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FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE COLUMBIA, 1841

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It is only within recent years that the organized immigration to Oregon in 1841 has received attention in printed accounts. It must have been known in many communities that there were in the neighborhoods those who had entered by way of the Columbia River in 1841; and the Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions contain references to several settlers of that year. But scholars, those writing books, apparently did not become aware of the movement of 1841 until after the publication, in 1921, of 250 copies of Joseph Williams', *Narrative of a Tour to Oregon Territory, 1841-2*. Even this escaped general attention, as had John Bidwell's *First Emigrant Train to California*, appearing in the Century Magazine in 1890. Judge C. H. Carey, whose *History of Oregon* appeared in 1922, even went so far as to say that there was "no immigration from the eastern states in 1840 or 1841 except the belated members of the Peoria party, and the only women who arrived were members of the great reinforcement of the Methodists on board the Lausanne in 1841, and Mrs. Joel Walker."¹

Since even contemporaries were apparently unaware of what was going on under their very eyes, omissions by modern writers may be excused. Even Dr. McLoughlin wrote in a letter attributed to him that the first party of regular immigrants came from the states in 1842.² Apart from a natural tendency to increase the emphasis on the immigration sponsored in 1841 by the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. McLoughlin's ignoring of the

¹Charles H. Carey, *History of Oregon*, 422.

²Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions*, 8th Annual Reunion, 52.

1841
Summary articles

American movement resulted partly from the fact that, by 1841, it was possible for new arrivals to reach the Willamette valley with little or no assistance from the company, the missionary groups being able to render the necessary aid. As in 1840, the newcomers did not travel at the same gait, and straggled in rather inconspicuously. In the case of the arrivals who left Missouri in the spring of 1841, the Oregon party was a rump group deserting an organized company bound for California. The more aggressive members, in general, continued to the destination upon which they had determined, there, in some cases, to become prominent; while the more conservative, who took the easier route by way of the Columbia, included few who ever stepped into the limelight.

Since Dr. R. C. Clark, who had access to the Williams account, published in 1927³ the first comprehensive account of the immigrations of 1841, in his *History of the Willamette Valley, Oregon*, new material has come to light which makes advisable a rewriting of the story of forgotten forty-one. The *Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson* was published in 1933 with an introduction by Charles L. Camp. More important is the day by day account kept by James John of the California party, later a resident of Oregon, to be published for the first time in 1937. More use, too, should be made of rare material carefully guarded in California, but not easily available in Oregon. More, too, has been learned from newspaper sources.

The motives back of the immigration were no different from those actuating travelers in other years. Since the reasons or impulses back of the movement westward to Oregon have been adequately discussed, little need be said here about the urge back of the trek to Oregon in 1841. The "Oregon Fever" was comprehensively analyzed by James Christy Bell in 1921;⁴ but in 1841 "California Fever" would have been a more correct term. Dr. John Marsh had been writing letters to a friend in Jackson County, Missouri which are said to have been largely instrumental in bringing the Bartleson party to California in

³R. C. Clark, *History of the Willamette Valley, Oregon*, 260 ff.

⁴James Christy Bell, *Opening a Highway to the Pacific*, Columbia University Studies in History.

1841,⁵ and Captain Johann Sutter had friends among the immigrants of that year who, he claimed, wished to enter his service.⁶ The publicity of Hall J. Kelley, Jason Lee and P. L. Edwards was abroad in the land.⁷ Not the least in effectiveness in arousing curiosity and interest were the extravagant claims made by the trapper Roubideaux of a wonderland in which people went eighteen miles to see the only man who ever had a chill.⁸ School teacher Bidwell was victimized by a claim jumper; the snow froze out the school of teacher Nicholas Dawson, leaving him unemployed—these are illustrations of the economic motives operating in the Mississippi area.⁹ At 64, Rev. Joseph Williams wrote, "My mind leads me strongly to go; I want to preach to the people there, and also to the Indians, as well as to see the country."¹⁰ The English gentleman, Romaine, wished to shoot buffalo;¹¹ George Hinshaw was an invalid in search of health.¹² Father Pierre J. DeSmet, enroute to start a mission among the Flathead Indians, said that members of the party went, "some for health, others for science or pleasure; but the greater number to seek their fortune in the too highly boasted land of California."¹³

The fever was high during the winter of 1840-41, affecting especially the 500 or so who are said to have signed a pledge to present themselves early in May, at Sapling Grove on the old Santa Fe route about 9 miles west of the Missouri line, prepared to travel overland to California.¹⁴ At a public meeting at Independence on February 1 resolutions were drawn up ex-

⁵*California Historical Society Quarterly*, IV:161.

