

EPILOGUE

Trial and Transition

In the autumn of 1847, Archbishop F. N. Blanchet reviewed the state of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest. In less than ten years, the fledgling Church had undergone dramatic transformation. Surveying the four corners of his Province, from Vancouver Island to California, from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, Archbishop Blanchet was especially concerned about one region, the Oregon interior. This newly established Diocese stood out in bold relief.

To the far north, Bishop Modeste Demers prepared to minister to the natives and whites from his post on Vancouver Island. In the south, and along the Puget Sound, the Archbishop, in conjunction with ten priests and thirteen sisters, worked among the residents of the Oregon City Archdiocese. At the eastern-most reaches of the Province, Jesuit Fathers continued to maintain four mission stations for the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. Now, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet, brother of the Archbishop, along with seven

assistants, had prepared "to extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ"¹ among the natives of the interior. It was there, in the Oregon interior, that mission families of the American Board had worked for over a decade, virtually unimpeded by resident Catholic missionaries. In the fall of 1847, F. N. Blanchet anxiously watched and waited while his brother, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet, set the machinery of the Walla Walla Diocese into motion.

On October 8, 1847, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet issued his first pastoral letter to the clergy and lay people of the Diocese of Walla Walla. In this Mandate of Entry, the Bishop formally claimed possession of his See, and outlined the goals of his ministry in the newly established Diocese: "We shall labor to affirm the faithful in the faith and to make Jesus Christ rule over the nations which have not yet had the grace of knowing Him."² At the onset of his episcopacy, A. M. A. Blanchet publicly acknowledged that his appointment as Bishop of Walla Walla was a burden "greater than our strength...."³ But the Bishop also took solace in the Pauline notion that "God delights Himself often in employing weak and lowly tools."⁴ In the same vein, Blanchet regarded himself as a man sent by God "in the same manner that Peter and Paul were sent...[to] the inhabitants of Samaria...."⁵ The Bishop praised the Catholic residents of the Walla Walla Diocese for their history of faith and

good works, which he had heard about long before leaving Quebec. At the same time, Blanchet asked the people for "perfect submission to all that we may demand of you in the order of salvation, [that] you will be docile to Our voice, as the voice of your first pastor...."⁶ Clearly, A. M. A. Blanchet expected his people to respond to his spiritual direction with docility and submission. At the beginning of his ministry, he reminded the people that they owed him and his collaborators a "tribute of gratitude"⁷ for the sacrifices that he and his clergy had made in their behalf.

From Bishop Blanchet's perspective, the stage was set, the program outlined, the players rehearsed, and the roles delineated. A. M. A. Blanchet and his fellow missionaries believed that they had been sent by God to this remote pastorate for a single purpose--"the sanctification of souls."⁸ As Bishop, Blanchet envisioned himself as the Chief Shepherd, charged with the spiritual care of his flock, the natives and whites of the Walla Walla Diocese. In his mind, his work and the work of the Good Shepherd were one. As pastor, Blanchet felt responsible for providing his flock with spiritual nourishment, for seeking out lost sheep, i.e., lapsed Catholics, and for gathering all of the lambs, especially "infidel"⁹ Indians, into the one fold of Christ. According to this schema, he and his assistant shepherds were to ward off marauders, combat false shepherds, and expose wolves in sheepskin, in particular, the clergy of the Protestant pale.

Like his brother, Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, the Bishop hoped that his teaching and preaching would weaken the Protestant stronghold, and in due season, win the Indians over to Catholicism. In this manner, A. M. A. Blanchet hoped to force Protestant ministers to seek pastorates outside of his diocese, if not outside the Oregon Territory. In the beginning, A. M. A. Blanchet publicly prayed for divine assistance: "We raise our hands to heaven every day to urge the Father of mercy and consolation to fill with the most abundant graces the shepherds and the flock...."¹⁰

Conversion of the natives who were scattered throughout the Oregon interior, represented a looming challenge to the Bishop of Walla Walla. Unfamiliar with Northwest natives' habits and intimidated by the Presbyterians' decade old mission effort among the Indians, Blanchet resolved to gather the natives into the "one fold of the Good Shepherd."¹¹ To this end, Blanchet amassed information regarding the natives' whereabouts, their habits, their culture, and their disposition toward both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Within a few months, the Bishop gleaned detailed information about his prospective converts. The information came from traders, trappers, and from the Indians themselves.

In one of his earliest letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the principal source of funding for the mission Diocese, A. M. A. Blanchet identified and

and commented on the Indian tribes living within the boundaries of the Walla Walla diocese:

The Walla Wallas are of all the Indians on the Columbia the most difficult to unite because there is no forest on their lands. The Indians of The Dalles and the Deschutes are at the western extremity just as the Yakimas, the Cayuse, Nez Percé, and the Palouse are at the eastern expreimity....The Indians that reside in the south of my diocese are not known, the whites not having travelled through these places for the fur trade.¹²

From the beginning, the Bishop was disquieted by the fact that Presbyterian missionaries were well established among the main Indian communities within the Oregon interior. Desiring to "increase the number of children for Holy Mother Church,"¹³ the Bishop and his missionaries contemplated strategies for winning the favor and confidence of the tribes of Indians living within their jurisdiction. Archbishop F. N. Blanchet and Bishop Modeste Demers advised the neophyte Bishop of Walla Walla that he must first gain the confidence of Indian chiefs and leaders. Then, the seasoned prelates told A. M. A. Blanchet, the missionaries of the Walla Walla Diocese might also gain the conversion of the entire tribe. A. M. A. Blanchet took the missionaries' counsel to heart.

To his great relief, A. M. A. Blanchet learned that portions of the mission field had already been prepared for the arrival of resident missionaries. In fact, Catholic traders and their families, along with certain Indian tribes,

had been promised by itinerant missionaries that a resident priest would one day come to live among them. In his early conversations with Mr. William McBean, Superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, Blanchet learned that missionaries from the Willamette Valley and the Rocky Mountains had made intermittent visits to the Oregon interior for the past nine years. Also, the French Canadian traders, many of whom were Roman Catholic, had frequently spoken to their Indian trade partners about the "Blackgown long before they were visited by a priest."¹⁴

In previous years, Father Modeste Demers, the peripatetic Bishop-elect of Vancouver Island, had visited the tribes who lived in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla. As early as 1839, Demers had conducted a two-week mission for the Cayuse Indians on the Umatilla River. During subsequent visits with the Cayuse chiefs, he promised that he would one day send a permanent missionary into their homeland. At the close of each visit, the travelling priest asked the Indians steadfastly to resist the overtures of Presbyterian missionaries until the day when the resident Catholic priest came to live among them. Archbishop F. N. Blanchet described one of Demers' sojourns to the Indians and whites of the interior in 1839:

