assured their unnamed clergyman that they were raising
their children "as well As we possibly Can but not as well
as We would wish," and urged him to hasten on his way. As if to demonstrate the sincerity of their plea, they assured their "Reverend Gentleman" that they had already prepared ample accommodations to receive him. Seventeen Catholic settlers signed the letter with an "X."

By the beginning of 1837, the Archbishop of Quebec, Joseph Signay, and the Bishop of Red River had successfully recruited two priests and made preparations to send them to Oregon country. The first recruits were Francis Norbert Blanchet, then Curé des Cedres, Montreal, and Modeste Demers, already residing at Red River. Pleased that he could finally satisfy the wishes of the clamorous Willamette Valley Catholics, Bishop Provencher petitioned the Hudson's Bay Company to provide transportation for the missionaries with the Company express. Bishop Provencher was astounded when he learned that Governor George Simpson had refused the priests' passage into Oregon.

Not everyone in Oregon shared the disappointment of the Catholics when their priests failed to arrive with the 1837 express. Reverend Herbert Beaver summed up the sentiments of many Protestant missionaries laboring in Oregon without Catholic interference. "The non-arrival of one [a priest] with the Express was...the only piece of good news I have received.... It is to be devoutly wished for, that the failure may continue in saecula saeculorum!"
From his perspective, Governor Simpson believed that introducing Catholic clergy into Oregon would be "impolitic and imprudent." He had already received troubling information regarding the turbulent state of religious affairs in the Pacific Northwest. Reverend Herbert Beaver, the chaplain at Fort Vancouver, was the principal source of intelligence reports received by the Hudson's Bay Company Committee. Writing to his friend and member of the governing Board, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, Beaver regularly sent his version of both secular and religious affairs on the Columbia. Beaver's tempestuous relationship with Chief Factor McLoughlin was already common knowledge among the Board members of the Hudson's Bay Company. And his reports about the secular affairs of the Methodist-Episcopal mission were regular topics of discussion among the Governor and his colleagues. The Reverend Herbert Beaver had not overlooked a single morsel of information that might prove damaging to John McLoughlin, his nemesis on the Columbia. The Methodist-Episcopal mission and the French Canadians on the Willamette provided the cleric with all of the choice fare he needed to upset the Committee. Reverend Beaver meted out selected tidbits of information to Benjamin Harrison, knowing full well that Harrison would carry the reports to the Committee at large.

Herbert Beaver first roused the Committee's concern by assuring them that "The Americans will soon make a grand
effort to oust us out of this place altogether...."\(^{45}\) He implicated his despised Chief Factor at every turn, reporting "they [the Americans] could never have existed here a day without our assistance."\(^{46}\) The cleric paraded the unsettling fact that American Naval Officer William Slacum was completing an inspection tour of Oregon in the name of the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson. Slacum's very presence unnerved the insecure governors. Beaver spiced his letters with commentary on the strengthening economic development of the mission community, and their arrangement with Slacum to procure cattle from California. He added, "they grow much grain, and I fear will prove thorns in our side with our trade with the Sandwich Islands and the Russian Settlements."\(^{47}\) He assured the worried governors that their travail would only worsen when anticipated waves of American immigrants arrived to reinforce the Methodist-Episcopal mission. As usual, Reverend Beaver assigned blame for the unchecked development of the Willamette Valley mission to John McLoughlin, adding, "Their's (sic) is a fast increasing and thriving colony while our's seems to stagnated even retrograding."\(^{48}\)

Beaver's remarks added girth to the body of evidence that the settlements of Oregon had threatened the financial security of the Hudson's Bay Company. Beaver's reports were accurate, dogmatic, and highly inflammatory. Out of concern for the financial security of the Hudson's Bay Company in
Oregon, Governor Simpson decided to reduce the potential for more conflict on the Columbia. When he received Bishop Provencher's request to allow passage of Catholic missionaries into Oregon, he acted swiftly to protect the Hudson's Bay Company interests. The Governor's negative reply to Bishop Provencher was colored by concern for the financial stability of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon.