⁶H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 136 n., III:741; Gen. John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past*, 40-41.

⁷Clark, op. cit., 260; *California Historical Quarterly*, III:73-74.

⁸*Echoes of the Past*, 6.

⁹*Ibid.*; C. L. Camp, ed., *Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson* (Overland to California in '41 & '49, and Texas in '51), 9.

¹⁰Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-2*, 25.

¹¹Dawson, *Narrative*, 9.

¹²*Echoes of the Past*, 10.

¹³H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, editors, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet*, I:276.

¹⁴Bancroft, op. cit., IV:265-266; *Echoes of the Past*, 6.

pressing friendliness towards the people and government of California and stating that the chief motive of the emigrants was to find a more congenial location.¹⁵ At that time the proposed route seems to have been the Santa Fe Trail, rather than that leading in the direction of Oregon.

But chills also accompanied the fever. At just the wrong psychological moment, Thomas J. Farnham, prominent in the Peoria party of the preceding year, took occasion to publish some bad impressions resulting from trouble between some overly talkative Americans and the Spanish authorities. Local merchants and others voiced cold disapproval; it was difficult to raise the money for outfits, make the necessary business arrangements and get to the appointed rendezvous on time. When John Bidwell, one of the most active organizers of the Western Emigration Society, arrived at the appointed place with some new recruits from Weston, he found no company assembled; but farther along, on the Kansas River, small parties began to draw together until a large enough company was formed to make possible a safe passage across the continent.¹⁶

The nucleus of the group that finally made its way along the plains turned out to be a party that had no connection whatsoever with the planned adventure. The incoherent mass that had drawn together knew neither where to go, nor how to get there. A happy solution for this situation was at hand. Late accessions to the gathering wagon train brought news of the proximity of the Catholic missionary party under Father Pierre Jean DeSmet, enroute to the country of the Flathead Indians, directed by a Rocky Mountain man of vast experience and resourcefulness, Thomas Fitzpatrick. From the Kansas to the Bear River, this superlative guide was the real leader of the party, a most fortunate circumstance. If the union of expeditions provided the tenderfeet with leadership, it also made up the

¹⁵Bancroft, op. cit., IV:267 n.

¹⁶*A Journey to California, in Addresses, Reminiscences, etc., of General John Bidwell*, compiled by C. C. Royce. This is a verified copy of the journal of John Bidwell, printed in Missouri in 1842. *Echoes of the Past*, 10-11; John Bidwell, "The First Emigrant Train to California," *Century Magazine*, LXI (1890): 106 ff.

deficiency of numbers in the missionary group. Father DeSmet wrote as follows to his Father Provincial:

Like all the works of God, our humble beginnings have not been unattended by trials: our journey had even well nigh been indefinitely deferred by the postponement of two caravans on which we had confidently relied; one of hunters, for the American Fur Company; the other an exploring expedition belonging to the United States, at the head of which we expected to see the celebrated M. Nicollet. Happily God inspired two estimable travelers, (named Romaine and Baker) of whom more hereafter, and afterward some sixty others, to take the same route as ourselves. . . .¹⁷

Leaving St. Louis on the Steamboat Oceana on April 30, the Catholic party arrived at Westport (Kansas City) 7 days later, and staid till the 10th making good some preliminary losses. After traveling up the Kansas River for 5 days, they joined a few members of their party who had traveled by water with some of the baggage, and Indians helped them across in a pirogue hollowed from a tree trunk. They camped on the banks of Soldier's River six miles from a village of Kansas Indians, some of whom stood guard over the black robes for three days and three nights as the party waited for stragglers to arrive.¹⁸

Let us, too, pause to pick up some of the stragglers. That very active young man, John Bidwell, had interested himself during the winter in keeping up the fever and combatting the chills. Even as he was ready to start for the rendezvous at Sapling Grove, he was engaged in the same sort of activity. He made a chance acquaintance with George Hinshaw, an invalid from Illinois, whose good clothes, fine horse and ten or fifteen dollars in cash, as well as his interest, made him a good prospect. Bidwell induced this man in search of health to exchange his fine horse for more appropriate steeds consisting of a one-eyed mule and a couple of steers, and the two left for Weston to secure supplies. While there he added the youngest member of the party, Michael C. Nye, later of Prineville, Oregon, and Robert H. Thomes, a native of Maine. As this little group left Weston, they were accompanied by a number of well-wishers and

¹⁷*Life, Letters and Travels*, I:276.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, I:279-280.

curious persons, but this did not make an overland party. Among the first to reach the Kansas River gathering place, they were obliged to wait two days for stragglers before they were ready to organize.¹⁹