...Father Demers arrived at Fort Colville where he entered at once on a mission which lasted for thirty-three days and resulted very beneficially to the employers (sic) of the H. B. Co., as well as to the numerous Indians gathered around the

fort. On his return trip he also gave an eight day mission at O'Kanagan (sic) and spent two weeks at Walla Walla to the great joy of the assembled Indians and the few whites employed around the fort.¹⁵

As recently as August, 1847, Jesuit Father Joseph Joset, friend and associate of Pierre DeSmet, S. J., had also taught among the Cayuse on the Umatilla River, about thirty miles south of Fort Walla Walla. Superintendent McBean informed the Bishop that Father Joset had also erected a large mission cross on the land of Tawatoe (Young Chief), "with the intention of building a chapel there."¹⁶

On the first day he arrived at Fort Walla Walla, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet received his first visit from a local Indian chief, Peo Peo Mox Mox, leader of the Walla Walla Indians. In their brief exchange, A. M. A. Blanchet learned that the epidemic of measles and smallpox raging through the local tribes had recently claimed the lives of Peo Peo Mox Mox's wife and child. Bishop Blanchet attempted to console the grieving chief. Viewing the chief's unannounced visit as a providential opportunity to win the native's favor, Blanchet quickly directed the conversation to the mission plans of the Catholic Diocese of Walla Walla. Speaking through an interpreter, Blanchet told the disconsolate chief of his intentions to establish a "mission among the natives who desired to have them,"¹⁷ in particular, the Cayuse Indians. The prelate concluded his conversation on a diplomatic note--"I would be happy to begin with the natives that

bore the name of my diocese."¹⁸ The chief made no response to the Bishop's offer until the next day.

Blanchet reported that when Peo Peo Mox Mox returned on the following day, he was "better disposed"¹⁹ towards the Bishop's proposal. During his second encounter, the chief expressed his regret that the Catholics planned to establish their first mission among the Cayuse. The Walla Walla Chief then asked Blanchet to consider settling first among his people. Capitalizing on the spirit of competition that existed among the tribes, Blanchet agreed to build the first mission of his Diocese among the Walla Walla people.

After his second visit with Peo Peo Mox Mox, Bishop Blanchet appointed Father Pascual Ricard, O. M. I. "to see if it would be possible to form an establishment on the Yakima River."²⁰ Escorted by the brother of the Walla Walla chief, and accompanied by an interpreter from the Hudson's Bay Company, Ricard departed for the Yakima River tribes on September 11, 1847. While still some miles from his destination, Ricard found many lodges of the Walla Wallas scattered along the river. These Indians residing on the Yakima River urged the priest to settle among them. Ricard reported that they even "pressed him so strongly not to go further, that he thought he ought to promise them that he would remain with them."²¹

Ricard expressed his misgivings about settling in a region so devoid of the timber that he needed to construct a

mission house and chapel. But the enthusiastic Indians countered Ricard's objections with the pledge that they would float timber down the river in order to provide wood for his mission buildings. Elated by the hospitable reception he had received from the Walla Walla people, Ricard promised that he would attempt to open a mission among them. Returning once more to Fort Walla Walla, the priest wrote that "his heart [was] overflowing with joy and consolation"²² at the warm welcome he had received from the Indians on the Yakima River. Within the month, Peo Peo Mox Mox donated a tract of land to Father Ricard between the Yakima and Columbia Rivers. On October 8, 1847, as the Oblates left the Fort to establish the Mission of St. Rose on the Yakima River, Blanchet commissioned Ricard in these words: "Your mission, Rev. Father, for the moment offers only pains and privations. You will be well compensated, I hope, by the joy that you will feel in augmenting the number of children of the Church...."²³

Mr. William McBean, Superintendent of Fort Walla Walla, also provided A. M. A. Blanchet with detailed information about another tribe of potential converts, the Cayuse on the Umatilla River. According to the Superintendent, the Cayuse tribe was subdivided into smaller tribes, three or four in number, each governed by an independent chief. The Cayuse, who lived about thirty miles south of Fort Walla Walla, had for many years expressed an interest in Catholicism. Their

Chief, Tawatoe, called Young Chief by the French Canadians, had even reserved a house for the priests when they arrived on his land. Moreover, Mr. McBean revealed that Young Chief wielded great influence over all of the Cayuse tribes. This Chief of the Umatilla Cayuse was, according to McBean, considered the premier chief among the other Cayuse leaders. Once more, Blanchet wasted little time arranging a meeting with Young Chief. He hoped that Young Chief's profession of faith might lead to the conversion of many Cayuse, especially those who had come under the influence of the Presbyterian missionaries of the American Board.

According to Superintendent McBean, who knew Young Chief very well, this Cayuse leader had made repeated offers to provide a house and property for a Catholic mission among his people. In his Historical Sketches, F. N. Blanchet described the attitude of Young Chief and his people toward the Catholic Church: "...They were calling for priests since 1838....This first camp was Catholic at heart, and their chief Tawatowe (sic) offered a home to the Bishop."²⁴ Upon learning of this Cayuse chief's amenability toward Catholic missionaries, A. M. A. Blanchet took advantage of a highly favorable situation. Without hesitation, the Bishop arranged to meet Young Chief, and negotiate the establishment of a Catholic mission among his Cayuse tribe.

In mid-September, 1847, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet travelled to Young Chief's land, a six and one-half hour

journey from Fort Walla Walla. Travelling by horseback, A. M. A. Blanchet was accompanied by Mr. McBean, the friend of Young Chief, and also an interpreter from the Hudson's Bay Company. Arriving at the house of Young Chief, a dwelling that the Hudson's Bay Company had donated to the chief, the trio was disappointed to learn that the Cayuse Chief was away on a hunting expedition. The Cayuse Indians informed the Bishop that their chief would be absent from his lodge for many weeks. To further complicate the Bishop's plight, the young braves of the Cayuse lodge refused to allow their white visitors to remain in Young Chief's house for more than one night. Disappointed to find the chief away, and wary of the young men's defensive posture, McBean counseled the Bishop to vacate the region until Young Chief returned.

Departing for Fort Walla Walla on the following morning, A. M. A. Blanchet contemplated the prior day's events, wondering "...if God wished otherwise for me, or better, wished to delay my establishment."²⁵ On the journey back to the Fort, Blanchet fashioned an alternative plan to the Umatilla mission project, and decided to bring the Cayuse chiefs together to discuss his proposal. In lieu of establishing a mission for the exclusive benefit of the Umatilla Cayuse, Blanchet considered opening a central mission for the benefit of all the Cayuse tribes. The Bishop believed that his idea had been inspired by God: "In effect, God gave

me the idea of reuniting all the Cayuse in order to form a single mission, and to have the Chiefs come together to discuss it and to place the mission where they would desire it."²⁶ This alternative plan, Blanchet reasoned was a more efficient way to use his limited resources and personnel in the unwieldy Diocese of Walla Walla.