Governor Simpson's decision was also tainted by memories of past denominational conflict between Catholic and Protestant clergy of the Red River colony in Canada. During the earliest years of his administration, he remembered the collisions between Protestant ministers and Catholic priests. The problem, he concluded, resulted "from the narrow minded bigotry of the latter." At best, Governor Simpson harbored strong feelings against Catholic clergy. Articulating his feeling to a friend, Simpson wrote that Catholic priests tended to "fetter [the people] with superstitious ideas and thereby gain an influence over them rather than improve their morals or enlighten their minds...." More to the point, the Governor felt certain that the Catholic clerics would not confine themselves to ecclesiastical affairs. He feared priests might meddle in the political and financial concerns of the people, and collide with the Protestant missionaries of Oregon.

On January 25, 1837, Governor Simpson informed Chief Factor McLoughlin of his decision to deny Catholic priests
passage on the Company express into Oregon country. In his letter to McLoughlin, Governor Simpson reasoned that the Willamette Valley did not afford "a sufficiently extended field [for] both Protestant and Catholic clergy." Recalling his bitter experiences at Red River, Simpson told McLoughlin that "two persuasions, differing so widely from each other, should not be brought into such close contact with each other." The Governor added that the introduction of Catholic priests into the Protestant mission field would only serve to confuse and disturb the Indian population, already considered by Simpson to be "fierce treacherous and suspicious" enough. Acting in conjunction with the full Council of the Northern Department, Simpson concluded that the presence of Catholic clergy in Oregon at this juncture would be "impolitic and imprudent," in a word, bad for business.

Upon receiving the Governor's long-awaited reply, Chief Factor McLoughlin was outraged. He had spent years carefully cultivating the allegiance of the French Canadian retirees. The Chief Factor had corroborated with them in drawing up their petitions to the Bishop of Red River. He knew that the French Canadian settlers were unrelenting in their desire to obtain the services of a Catholic priest. During the course of the Beaver affair, McLoughlin had grown increasingly sympathetic toward his Catholic employees. McLoughlin felt that the Governor's decision was an affront
to the well-being of Company operations on the Columbia, jeopardizing the security of one of the Company's most precious assets—the French Canadian retirees of the Willamette Valley. In October of 1837, McLoughlin responded to the Governor and Committee, strongly advising them to reverse the decision of the council. He warned the Governor, "the influence of the Company will be much diminished if they hear that you have refused to accommodate with a passage a Missionary of their persuasion."\(^5\) McLoughlin clinched his argument by suggesting to the council that Catholic priests might be used to retard the influence of the Americans, who were quickly gaining political and economic influence over once-loyal retirees.

McLoughlin's suggestion that Catholic clergy might be used to break the American stronghold over the French Canadians of Oregon country was a novel and attractive idea for the Board of Governors. With fears of an American takeover of Oregon still looming in their minds, the Governor promptly wrote to the Archbishop of Quebec on February 7, 1838. In this letter, Simpson reversed the earlier decision of the Committee. The unusual change of policy, however, contained severe restrictions governing the prospective Catholic mission in Oregon. The terms of the agreement were clearly designed to favor the financial and political security of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. In short, Simpson agreed to allow Catholic priests into Oregon if the
priests would establish themselves "on the Cowlitz Portage," a prairie north of the Columbia River. To be sure, the Governor hoped that the presence of priests on the Cowlitz would lure the French Canadian Catholics away from the American-infested Willamette Valley. The Governor and Committee also hoped that the Cowlitz community would strengthen a British claim to the lands north of the Columbia. To further tip the scale in favor of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Board of Governors sent its own reinforcement of settlers from the Red River to Oregon, another dramatic reversal of time-honored policy against settlement.

Distrustful of the Hudson's Bay Company intentions, and wary of the conditions placed on his Catholic missionaries, Archbishop Signay responded to the Company with a carefully calculated plan of action for his missionaries to follow. The bishops of Canada knew that the Hudson's Bay Company exercised immense political and economic influence over the lives of their employees, past and present. Archbishop Signay knew that the settlers of the Willamette Valley, most of whom were recent retirees of the Company, were no exception to the rule. Signay responded to Simpson's restrictions by outlining an innovative plan for his missionaries. Signay specified that his priests "shall consider their first object" not the French Canadian families, who had requested the services of the priest, but rather "the savage tribes scattered over that country."
second object, Signay wrote, was "to extend their help to the poor Christians...living in the region." Signay reasoned that this more inclusive plan would afford his missionaries the greater mobility and freedom to minister to all of the residents of Oregon country, white and Indian alike. The strategy succeeded, and within the year, the conditions placed on the priests were lifted.