On about the 8th of May groups of wagons left Independence, Missouri for the rendezvous. Strong enough in numbers to assure their leader of the captaincy was the "mess" including John Bartleson. Nicholas Dawson, school teacher from the vicinity of Roubideaux' fort (St. Joseph), stopped at Independence with Bartleson. The mess from St. Louis headed by Josiah Belden, included Chandler and Brolaske.²⁰ Then there were the families, the Kelseys, notably, from the backwoods of Kentucky, whose men were said to be "as tough a lot of men as ever cussed a wayward mule," and whose women included the widow Gray and her child; and the Williams family.²¹

On the 18th of May the company organized at the camp on the Kansas River at which they had been waiting. For president they chose Paul Geddes, absconding bank clerk from Pennsylvania, traveling with stolen funds under the alias of Talbot H. Green; and John Bidwell was secretary of the meeting which elected John Bartleson captain and adopted rules for the trip. Captain Fitzpatrick, however, was virtual commander as long as he was with the combined parties.²²

For us the selection of John Bidwell as secretary was most fortunate, for he began his journal with a list of those assembled on Kansas River, and later arrivals. His statement follows:

The missionary company consisted of eleven persons, viz.: Capt. Fitzpatrick, the pilot, Father De Smet, Pont and Mengarine, missionaries; John Gray, hunter; Romaine, and five teamsters.

Our company was composed of the following individuals: T. H. Green, G. Hinshaw, Charles Hopper, J. P. Springer, A. G.

¹⁹A *Journey to California*; Bancroft, op. cit. IV:266, *History of Nevada*, 47; *Echoes of the Past*, 10; *Century*, LXI:115. Nye had been attracted by advertising in the papers. *Oregonian*, Aug. 6, 1900.

²⁰Bancroft, *History of California*, IV:267; Dawson, *Narrative*, 9.

²¹Ibid., *A Journey to California*; Henry Bridgman Brewer "Log of the Lausanne" V, ed. by John M. Canse, *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, XXX (June 1929) 112.

²²A *Journey to California*.

Patton, J. Bartleson, N. Dawson, Josiah Belden, J. M. Jones, J. W. Chandler, John DeSwart, H. S. Brolaske, M. C. Nye, Elias Barnet, Major Walton, A. Walton, Green McMahan, J. McDowel, R. H. Thomes, Elisha Stone, Isaiah Kelsey, Samuel Kelsey and family, William Towler, Richard Williams and family, E. W. Flugge, W. P. Overton, George Simpson, V. W. Dawson, Andrew Kelsey, Benj. Kelsey and family, Edw. Rogers, D. P. Hill, A. Cook, Jones Carroll, Jas. Ross, Henry Huber, John Roland, Wm. Belty, Thos. Jones, Augustus Fifer, Jas. John, R. Rickman, H. Peyton, Chiles, Charles Weaver and James Shotwell, the last six did not overtake us at Kansas River.

The trappers for the mountains are the following: Jas. Baker, Piga, a Frenchman, and Wm. Mast.

A. E. Frye and Rogers, on a pleasure excursion; Williams, a preacher on a visit to Oregon.

There were, then 47 adult male members of the Bartleson company if Bidwell forgot no one besides himself, 11 members of the missionary party, three trappers and three excursionists. Bancroft's historian, who had access to the Bidwell papers, gave the number in the Bartleson party as 48 and some 15 women and children. He added the name of Nelson McMahan to Bidwell's list.²³

The missionary party with 4 mule-drawn Red River carts and a small wagon went on ahead in single file. "Teamsters from necessity much more than from choice," the lay brothers, William Claessens, Charles Huett, and Joseph Specht, who drove carts, took their tumbles and mishaps patiently and with rare good humor.²⁴ With this group were also the hunting party consisting of mountaineer John Gray, and the excursionist Romaine. An experienced hunter, Charlie Hopper, who was with the Bartleson mess, together with Gray and the trappers, gave the leader a seasoned group to offset the rash young tenderfeet like Bidwell, Jones and Dawson. Ahead rode the leader, the ever vigilant Fitzpatrick, selecting camps for the evening and handling emergencies precipitated by rash young men, ignor-

²³Bancroft, op. cit. IV:266, 268, 270. Bancroft writers were also quite proud of Bidwell's *An Immigrant's Recollections of a Trip Across the Plains*, etc. Dictated by the author to S. S. Boynton for the Bancroft Library, 1877. MS fol. 233p. Bancroft also had the list made by Dr. Marsh on the arrival of the California party. Other accounts in substantial agreement are: *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:280; *Echoes of the Past*, 10; *Century* LXI:115.