In late October, 1847, Young Chief returned from the hunt. Having heard the news of the blackrobe's visit, the Cayuse Chief immediately rode to Fort Walla Walla, and on October 26, met with Bishop Blanchet. Blanchet was anxious to hear Young Chief affirm McBean's report that the Cayuse Indians were indeed prepared to welcome a Catholic missionary on their land. The Bishop was not disappointed. Moreover, the Indian leader reiterated his offer to provide a house and land for a Catholic mission. Upon hearing Young Chief's affirming words, A. M. A. Blanchet gingerly proposed the alternate plan he had devised on the return from the Umatilla River.

Clearly, this new plan was a risk, precluding the establishment of a mission among the only branch of the Cayuse who had invited Catholic missionaries on their land. Bishop Blanchet explained to the Chief that he needed to establish a mission that would benefit all the Cayuse people, not only those of the remote Umatilla district. The bishop rationalized his proposal by adding that his diocese was vast and

his missionaries few in number. Anticipating the chief's disappointment, Blanchet was relieved to hear Young Chief's response. Blanchet wrote, "the plan pleased him [Young Chief] immediately...."²⁷ Before he departed from Fort Walla Walla, Young Chief agreed to discuss the Bishop's proposal with the other Cayuse chiefs, and inform Blanchet of their decision. Before his departure, Young Chief suggested to Blanchet that he consider establishing the central Catholic mission on Chief Tilocate's land "where one finds a greater part of the Cayuse."²⁸ The suggestion was laden with difficulty. The location that Young Chief had suggested was adjacent to Waiilatpu, the mission of Doctor Marcus Whitman and the mission families of the American Board.

According to his word, Young Chief presented Bishop Blanchet's project to his fellow chiefs, Tilocate and Camaspelo. The two Cayuse leaders subsequently conferred with Blanchet in early November, 1847. Tilocate was the first to speak, asking the Bishop a host of questions, some of which suggested that he had also discussed the Catholic mission plans with the missionaries of the American Board. Blanchet reported that the chief asked questions regarding the Pope, the priests' means of support, and their intention about building a mission among the Indians. After hearing the tenor of Tilocate's words, Blanchet expected the Chief

to deny him permission to build a Catholic mission on his land. However, in deference to Young Chief, Tilocate stated that "he not go against the word of Tawatoe [Young Chief], and that he would give us land for the mission."²⁹ Soon thereafter, the Bishop sent his own representative, Father J. B. Brouillet, to Tilocate's land. The Bishop instructed his assistant to survey the area and begin preparations for the establishment of a central Catholic mission among the Cayuse Indians.

When Father Brouillet contacted Tilocate on November 8, 1847, he was stunned by the Chief's sudden change of heart. Instead of providing Brouillet with a parcel of land for the establishment of a Catholic mission, Tilocate had withdrawn his offer. Instead of allowing the Catholics to begin the immediate construction of their mission, the Chief deferred the construction project until Spring. Then, said Chief Tilocate, the Catholics "would be able to have the house and all the property of the Doctor"³⁰--Doctor Marcus Whitman.

Brouillet could not accept the altered terms of Tilocate's offer. Disappointed by his failure to acquire the promised land, and troubled by the Chief's cryptic message regarding the Doctor, Father Brouillet rejected the Indian's proposal, and returned to his Bishop at Fort Walla Walla.

Upon hearing that Tilocate had reneged on his offer, coupled with the Chief's curious words involving the Whitman

mission, Blanchet had little recourse. With winter quickly approaching, the Bishop and his colleagues were forced to settle in the sparsely populated land of Young Chief. As soon as he arrived on Towatoe's land, the Bishop warned the Cayuse Chief about Tilocate's radical change of heart, and his ominous message regarding Doctor Whitman.

Soon after Father Brouillet returned to Fort Walla Walla, Bishop Blanchet dispatched his seminarian, Louis Rousseau, to prepare Young Chief's house for occupation. On November 11, 1847, Mr. Rousseau departed for the Umatilla district, ordered to repair the fallen chimney, the broken doors, and uncaulked walls of the perspective diocesan headquarters. Unahppy that they had failed to procure property in the more densely populated region near Doctor Whitman's mission, the disappointed Bishop and his colleagues departed for their "provisional palace"³¹ on November 27, 1847. Bishop Blanchet described his diocesan headquarters as "nothing more than a Bethlehem stable,"³² a location much inferior to Waiilatpu, where the majority of the natives resided. However, the house served as a satisfactory shelter from bad weather, and a place to begin the work of evangelization among the Indians of the Oregon interior.

The same day that Blanchet and his party arrived at their new headquarters, they received unexpected guests-- Doctor Marcus Whitman and the Reverend Henry Spalding,

missionaries of the American Board. The ministers had come to the Umatilla district ostensibly to minister to the sick and dying Cayuse, and in all likelihood, to view firsthand the newly established headquarters of the Diocese of Walla Walla. While the clergy were mutually suspicious and critical of each other's ministry, Blanchet described the ministers' visit in uncharacteristically cordial terms:

"I was honored with the visit of Doctor Whitman on Sunday after dinner; I offered to feed him but he declined, believing that he would be too delayed. He had to return home [Wailatpu] the same evening."³³

Preoccupied and restless, Doctor Whitman felt compelled to return to his mission. Reverend Spalding did not share the Doctor's sense of urgency. Instead, the minister returned to the Bishop's home on Monday evening and shared a second meal with the Catholic clergy. That same evening Spalding offered to share his orthography of the Nez Percé language with the Catholic missionaries. Nor did the minister "depart without inviting Msgr. Brouillet to go to see his home."³⁴ In an effort to return the minister's courtesy, Brouillet agreed to visit the American Board mission at Wailatpu as soon as possible.

Whether or not Bishop Blanchet conveyed Tilocate's cryptic words to Doctor Whitman during his visit on the Umatilla remains uncertain. By the time Whitman and Spalding

visited the Catholic clergy, however, Doctor Whitman was keenly aware that his mission among the Cayuse was in danger. But the full gravity of the situation eluded him.