Reverend Francis Norbert Blanchet departed from Montreal on Thursday, May 3, 1838, and arrived at Red River thirty-three days later. There he rendezvoused with his fellow missionary, the Reverend Modeste Demers. During their short stay at Red River, the two Catholic missionaries also met Chief Factor John McLoughlin, who was on furlough destined for Montreal and London. On July 10, the clerics embarked upon their journey to the Pacific Northwest, accompanied by ten boats of men, women, and children headed for Oregon country. Throughout the eighty-four day trip, the travellers were exposed to considerable hardship and danger. Twelve lives were lost in a tragic drowning accident.

In the midst of the difficulties, the Catholic priests consoled themselves with sentiments akin to those of the Methodist-Episcopal missionaries, i.e., that "Oregon would soon resound with the praises of the Holy Name of Jesus...." Finally, on November 24, 1838, the brigade arrived at Fort Vancouver, and the missionaries contemplated the future of the Catholic missions in Oregon.
IV. ENDNOTES


2On March 1, 1833, the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, the most important periodical of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, published two letters, one from William Walker, the other from G. P. Disoway. The former referred to "an anecdote" regarding the visitation of four Indians from west of the Rocky Mountains with General William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis. Walker claimed that the Indians had come to seek the "true mode of worshipping the great Spirit...in order to enjoy his favor...in this life...and after death...live forever with him." According to Walker, the Indians had learned about "a book containing directions how to conduct themselves..." from "some white men" who had "penetrated into their country." The latter, G. P. Disoway responded to Walker's anecdote with a call to action, admonishing members of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, "Let the Church awake from her slumbers, and go forth in her strength to the salvation of these wandering sons of our native forests." In Christian Advocate and Journal, Microfilm Division, University of Washington, reel 1750, A444, p. 1.

Roman Catholic officials, by contrast, maintained that the Flathead Indians had been catechized by Catholic Iroquois from Canada, who had come West with North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. On October 20, 1839, Joseph Roseti, Bishop of St. Louis, wrote that the object of the Flathead visit to General Clark was to procure Catholic missionaries "who would teach them the divine law." Letter quoted in F. N. Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church, pp. 18-19. Both denominations used the Flathead Indians' visit as a vehicle to gain the popular sympathy and financial support needed to finance the costly missions of Oregon territory.


5 Daniel Lee, J. M. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon, 1844, p. 128.


9 Daniel Lee, Ten Years in Oregon, 1844, p. 127.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 F. G. Young, ed., The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-1836, (Eugene, 1899), p. 66.


14 Matthew 28:19.


16 Ibid., p. 193.

17 Jason Lee, Diary, p. 261.

18 Daniel Lee, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 125.

20 Daniel Lee, *Ten Years in Oregon*, p. 128.


22 Ibid., p. 401.

23 Ibid., p. 141


28 "Petition of Willamette Settlers to the Bishop of Juliopolis," March 22, 1836, copy in Manuscripts Division, Oregon State Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.


32 Ibid.


34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Methodist Annual Report, May 21, 1838, p. 10.
38 Ibid.
39 "Petition of Willamette Settlers to the Bishop of Juliopolis," March 8, 1837, copy in Manuscripts Division, Oregon State Historical Society.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
45 Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 42.
46 Ibid., p. 42.
47 Ibid., p. 31.
48 Ibid., p. 78.
50 Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


"Letter of Sir George Simpson to Archbishop of Quebec," April 17, 1838. Archives of Archdiocese of Quebec, Also quoted in Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 25.

"Archbishop Signay to Fathers Blanchet and Demers," April 17, 1838. Archives of Archdiocese of Quebec.

Ibid.