²⁴*Life, Letters and Travels*, I:300-301; Bancroft op. cit., IV:268; *Echoes of the Past*, 11-12.

ant travelers, inquisitive and pilfering Indians.²⁵ Genuinely friendly with the natives, Father DeSmet on the day of departure paid a final visit to his "hosts," taking with him Romaine and the bearded Father Point, who greatly amused the clean-plucked Kansas.²⁶

Next in line came the important and impatient Captain Bartleson with eight mule or horse drawn wagons and five drawn by 17 yoke of oxen.²⁷ Walking, to keep his mule fresh for later difficulties, following advice by his father and uncle, was the boy, Michael C. Nye.²⁸

Even after the 19th, others were yet to arrive. James John, having lost his wife and only child, it is thought, left Westport May 16 for California. Delayed slightly by straying oxen on the 18th, the party with which he was traveling reached the "Canzes" River on the 20th and, aided by Indians, floating their baggage on buffalo robes, swimming and pushing, were all across by sunset. On this day and the day following, messengers from the advance party, which purposely dallied, expecting Chiles, kept the tardy ones informed as to the distance between the two groups. On the 21st those in pursuit were visited by a friendly war party of 14 Pawnees to whom presents of tobacco were made. They camped that night on Blue Creek and overtook the company on the 23rd.²⁹ This was the day of the arrival of the J. B. Chiles mess from Missouri and Charles M. Weber (Weaver); Robert Rickman's outfit was also late. In addition to those named above, Secretary Bidwell listed among late comers H. Peyton and James Shotwell.

"There was considerable complaint among the company," Bidwell wrote, "some saying that at this slow rate of traveling we would have to winter among the Black Hills and eat our

mules."³⁰ Even after the Chiles party had been allowed to catch up, progress was slow. The high waters of Vermillion Creek forced the party to camp early on the 24th, but at 7 o'clock the following morning a successful crossing was made. On the 26th a runaway mule team broke the "hounds of their waggon," and the repair of two wagons and entertainment of the Pawnee war party gave the last straggler, a 64 year old Methodist minister by the name of Joseph Williams, opportunity to overtake the party.³¹

His mind strongly made up, Rev. Williams left Napoleon, Indiana, April 26, 1841. Living on the hospitality of other preachers and members of his church, he often made 30 or more miles in a day. At about the time Father DeSmet was leaving the Missouri River, Rev. Williams was crossing the Mississippi at St. Louis; he had reached Union by the time the Bartleson party had left Westport; but the day before he reached Independence he learned that the company from that place was 10 days ahead. Reaching Westport two days later, and finding no one there, and no chance, apparently to catch up, he gave up in despair and went to the Indian mission three miles away. There he learned that four days previous the company had been camped on the Kansas River 80 miles ahead. At this he took courage again and bought powder, lead, provisions and a poor gun. "The Lord is opening my way to go on," he said to himself. As the Chiles party was overtaking the main group, Williams was being assisted across the Kansas River by Indians who told him that the company was four days ahead.³² He was traveling alone, practically unprovisioned and unarmed, through country in which hostile groups of Indians were at war. Blissful ignorance

²⁵Ibid., 13, 14; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:2765 Dawson, *Narrative*, Introduction, 9, 10, *A Journey to California*.

²⁶*Life, Letters and Travels*, I:280-282.

²⁷*A Journey to California*; Bancroft, op. cit., IV:268.

²⁸*Oregonian*, Aug. 6, 1900.

²⁹Frank M. Learned, ed., James John, *Pioneer and Friend of Education, An Historical Account*, MSS.; *A Journey to California*.

³⁰Ibid.; Bancroft, op. cit., IV:267, II:759, *History of Nevada*, 47, Bancroft historians had access to Joseph B. Chiles' MSS, *A Visit to California*. See *California Pastoral*, 790.

³¹*A Journey to California*; James John MSS. Still others, who were too late for the expedition up the Platte, went by way of Santa Fe. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV:276, III:757.

³²Williams, *Narrative*, 25-30. Rev. Williams kept his dates straight, apparently, but did not always indicate them clearly. Discrepancies of one day might be possible in interpreting his account in places.

combined with sublime faith to sustain him on his solitary and disappointing journey.

Then something like a panic seized him, and he put the whip to his horse, making upward of 40 miles before camping. He wrote:

I can hardly describe my feelings as I was traveling up the Caw (or Kauzas) River. Pursuing my journey that day, I tried to give myself up to the Lord. I could scarcely follow the wagon tracks, the ground was so hard in the prairie. I had almost concluded at last to turn back, and got down on my knees, and asked the Lord whether I should do so or not. These words came to my mind: 'The Lord shall be with thee, and no hand shall harm thee.' I then renewed my resolution to go on in the name of the Lord . . . but was occasionally perplexed with doubts. About an hour before sunset, I got down off my horse, and prayed again. God renewed the promise . . . ; and instead of sleeping in the prairie, I got to an encampment where there was fire, and plenty of wood, and good water, and I praised God with all my heart. I roasted my meat, sweetened some water, and with my biscuits, made a hearty supper.