Attempting to account for the restiveness of the Doctor during his visit at Blanchet's house, Bishop Blanchet later wrote, "I learned some days afterward that he (Doctor Whitman) was warned by a savage Cayuse that his life would be in danger at home."³⁵ But none, least of all the Doctor, imagined that the threats of the Cayuse would result in wholesale bloodshed. Blanchet and his colleagues, having resided in the region for only eight weeks, failed to grasp the significance of Tilocate's words. And Doctor Whitman, who was no stranger to threats from discontented Cayuse, gravely misjudged the seriousness of the latest warnings. Whitman believed that, as in times past, his presence at Waillatpu would act as a deterrent to malcontent natives. This time, however, the Doctor was unable to allay the hostility. With sickness and death ravaging their ranks, the Cayuse, "in a moment of despair, were carried to acts of cruelty."³⁶

For almost five years, Oregon territory had been inundated with white emigrants intent on settling on the rich farmlands of the Pacific Northwest. As the numbers of whites increased, the native population steadily declined, reduced by the scourge of measles and dysentery. While the Indians

were "swept away"³⁷ by the contagion, the whites appeared to be little affected by the disease. In an effort to aid the ailing Indians, Doctor Whitman had dispensed liberal quantities of medicine to the stricken people. Yet, in spite of his efforts, the mortality rate among the natives continued to soar.

Tragically, a certain band of Cayuse, small in number, began to suspect that the Doctor was dispensing "bad medicine"³⁸ to them in an effort to transfer the Indians' land and possessions to the white emigrants. One man, "a half-breed named Joe Lewis,"³⁹ even counseled the young braves of Tilocate's tribe, "If you do not kill the Doctor ...you will all be dead by spring."⁴⁰ A certain element of Cayuse,

Troubled with grief at seeing all their relatives die, and persuaded that he [the Doctor] also wished to make them die, and pushed on by the counsel of the metis [half-breed], went on to the deplorable excess of November 29....⁴¹

Mr. William Mc Bean, Superintendent of Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, blamed the horrible massacre at Waiilatpu on the disease that raged there. "...about thirty souls of the Cayuse tribe died, one after the other, who eventually suspected the doctor poisoned them....this has been the sole cause of the dreadful butchery."⁴²

As he had promised, Father Brouillet left for Waiilatpu on Tuesday afternoon, November 30, and arrived at the mission at dusk. There, he found the mutilated bodies of

Doctor Marcus Whitman, his wife Narcissa, and eight others, who had been felled by the band of hostile natives on the previous day. Father J. B. Brouillet provided a graphic account of the carnage at Wailatpu:

What a sight did I then behold! Ten dead bodies lying here and there, covered with blood and bearing the marks of the most atrocious cruelty--some pierced with balls, others more or less gashed by the hatchet. Dr. Whitman had received three gashes on the face, three others had their skulls crushed so that their brains were oozing out.⁴³

Nor was the violence to end there. Within the week three more members of the mission were killed, while forty-eight survivors, mostly children, were taken hostage and held until December 29, 1847.

Stunned, and afraid for his own safety, Brouillet remained in the neighborhood of the mission until dawn. Then, at first light, he and a French Canadian employee of the mission shrouded the dead, and buried them in a common grave. The small band of men who had carried out the violence watched the burial in silence. Brouillet implored the captors "to do no evil to the women and children, whose fate was not yet decided. But the chiefs not being present, he had no surety that his demand would be granted."⁴⁴

After the burial, Brouillet retreated from the camp. Remembering that Reverend Henry Spalding was en route to Wailatpu, Brouillet intercepted the minister and revealed "the horrors of the slaughter."⁴⁵ Brouillet then continued

on to Fort Walla Walla, while Mister McBean, Bishop Blanchet, and the people listened to the news in disbelief. Discussing the tragedy with his brother, F. N. Blanchet, the Bishop shuddered at the thought of things to come: "Their action seems to me to be a declaration of war against the Americans....When will this be appeased? I couldn't predict it....I hope that a prudent governor can find a way to appease them...."⁴⁶

In the same letter, the Bishop added an interesting addendum. In the aftermath of the hostility, the Bishop now believed that his failure to procure land adjacent to Doctor Whitman's mission had been guided by providence: "We have many prayers to offer God for not having permitted us to place our missions near the Doctor's for the winter...."⁴⁷

In the days that followed the massacre, hostility between Catholics and Protestants also soared to new heights. On January 27, 1849, Blanchet wrote:

With a certain number of citizens, prejudices are very great and they were nourished, excited by malice, and the sectarian spirit of some Reverend Ministers who would believe it...that the [Catholic] missionaries were the true authors of the massacre....⁴⁸

The taproot of conflict was grounded in the unfounded belief that the Catholic clergy had inspired the Cayuse to bring the Protestant missions of the interior to a violent close. Writing in the Missionary Herald, the editors of the American Board journal reminded the constituency of the

"incessant efforts of the Romanists to extend their influence over the Indians of Oregon."⁴⁹ Implicating the Catholic bishop and his missionaries for playing a part in the massacre, the editors continued "...it is at least possible that they have said and done that which has had an unforeseen and undesigned connection with the melancholy event...."⁵⁰ But the Reverend Henry Spalding was not quite so restrained in his allegations. Unlike his superiors, he directly accused A. M. A. Blanchet "and his clergy of having been the instigators of the horrible massacre."⁵¹

Nor was Spalding alone in his accusations. In January of 1848, Blanchet learned that among the American troops gathering to avenge the Wailatpu murders, "a certain number of the volunteers were saying openly that the priests would be the first killed."⁵² Blanchet was deeply fearful for his safety and for the well being of his clergy who were already working among the Indians at the St. Anne Mission on the Yakima River. He therefore hastened to allay the false belief that the Catholic missionaries had conspired with the Indians to kill Whitman and his company. Writing to Colonel Cornelius Gillian, commander of the American troops, Blanchet wrote: "...I think you can be caught in the snare which may be set for you, in order to create prejudices against the Catholic Religion and to its Ministers...."⁵³ Blanchet proceeded to address the specific points raised by his

detractors, i.e. that his missionaries had baptized nineteen of the murderers, and that the Catholics were returning to Waiilatpu for the purpose of "building on Dr. Whitman's place."⁵⁴ In his letter to Colonel Gillian, Bishop Blanchet protested, "...sir, is there any shadow of common sense in that....How in the name of the law, both divine and human, could we occupy another's property, a property still stained with his blood?"⁵⁵ By the time Blanchet met the American troops face to face, he reported "the army no longer judged the missionaries, as they had previously."⁵⁶

A pall of fear and uncertainty hung over the region. At first, Bishop Blanchet feared that the Cayuse might turn against all white residents of the region. Worried that Indian-white hostilities might escalate and involve the Catholic missionaries as well, the Bishop hastily consulted Young Chief once more. When he "learned of the good disposition of the Cayuse regarding the [Catholic] missionaries,"⁵⁷ the Bishop relaxed. After speaking to Young Chief, Blanchet and his clergy decided to resume their ministry of preaching and teaching among the natives of the interior. But their plans were changed by the arrival of American troops, who had come to seek out the murderers of Dr. Whitman and his companions.