For company he had a barking, howling dog, left, doubtless, by the Chiles party.

In the morning, his mood was one of ecstasy. He "crossed the Vermillion Creek* and arose on the rolling prairies," and "shouted some hours over these beautiful plains" in the happiness of a second childhood of religious fervour. On the 26th of May Rev. Williams overtook the emigrants, and kindly Father DeSmet entertained his brother of a rather hostile creed with an evening meal; and in the morning brought some of the venison killed on the day of Williams' arrival by Charles Hopper, the North Carolina hunter.³³

On the 28th of May the party reached Big Blue Creek on which they traveled until the forenoon of the 31st, then cut across toward the Platte, continuing till dark, but being forced even then to camp where there was no wood, little grass, and bad water. At about 10 o'clock on this day the party stopped to trade for buffalo hides, meat and moccasins with a party of 18 mountain men bound for St. Louis from Ft. Laramie.³⁴ June 1st proved to be even more uncomfortable. "At 2 o'clock"

* RED VERMILLION.

³³Ibid., 31-32; *A Journey to California*.

³⁴Ibid.; James John MSS. Bidwell's journal reports 6 wagons, John's, 5.

wrote Williams, "commenced a most tremendous bad storm, with wind, which blew down most of the tents, accompanied with rain and lightning and thunder almost all night. I slept but little, the ground being all covered with water." "The guards had a bad night for standings," wrote John, "All the baggage and everything . . . was in a dreadful condition in the morning; but bad as the weather was there was a wedding in camp this night . . ." "Wonderful!" leered Bidwell, "This evening a new family was created! Isaac Kelsey was married to Miss Williams, daughter of R. Williams. The marriage ceremony was performed by Rev. Pr. Williams, so we now have five families if we include a widow and child."³⁵

Having reached the Platte River about noon on June 1st, the party proceeded up this river for days. First, however, murmurings necessitated a meeting. Some thought that the missionaries were forcing too fast a pace; but as the majority would not consider doing without Fitzpatrick, it was voted to start at 6:30 every morning.³⁶ Two days later, on June 4th, the value of the leader was clearly demonstrated. Nicholas Dawson, who had an interest in Captain Bartleson's wagon and team, was out antelope hunting on a wagon mule known as "The Badger," and had strayed far. Hearing an Indian whoop, he sprang on the mule, which perversely ran in the direction of the sound, and when turned around, just as perversely refused to make any haste whatsoever. Dawson was surrounded by 30 or 40 "Chienne" Indians who took his mule, gun, knife and outer clothing. Bidwell's account is amusing. "He had no sooner reached the camp and related the news than the whole band came in sight. We hastened to form a corral (yard) with our wagons, but it was done in great haste. To show you how it affected the green ones, I will give the answer: I received from a stout young man (and he perhaps was but one of thirty in the same situation) when I asked him how many Indians there were. He answered with a trembling voice, half scared out of his wits, there were lots, gaubs, fields and swarms of them!"

³⁵Williams, *Narrative*, 34; James John MSS; *A Journey to California*.

³⁶Ibid.; James John MSS; Dawson, *Narrative*, 11-12.

Peaceful negotiation by Fitzpatrick brought the return of every article but the pistol.

Fitzpatrick was not able entirely to control the forming of the hollow squares which were drawn up most evenings, and whenever danger threatened. When the Dawson scare took effect "every man started his team into a run, till the oxen, like the mules and horses, were in full gallop." As best he could in such a condition of pandemonium, Fitzpatrick led them to the river bank and had the wagons put in the form of a hollow square with the animals picketed within. Then came the anticlimax, the arrival of Indians who were peaceful, if inclined to pilfer. The nickname "Cheyenne" followed the braggart Dawson for the rest of his days. The other braggart of the same name was distinguished by the name "Bear" for running away from the first bear he encountered. The Indians continued with the party for protection from the Pawnees.³⁷

The 5th day of June was noteworthy because Elisha Stone left with an American Fur Company party which was traveling downstream with six boats; and because of an extraordinary storm well described by Bidwell as follows: ". . . high winds, dark clouds rushed in wild confusion, around and above us. Soon, with amazement, we saw a lofty waterspout, towering like a huge column to support the arch of the sky; and while we were moving with all haste lest it should pass over us and dash our wagons to pieces, it moved off with the swiftness of the wind and was soon lost among the clouds. Rain and hail succeeded, the largest hailstones I ever saw; several were found, an hour after the sun came out bright and warm, larger than a turkey egg." John "saw trees flying in the air and water flowing out of the river as high as the clouds." Williams saw an Indian knocked down.³⁸

Now the company moved through buffalo country, which seemed to Bidwell like "one complete slaughter-yard," as he predicted the waste would bring extinction to this steak supply

³⁷Ibid; *A Journey to California; Echoes of the Past*, 13; *Oregonian*, Aug. 6, 1900; Williams, *Narrative*, 35; James John, MSS; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:311.

³⁸*A Journey to California*; James John MSS; Williams, *Narrative*, 36.

for emigrants.³⁹ On the 8th they passed the junction of the north and south forks of the Platte, camping about 18 miles beyond that point, then crossing the South Platte the whole of the following day.⁴⁰ From morn till night of a pleasant 25 mile journey on the 10th, the banks of the stream were lined with countless thousands of buffalo. Here the danger with respect to straying oxen was not only the Indian menace but the possibility that the cattle might become stampeded with the buffalo. Laxity of the guard resulted in the calling of a court martial. When the oxen strayed again on the 11th, another Indian scare called out an armed party one of whom fired, but the fear that was father to the thought was the principal basis for the incident. From this time Rev. Williams and others found themselves on guard duty every fourth night.⁴¹

Leaving the south fork on the 12th, the party moved over to the north fork, camping about noon. In so doing they left the land of the buffalo long before they could reach the fishing waters of this "steak and fish" route across the continent. On the 13th there occurred a "mournful accident." In taking his gun out of the wagon in the morning, young James Shotwell of Missouri was killed by an accidental discharge. The company chose a committee of five to appoint an administrator, and Captain Bartleson was chosen. Rev. Williams preached a funeral sermon. After the "decent burial," the party left the river to detour around some hills, returning by dry Ash Creek, which was timbered with ash, cedar and other trees. Here they remained in camp on a blue Monday, so cold and rainy that they did not travel.⁴²

Because of the dearth of game, now limited to rabbits and an occasional antelope, two hunters were sent out on the 16th, returning late the following day with buffalo meat. Wild horses seen on the opposite bank of the river called for comment by our diarists. Forests of pine covered the bluffs along the course

³⁹*A Journey to California*.

⁴⁰Ibid.; James John MSS; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:308, has an account of the crossing.

⁴¹*A Journey to California*; James John MSS; Williams, *Narrative*, 37.

⁴²Ibid.; *A Journey to California*; James John MSS.

of the river. Chimney Rock and Court House Rock were as interesting to these early tourists as they are to travelers on U. S. Highway 30 today.⁴³

On the 19th the party detoured from the river again to traverse a pass through Scott's Bluffs. "The scenery of the surrounding country," wrote plainsman Bidwell, "became beautifully grand and picturesque . . ." Two mountain sheep were killed by the hunters. As they came out onto an extensive plain on the other side, "the beautiful scenery gradually receded from view." Crossing Horse Creek after noon on the 20th, the North Platte was reached again and the party camped about 30 miles from Fort Laramie, at which they arrived on the 22nd. New Fort John was being built less than a mile away. The Black Hills were impressive on the horizon.⁴⁴

The 23rd of June was occupied with business at the fort including an auction of Shotwell's belongings. George Simpson and William Mast left the party here; but two men and a squaw overtook the party on the 24th (Bidwell) or 25th (John) to travel with the group to Green River. On the 25th and 27th the party found good hunting and good water, and were back again in the land of buffalo, traveling through the Black Hills with their rock formations of limestone, sandstone, granite and white alabaster. They were back on the North Platte by the 29th, and crossed to the north bank with the loss of a mule on the 1st of July. Father DeSmet's genial account follows:

Here we witnessed a scene which had it been less serious, might have excited laughter. The largest wagon was carried off by the force of the current, in spite of all the efforts, shouts and cries of the men, who did all they could to keep themselves from being drowned. Another wagon was literally turned over. One of the mules showed only his four feet on the surface of the water, and the others went adrift entangled in the gears. On one side appeared the American captain with extended arms, crying for help. On the other, a young German traveler was seen diving with his beast, and soon after both appeared above the water at a distance from each other. Here a horse reached the shore without a rider; further on, two riders appeared on the same horse; finally the good Brother Joseph dancing up and down with his horse, and Father Mengarini clinging to the neck

⁴³Ibid.; *A Journey to California*.