Rumors of war raced through the territory. On December 16, 1847, two Nez Percé Chiefs travelled to Bishop

Blanchet's house on the Umatilla River. The leaders hoped to avert a violent confrontation with the Americans. The Nez Percés asked the Bishop to intervene in their behalf with the Great Chief of the whites, Governor George Abernathy. They feared that violence was about to spread throughout the entire region. Blanchet was moved by their words, and "prevailed upon them to continue their mission of peace...."⁵⁸ Bishop Blanchet assured them, "I would aid them with all my power,"⁵⁹ but only after he conferred with Young Chief and the other Cayuse leaders.

As a result of the Nez Percé Indians' request, Blanchet urged all of the local Cayuse Chiefs to hold a general council. Ultimately, the Bishop and Indians hoped to allay a violent confrontation with the American troops. Concomitantly, the Bishop hoped to secure the release of the hostages, a goal he was "unable to obtain"⁶⁰ by himself.

Parenthetically, the Bishop also learned that the Superintendent of Fort Vancouver, Mister Peter Ogden, was also en route to Fort Walla Walla. Mister Ogden hastened to Cayuse country for two reasons--"to protect Fort Walla Walla if it would be necessary, and to assist the women and orphans held hostage at Waillatpu."⁶¹

When he learned of Ogden's upcoming visit, Blanchet was forced to decide whether to hold a council with the Chiefs who were already assembled, or to postpone the summit until Ogden arrived. In the end, Blanchet decided to take

advantage of the favorable climate among the Indian chiefs, convening the council immediately.

During the initial session with the Indian leaders, Blanchet met "with Tawatoe, the head chief, Achekaia, his brother, Camaspelo, the military chief, and Tilocate, who alone lived near Waillatpu with his young men, and who was especially inculcated."⁶² Speaking through an interpreter, Blanchet praised the chiefs' efforts to deliberate together, and admonished them "that the massacre of the 29th would probably not have taken place if they had consulted together."⁶³ The Bishop's goal was "to make them understand the goodness of peace and the evil of war."⁶⁴ Each chief spoke in turn, with Young Chief speaking last. The premier leader concluded by saying, like the others, that he was in favor of peace, and urged the Bishop to intervene with the Chief of the whites (the Governor).

Blanchet wrote two letters to Governor George Abernathy. On December 21, 1847, he told the Governor that, by request of the Nez Percés, he had convened a council with the Cayuse chiefs, and learned of their unanimous desire for peace with the Americans. Blanchet continued, "...to make war on the Cayuse would be truly to carry this affair to all the Indians of the country."⁶⁵ In the same letter, the Bishop hoped to assuage the Americans' fears regarding the hostages at Waillatpu. "I hoped they [the Indians] would spare the women and children....They answered, 'We shall have pity on

them; no one shall do evil to them and they shall live as formerly'."66

On December 23, Mister Peter Ogden convened a second assembly of Indian chiefs. Ogden began the session by giving the Indians "a strong reprimand"⁶⁷ for the murders that had taken place at Waiilatpu. "We are here," Ogden reminded the Indians, "for negotiations, and the missionaries, to instruct you in your obligations."⁶⁸ After learning that Fort Walla Walla was secure, the superintendent hoped to negotiate the safe release of the captives at Waiilatpu. In this way he hoped to reduce the likelihood of an American blitz kreig. A true entrepreneur, Ogden promised to give the Indians "50 blankets, 10 rifles, 50 shirts, 10 lbs. of tobacco,"⁶⁹ and other goods in exchange for the captives. But he also added a stern caveat, stating that he could not guarantee that the Americans would not come to wage war with them.

At the close of the session, the Chiefs agreed to release the forty-eight hostages of Waiilatpu, most of whom were children, and to guarantee the safe passage of Mister Spalding and the other missionaries at Clear Water. Blanchet was upset by one element of the negotiations. He believed that the Cayuse "aggravated their wrongs"⁷⁰ by accepting the blankets and other goods offered by the Hudson's Bay Company. If they would have released the

captives without having received anything in return, they would have appeased the Americans, reasoned the Bishop. Nevertheless, the Indians accepted Ogden's terms, and agreed to release the captives of Waillatpu in exchange for the items listed by the Superintendent.

Despite the apparent accord between the whites and Indians, Bishop Blanchet, Mister Ogden and Mister McBean remained wary, knowing that "different rumors circulated among the Indians"⁷¹ regarding the activity of the American troops. "This was not the end of the drama," wrote Blanchet, [for] "there was a war taking shape,"⁷² a war which proved to be "disastrous for religion."⁷³

By the close of the year, rumors raced through the region that Americans were assembling at The Dalles, preparing to avenge the massacre at Waillatpu. Peter Ogden feared that, despite the efforts of the Bishop, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Indians, the Americans' show of force would shatter their peace efforts, and "make the Indians decide to retain the captives...."⁷⁴ By mid-January, the Indians' fears and the suspicions of the Hudson's Bay Company leaders and the Catholic Bishop were confirmed. The provisional legislature had already allocated funds for a militia, and nearly five hundred troops were en route to the interior.

In the "midst of all the disturbances, and anxieties of war,"⁷⁵ Blanchet and his missionaries attempted to resume

their work of preaching and teaching among the Cayuse. On Sunday, December 5, 1847, only days after the Whitman massacre, Blanchet conducted services for the Cayuse on the Umatilla. Only two Indians attended. On December 8, a feast day in the Catholic Church, "twenty came to the Mass."⁷⁶ Encouraged by the increase, Blanchet instituted catechism classes "four or five hours every day."⁷⁷ As many as eighty Cayuse attended his Sunday services in late December and January. After two and one-half months of intense evangelization, the missionaries baptized fifty Cayuse, "among which were found the premier chief and three second chiefs."⁷⁸ With the aid of an interpreter, the Bishop also translated

the sign of the cross, the Pater, the Ave, the Credo, the commandments of God, the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, and four or five chapters of the Catechism, containing the explanation of the principal mysteries of the religion, [and] two hymns.⁷⁹

Then, in February, "after the first engagement with American troops, the Indians abandoned their camp, and fled to the mountains,"⁸⁰ bringing the mission, "which had all my [Blanchet's] affections,"⁸¹ to a close.

In the face of war, Bishop Blanchet and his companions abandoned their missions, and, on February 20, 1848, sought refuge at Fort Walla Walla. They remained at the Fort until March 13th, when, wrote Blanchet, "seeing that there was no possibility of returning to my dear Cayuse for a long time,

they withdrew to The Dalles."⁸² Joining "a number of victims on the waters of the Columbia...we left The Dalles on barges,"⁸³ the clergy continuing on to Fort Vancouver, then to the Willamette Valley. By March 25, the Bishop of Walla Walla and his missionary party joined Archbishop F. N. Blanchet at his residence in Oregon City. A. M. A. Blanchet considered the move temporary, and anticipated the "happy moment that...I shall take the road to my mission anew..."⁸⁴ a moment that would never arrive.