⁴⁴Ibid.; James John MSS; Williams, *Narrative*, 39.

of his, and looking as if he formed an indivisible part of the animal.⁴⁵

On the following day Belden lost his horse while hunting buffalo.⁴⁶

On the 3rd the party left the North Platte, cutting across to the Sweetwater with elevation increasing steadily. Celebration at Independence Rock on the Sweetwater branch of the North Fork was a day late. To the names of earlier travelers which were cut on the rocks the names of "all hands" were added. "This night," wrote Williams, "we have the sound of the violin but not much dancing. 'Woe unto the wicked; for they shall have their reward.' Our company is composed mostly of Universalists and deists."⁴⁷

John Gray and Romaine were sent on ahead to Green River on the 6th to see if there were trappers at the usual rendezvous with whom members of the party might trade for needed articles. Captain Bartleson, for instance, had some alcohol which he was saving for exchange with trappers.⁴⁸ On the 8th the expedition came in sight of the Wind River Mountains. Again there were thousands of buffalo in full view, and the party began laying in meat for the journey across the mountains, stopping on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 14th to kill and to dry meat. On the 13th Gray and Romaine returned to report that they had met no one at the rendezvous, not even Indians, and that there was no game ahead. On the 15th John Gray set out again to try to find trappers with whom to trade.⁴⁹

On the 18th the party traveled southwest, leaving the Sweetwater, crossing the divide, and reaching Little Sandy, a branch of Green River. The next day they reached another branch, Big Sandy, down which they traveled for four days. Suffering so from hunger and thirst that he had to crawl the last part of the way, Gray had found the trappers. With about six of them

⁴⁵*Life, Letters and Travels*, I:309. The company presented a horse to the loser of the mule.

⁴⁶*A Journey to California*; John gives the date as the 3rd in one of the rare discrepancies between the two accounts.

⁴⁷Williams, *Narrative*, 40; *A Journey to California*; James John MSS.

⁴⁸*Century*, LXI:114; *A Journey to California*.

⁴⁹Ibid.; James John MSS; Williams, *Narrative*, 40-41.

he reached the camp on Big Sandy the evening of the 22nd with word that Fraeb with a party of about 20 was on Green River about eight miles distant. The travelers reached the rendezvous on the 23rd and spent two days resting and trading. Chiles, for instance, sold his two yoke of oxen and his wagon, and another wagon was left. By some, pack horses were secured for the balance of the trip.⁵⁰ From Green River John Gray, H. Peyton, A. E. Frye, J. M. Jones and Romaine, discouraged by what they had learned of the route, returned to the United States, while James Baker remained in the mountains to trap.⁵¹

The party left the river in a westerly direction on the 26th, arriving at Ham's Fork to camp after a 12 mile jaunt. Averaging about 12 miles per day they proceeded up this stream till the 31st. "Guess what took place?" (on the 30th), wrote Bidwell impishly, "Another family was created! Widow Gray, who was a sister to Mrs. Kelsey, was married to a man who joined our company at Fort Laramie; his right name I forget, but his everywhere name in the mountains was Cocrum. He had but one eye. Marriage ceremony performed by Father DeSmet."⁵² From Ham's Fork the route led on the 31st "over an uncommonly hilly road" to Black's Fork of Green River. Father DeSmet wrote:

We put our confidence in God, the teamsters lashed their mules, the mules did their duty, and presently the river was crossed, and the line of our wagons spread out as best it could, twisting and straying in almost every direction, amid a labyrinth of mountains and valleys, obliged to open a road, now in the bottom of a ravine, now on the slope of a cliff, often through the brush; in one place the mules would have to be unhitched, in another teams must be doubled, and again all hands would be called upon to support the wagons on the inclined edge of an abyss or hold them back in some too rapid descent, to prevent what after all was not always prevented, for how many overturnings did we not behold? Our good Brothers, especially, who

⁵⁰A *Journey to California* tells of Gray's experiences. James John MSS tells of the six or so who returned with Gray to the camp at Big Sandy. Williams, *Narrative*, 42; Dawson, *Narrative*, 13; and *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:300, agree as to dates and details.

⁵¹A *Journey to California*. Bidwell named six who returned, but erred in including Edward Rogers. *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:305.