While he was in residence with his brother at St. Paul's Mission, A. M. A. Blanchet expressed profound regrets that he had abandoned his Diocese "in an inclement season."⁸⁵ He remained convinced that the Indian population of the interior had "an ardent desire...to receive the words of everlasting life,"⁸⁶ and vowed to return to them at the earliest hour. In April of 1848, word circulated that "the war was drawing to an end."⁸⁷ Elated, Blanchet made hasty arrangements to return his missionaries to their posts.

On May 3rd, Blanchet sent a letter to Governor George Abernathy informing him of his intention to reopen his missions in the Oregon interior. In his letter to Abernathy, Blanchet wrote:

...we teach them that according to the word of the Savior, all the commandments are summarized into two--love of God and love of neighbor. Once they have acquired this knowledge, they will no longer let the desire for murder and vengeance go forth.⁸⁸

Blanchet received no response to his letter to the Governor. Interpreting the Governor's silence as "a sign that the Government did not oppose my return to my Diocese,"⁸⁹ Blanchet then sent Father Rousseau to The Dalles "to see the Indians there, and sound their intentions...."⁹⁰ On May 22, after making an arduous trip through deep snow, Rousseau returned with optimistic news that the Wascos and Deschutes Indians, who lived in the region of The Dalles, "seemed to be well disposed and desirous of a Missionary."⁹¹ Encouraged by Rousseau's words, Blanchet made preparations to set up temporary headquarters at The Dalles, a move Blanchet considered a stopgap measure.

On May 26, 1848, Bishop Blanchet left St. Paul's Mission in Oregon City, destined for Waskapom (The Dalles). There Blanchet planned to establish provisional headquarters until he could safely return to the environs of Fort Walla Walla. Learning that the parcel of land Father Rousseau had selected for interim headquarters had been claimed by Americans, the Bishop chose a second site--about a mile from the old Methodist/Presbyterian mission. On the fourteenth of June, the bishop hired a man to cut and hew wood for a log residence and chapel, which the Bishop placed under the patronage of St. Peter.

All went well, Blanchet reported, until a letter arrived from H. A. Lee, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In his

letter, Lee advised the Bishop that Indian-white relations were still "too precarious,"⁹² for the clergy to return to their posts. At the same time, he forbade the missionaries to resume their labors among the Indians of the interior.

H. A. Lee told the Bishop on June 15 that

...no further missionary effort should be made with the Indians east of the Cascade mountains until the presence of well organized and disciplined troops under command of U.S. officers shall render efforts safe and judicious.⁹³

The Bishop had a difficult decision to make. In light of his friendship with the Cayuse, and motivated by his desire to return to them, Blanchet looked for a way to evade the Superintendent's orders. Studying Lee's letter, the Bishop decided to continue his building project at The Dalles, reasoning that the order would not prevent a citizen from building a home or place of business, regardless of its purpose. Also, aware that Lee's orders expressly prohibited the missionaries from working among the Cayuse, the Bishop ordered Fathers Brouillet and Rousseau to go to Fort Walla Walla, ostensibly to reclaim the property left behind at the mission. Their real purpose was to "see if they could do some good among the Indians."⁹⁴

At Fort Walla Walla, the priests encountered a new obstacle. Fearing that the missionaries' actions might result in American retaliation, the Hudson's Bay Company refused to grant domicile to the two priests. Realizing

that their presence might exacerbate the already volatile situation, the priests quickly withdrew from the region, but not without first gathering the few animals and valuables that remained at their mission on the Umatilla River. Annoyed with the Hudson's Bay Company's lack of support, Bishop Blanchet confided to a fellow bishop, "You see, Monsignor, that we have to bear our battles alone in this 'land of liberty'."⁹⁵

Upon learning of Blanchet's latest missionary activity, the local Indian agent, Mr. Henry Saffarrons, also joined in the contest. The Agent registered his objections that the Catholics had acted "contrary to the edict of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs."⁹⁶ Blanchet quickly responded, explaining the rationale for his recent missionary activities. First of all, Blanchet wrote, it was "the Indians of the Chutes and others who came to see me,"⁹⁷ and not vice versa. The Bishop continued, "they came, sometimes and asked some explanations of the creation of the world, and so forth."⁹⁸ He contended that the missionaries' response to the inquisitive natives could not properly be considered "missionary labors"⁹⁹ carried out in defiance of the Superintendent's orders. Rather, Blanchet reasoned, his work with the natives might more properly be classified as "Christian labors," the kind "you might have done yourself."¹⁰⁰ The Bishop omitted the fact that he had also

conducted regular classes for the Indians in Catholic doctrine and prayer, using the Catholic Ladder as his principal catechetical device.

In reference to his priests' short-lived return to the Cayuse Indians at Fort Walla Walla, Blanchet answered Mr. Saffarrons that the priests had gone there "that all the goods of the mission be caried [sic] into this place, wherein they would be safe...."¹⁰¹ Regarding the construction of the Catholic mission of St. Peter's at The Dalles, Blanchet put Saffarrons on the defensive:

...I could not find a single word...that I should not have in my Diocese a house where I could live and fulfil my religious exercises with my col-laborators. Indeed, as a citizen I was inclined to think that we were on a foot of equality with all the citizens of Oregon, our adoptive country.¹⁰²

Blanchet's letter "immediately satisfied"¹⁰³ the Indian Agent, who asked the Bishop's pardon "for the pain and trouble"¹⁰⁴ he had caused by his inquiry. Referring to Blanchet's missionary work among the Indians of The Dalles, which the Bishop had described as Christian labors, Saffarrons considered it "a most righteous and magnanimous act in anyone to give these poor benighted beings all the light and instruction...upon the subject of christianity [sic] and civilization...."¹⁰⁵ On every count, the Indian Agent had softened his orders. Blanchet therefore continued to work on the house and mission chapel project of St. Peter, having the assurance from Saffarrons that "it is most

assuredly your undoubted right as a man and a free citizen of Oregon to make any and all such improvements...."¹⁰⁶

Undoubtedly, Mr. Saffarrons' change of policy emanated from a higher government authority. Saffarrons' abrupt about face preceded the change of government that took place in the following months.

In August of 1848, the Territorial Government was officially established in Oregon. By March of 1849, Governor Lane and the other government officials arrived in the region, declaring "the laws of the Great Republic have become the laws of the Territory."¹⁰⁷ For their part, the officials of the Catholic Church welcomed the newly established government. Blanchet said: "Instead of a provisional government with all the weaknesses inherent in its structures, we have a strong government, well-constituted, capable of protecting the weak and the innocent."¹⁰⁸ The Bishop also heaped praise upon President Polk's choice for Governor--Mr. Joseph Lane. The Bishop characterized the Territorial Governor as "a liberal man," "impartial," one who understands his mission perfectly," a Governor who renders "justice for all."¹⁰⁹ Under Lane's leadership, "religious persecution has stopped,"¹¹⁰ wrote the Bishop, and the missionaries were finally permitted "to evangelize freely among the Indians of the Diocese."¹¹¹

Under Governor Lane's leadership, government officials expressly allowed Blanchet and his missionaries to resume their work among the Indians once more. However, the two year period, during which Indian evangelization was halted, had taken a heavy toll on the Catholic missions of Oregon. The "scourge of war"¹¹² had made even the most receptive Indian suspicious and fearful of outsiders. Blanchet complained that "even the best-disposed Chiefs [were] not without fear that yet another disaster will occur."¹¹³ For the time being, only the distant Jesuit missions in the Rocky Mountains escaped the damaging effects of war, a state of equilibrium that would also change.

To further complicate Blanchet's plight, fewer missionaries than ever were available to minister among the Indians of the Oregon interior. During the Cayuse uprising, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate had directed much of their attention toward the peaceable Indians of the Puget Sound. The highly independent Oblate superior, Father Pascual Ricard, opened two new missions in 1848, one near Olympia (Priest's Point), and the other among the Yakima Indians. Faced with a clergy shortage, and financial deficits, Blanchet wrote to a fellow bishop in Montreal, "...this is no place to be puffed up, but rather to be humbled....For ourselves, we have made scarcely more progress in the material than in the Spiritual...."¹¹⁴

In spite of the setbacks of the previous two years, Blanchet and his clergy fully intended to resume their missionary activity among the Indians of the Walla Walla Diocese. By 1850, the Bishop finally decided to maintain his permanent headquarters at The Dalles, rather than uprooting once again. The Dalles, Blanchet reasoned, was the exit to the Cascade Mountains, and had "every appearance that it would soon become important."¹¹⁵ However, the Bishop's intentions to return his clergy to their posts, and establish his headquarters at The Dalles, were dashed by unexpected news.

"My joy would not be of long duration,"¹¹⁶ wrote the Bishop of Walla Walla. Just as he prepared to declare The Dalles as the permanent headquarters of the Diocese, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith withdrew funding from the interior missions. Convinced that the Bishop and his missionaries had won too few converts to warrant further funding, the Society transferred its resources to more profitable branches of the mission Church. Their action was the coup de grace for the Diocese of Walla Walla.

Plunged into unexpected financial crisis, Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet desperately sought relief from the burdens of the Walla Walla Diocese. His own brother, Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, was able to offer the Bishop little more than sympathy and advice. The recent gold rush in California had

drastically reduced the population of his own Oregon City Archdiocese, forcing F. N. Blanchet to close his schools and reduce expenses. Bishop Modeste Demers, in the Diocese of Vancouver, was at least as poor as the Bishop of Walla Walla.

The languishing state of the Indian missions, an over-taxed clergy, and the devastating loss of funding from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, forced A. M. A. Blanchet to take drastic remedial measures. After conferring with his brother, Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, the Bishop petitioned the Vatican to suppress the ailing Diocese of Walla Walla, and transfer the see to a more populated and prosperous region. Blanchet suggested that the Holy See consider establishing a bishopric north of the Columbia River, along the regions of Puget Sound.

In mid-October, 1850, the Bishop of Walla Walla learned that the Holy See had received his appeal, and taken the steps necessary to allay the burdens of his episcopacy. On May 31, 1850, Pope Pius IX erected the Diocese of Nisqually, and named A. M. A. Blanchet as its first Bishop. In the same papal bull, the Pontiff transferred the administration of the Walla Walla Diocese to F. N. Blanchet, the Archbishop of Oregon City.

The establishment of the Diocese of Nisqually proved to be a propitious move for the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest. During the 1850s, when Washington gained territorial status, streams of emigrants began to settle in the

lands along the Puget Sound, north of the Columbia River. In 1849, Marshall Joe Meek reported only "304 inhabitants"¹¹⁷ living in counties north of the Columbia River. The 1850 census "showed a population of 1049. Three years later an estimated 4000 persons were scattered in small villages in the eastern and southern shores and over the prairies of Cowlitz."¹¹⁸ According to the Church census¹¹⁹ of 1851, four hundred baptized Catholics resided in the Diocese of Nisqually at the time of its establishment. Another one hundred persons were added to its ranks in the census of 1852.¹²⁰ By 1855, Blanchet counted 3,500 Catholics living in the Diocese of Nisqually.¹²¹

Although the Diocesan seat was nominally located at Nisqually, Blanchet quickly realized that Vancouver would be the most important city north of the Columbia River. As a result, A. M. A. Blanchet used "the little church which the Hudson's Bay Company built some years ago..."¹²² as his pro-cathedral, and retained his headquarters in Vancouver. As families began to settle in Vancouver and the surrounding area, A. M. A. Blanchet also saw the need for schools and teachers. To be sure, The Catholic Bishop ardently desired to establish schools before the Protestant clergy made the first move:

Brothers and Sisters for the schools and buildings to lodge them are necessary immediately. What is most pressing is that there is not yet any regularly established public school in the whole diocese, and

if the Bishop would take the lead, the greater part of the Protestant children would come to those schools.¹²³

However, constrained by financial obligations, the Bishop was unable to transform his plan into reality immediately. Wishing to retire the debts of the Diocese of Walla Walla, and desiring one day to build a cathedral, a residence, convents, schools, a hospital, and charitable institutions, Blanchet "had the inspiration"¹²⁴ to travel to Catholic Mexico and appeal for funds. His idea paid high dividends. The detailed journal that Blanchet maintained during his travels revealed that the prelate amassed over 39,000 dollars in cash, along with a cache of vestments and vessels for the Nisqually Diocese.

Also, during his twenty-one month absence, the Bishop of Nisqually attended the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, the Council that set the tone and agenda for Blanchet's ministry in the Diocese of Nisqually. The bishops of the Council admonished one another "to build up the Church, by the teaching of the Gospel...."¹²⁵ In the practical order, they exhorted parents and pastors to "encourage the establishment and support of Catholic schools; make every sacrifice which may be necessary for this object."¹²⁶ The bishops also spoke of the need "to provide for every want of suffering humanity,"¹²⁷ building not only churches, seminaries, and schools, but also charitable institutions-- hospitals, orphanages, and asylums, "which Religion forbids

us to neglect."¹²⁸ Blanchet returned to the Pacific Northwest with a handsome purse from the Mexican people, and a detailed agenda from the Council of Baltimore. At the same time, the Diocese of Nisqually was devoid of the churches, schools, hospitals, and the charitable institutions spoken of so passionately by the fathers of the Council.

Once again, the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest was on the threshold of change. Guided by the mandates of the Baltimore Council, and bolstered by the generous donations of the Mexican people, the Bishop of Nisqually looked to the future with renewed confidence. No longer burdened by the cares of the Walla Walla Diocese, A. M. A. Blanchet and his assistants devoted their time and resources to the residents of the Pacific Northwest. In an effort to meet their spiritual and temporal needs, A. M. A. Blanchet and his collaborators established churches, schools, hospitals, asylums, and orphanages through the parameters of the Diocese. In the process, the Catholic Church became a powerful force in the settlement of the Washington Territory, leaving an indelible mark in the lives of its natives, and on those who were coming West in search of a better life.

ENDNOTES

¹"Mandate of Entry of the Bishop of Walla to the Clergy and Faithful of the Walla Walla Diocese, October 8, 1847," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, pp. 40-44, tr. K. Rosenstiel, Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle (hereafter cited as A. A. S.).

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²"Report to the Leopoldine Society and the Propagation of the Faith, May 15, 1838," p. 65, in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

¹³Ibid., p. 66

¹⁴F. N. Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Bishop of Oregon, originally published as a series of articles for the Catholic Sentinel, official newspaper for the Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon (Portland, 1878), p. 8.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁶Journal of A. M. A. Blanchet, p. 55, in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³"A. M. A. Blanchet to Rev. Fr. Pascual Ricard, October 8, 1847," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 45, A. A. S.

²⁴F. N. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 164.

²⁵Journal of A. M. A. Blanchet, p. 56. A. A. S.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., p. 56.

³⁰Ibid., p. 57.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³"A. M. A. Blanchet to F. N. Blanchet, December 12, 1847," in the Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 46, A. A. S.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Correspondence of A. M. A. Blanchet, Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 55, A. A. S.

³⁶"A. M. A. Blanchet to Governor George Abernathy, December 21, 1847," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

³⁷"Mr. William McBean to Board of Management, November 30, 1847, in Miles Cannon, Waiilatpu, Its Rise and Fall, 1836-1847, (Boise, 1915), p. 135.

³⁸"A. M. A. Blanchet to Governor Abernathy, April 1, 1848," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

³⁹"Mr. William McBean to the Board of Management, November 30, 1847."

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹"A. M. A. Blanchet to Governor Abernathy, April 1, 1848."

⁴²"Mr. William McBean to the Board of Management, November 30, 1847."

⁴³V. Rev. J. B. Brouillet, "Authentic Account of the Murder of Doctor Whitman and other missionaries by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847," pamphlet published in 1853, A. A. S.

⁴⁴"A. M. A. Blanchet to Governor Abernathy, December 21, 1847," A. A. S.

⁴⁵F. N. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 167.

⁴⁶"A. M. A. Blanchet to F. N. Blanchet, December 12, 1847," A. A. S.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Prince, January 27, 1849," Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

⁴⁹"Correspondence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Introduction to letter from Mr. Spalding, January 8, 1847," in The Missionary Herald, XLIV, (Boston, 1848), p. 237.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹F. N. Blanchet, Historical Sketches, p. 172

⁵²"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Prince, January 27, 1849," p. 72, A. A. S.

⁵³"A. M. A. Blanchet to Colonel Gillian, February, 1848," Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, January 27, 1849.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Hudon, V. G., February 24, 1848," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 40, A. A. S.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 41.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Gauteau, Archdeacon, February 24, 1848," p. 43, A. A. S.

⁶¹"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Hudon, V.G., February 24, 1848," p. 42, A. A. S.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Hudon, February 24, 1848," p. 40, A. A. S.

⁶⁶"A. M. A. Blanchet to Gov. Abernathy, December 21, 1847," A. A. S.

⁶⁷"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Hudon, February 24, 1848," A. A. S.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰"A. M. A. Blanchet to J. B. Brouillet, December 28, 1847," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 49, A. A. S.

⁷¹"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Gauteau, February 24, 1847," A. A. S.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³"Mandate of A. M. A. Blanchet to the Clergy and Faithful of Our Diocese, September 8, 1848," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 67, A. A. S.

⁷⁴"A. M. A. Blanchet to Msgr. Gauteau, February 24, 1848," A. A. S.

⁷⁵"Report to Propagation of the Faith and Leopoldine Society, March 28, 1848," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 60-61, A. A. S.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵"Mandate of A. M. A. Blanchet to Clergy and Faithful of the Diocese, September 8, 1847," A. A. S.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷"Correspondence of A. M. A. Blanchet, January 23, 1849," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 67, A. A. S.

⁸⁸"A. M. A. Blanchet to Governor George Abernathy," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

⁸⁹"Correspondence of A. M. A. Blanchet, January 23, 1849," Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 78, A. A. S.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²"H. A. Lee, Superintendent of Indian Affairs to A. M. A. Blanchet, June 15, 1848," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, A. A. S.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴"Correspondence of A. M. A. Blanchet, January 23, 1849," in Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, p. 68, A. A. S.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶"A. M. A. Blanchet to Mr. Henry Saffarrons," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 98, A. A. S.

⁹⁷Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 "Mr. Henry Saffarrons to A. M. A. Blanchet, July 20, 1848," A. A. S.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 "Report to the Central Council of the Propagation of the Faith, 1849," A. A. S.

108 Ibid.

109 Register of the Walla Walla Diocese, June, 1848, A. A. S.

110 Ibid.

111 "Report to the Propagation of the Faith, 1849," p. 82.

112 "Mandate of A. M. A. Blanchet, September 8, 1848," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 67, A. A. S.

113 "A. M. A. Blanchet to the Bishop of Montreal, February 2, 1850," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 137.

114 "A. M. A. Blanchet to the Bishop of Montreal, February 2, 1850," in Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 79.

115 Ibid., p. 80.

116 "Report to the Propagation of the Faith, 1849," Register of Walla Walla Diocese, p. 82.

117 Dorothy Johansen, Empire of the Columbia, A History of the Pacific Northwest, (New York, 1967), p. 247.

118 Ibid.

119 "Report to the Central Council of Lyon and Paris from the Bishop of Nesqually [sic]," p. 152, A. A. S.

120 Register of the Nesqually Diocese, p. 168, A. A. S.

121 "Statistical Table sent to the Propagation of the Faith, July 1, 1855," in Register of the Nesqually Diocese, p. 276, tr. K. Rosenstiel, A. A. S.

122 "A. M. A. Blanchet to Central Council of Lyon and Paris, January 30, 1851," Observations, p. 152, A. A. S.

123 Ibid.

124 "A. M. A. Blanchet to the President of the Republic of Chili, February 21, 1858, A. A. S., p. 311.

125 "The Pastoral Letter of 1852," in Peter Guilday, ed., The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919), (Washington, D.C. 1923), p. 187.

126 Ibid., p. 191

127 Ibid., p. 187.

128 Ibid.