⁵²A *Journey to California*; Williams (40) gave the name of the groom as Richard Fillan, saying that the bride had "left her husband in Missouri."

had become teamsters from necessity much more than from choice; how often were they astonished at finding themselves, one upon the croup, another on the neck, another among the hoofs of their mules, without any clear idea of how they had come there, but thanking the God of the traveler that they had gotten off so easily. The same protection covered the horsemen; in the course of the journey, Father Mengarini had six tumbles and Father Point quite as many; once while riding at full gallop my horse fell and I flew over his head, and not one of us in these various occurrences received the least scratch.⁵³

On Sunday the 1st, Williams "tried to preach." On the 2nd there were two miles to retrace in search of a pass between Black's Fork and Bear River, and a wagon to mend. The difficult pass was negotiated on the following day, and the Bear River was reached.⁵⁴ Here the party rested, waiting for Snake Indians to come and trade, and replenishing the food supply with the many trout which were caught. The presence of geese and wild fowl in abundance indicates nearness to Bear Lake and corroborates the record in DeSmet's Linton Album of a route near Brown's Hole.⁵⁵ The Belden account as quoted by Bancroft states that "We struck Bear River some distance below where the town of Evanston now is, where coal mines are, and the railroad passes, and followed the river down."⁵⁶

On the 5th and 6th the journey down Bear River valley was pleasant. Bidwell's account of detours from the river on Saturday the 7th is so splendidly written that it merits quotation:

... The bluffs were exceedingly high, and no person could ever believe that wagons ever passed these huge eminences of nature, did he not witness it with his own eyes. But the pleasing view we had from their top, just as the sun was going to sleep behind the western mountains, paid us for all our trouble. A most beautiful landscape presented itself to view; the rugged summits of almost every shape, were fantastically pictured upon the sky, bounding the western horizon; a beautiful little lake was seen to the south, whose surface was fancifully mottled with numerous islands, while the river meandered proudly through the valley among willows and scattering cottonwoods, till it disappeared among the hills in the shades of the evening.⁵⁷

⁵³*Life, Letters and Travels*, I:300-301.

⁵⁴Williams, *Narrative*, 43; *A Journey to California*; James John MSS.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:301 n.; Williams, *Narrative*, 43.

⁵⁶Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 29, quoting Josiah Belden's 70 page MSS, *Historical Statement; California Pastoral*, 790.

⁵⁷A *Journey to California*.

After traveling 10 miles on the 10th, the party reached "Soda Fountain," where the remainder of the day was spent enjoying curiosities of nature, especially some 100 springs "which are constantly bubbling and throwing off gass. Some spout water to a considerable distance and roar like a steamboat."⁵⁸ Others formed round reddish mounds of porous rock, some 50 feet high, with water boiling out of the middle. There was a hollow sound underneath as the horses passed.⁵⁹ After enjoying the sights with the others, Father DeSmet, guided by the Indian, Francis Xavier, left about dark for Fort Hall, over 50 miles away. Unable to find the pass in the gathering darkness, like Jacob the good Father slept out on a rock, with a saddle, however, for a pillow. Trotting or galloping over 50 miles in the course of the next day, the two travelers had time to observe the interesting volcanic formations underfoot. When darkness overtook them again in the valley of the Portneuf before they had quite reached the fort, they slept out another night "amid a cloud of mosquitoes," entering the fort on the 12th of August.⁶⁰

After a few miles of travel on the 11th, four carts and four wagons left for Oregon and nine wagons continued to California.⁶¹ This means, probably, that three wagons carrying families left for Oregon, for the Catholic group had four carts and one wagon.⁶² We can almost, but not quite, name these families which left for Oregon; because we know with certainty that but one family went on to California, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Kelsey and daughter.⁶³ Were there four families in the three wagons of Oregon bound immigrants? We are less certain of our answer because Mrs. Narcissa Whitman of Wailatpu mission and Rev. Brewer of the mission at The Dalles, mentioned the passage of but two families in late September, 1841.

⁵⁸James John MSS.

⁵⁹*A Journey to California; Life, Letters and Travels*, I:302-303.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, I:303-304. The DeSmet and Bidwell accounts agree as to the former's departure on the evening of the 10th; only two night out are mentioned.

⁶¹James John MSS.

⁶²*A Journey to California*.

⁶³*Ibid.*; Dawson, *Narrative*, 14.

Brewer named these definitely as the Williams family and a Kelsey family.⁶⁴ Three families are all that were named in secretary Bidwell's starting list, but he stated definitely later that there were five families with the expedition.⁶⁵ What happened, then, to the Isaac Kelsey who married Miss Williams on June 1st, or to Mrs. Kelsey's sister, the widow Gray and her child and her new husband, Richard "Cocrum" Fillan? According to Mrs. Whitman's letters Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Kelsey were over 40 years old, and had a family of six children.⁶⁶ Bidwell in 1890 said that there were five children.⁶⁷ It is, of course, possible that Mrs. Fillan's child might have been counted by Mrs. Whitman among the six. Since only Kelseys and Williams and in-laws were included among the families, it is possible grown couples may not have been distinguished as separate families by Mrs. Whitman and Rev. Brewer, and that all four of the families that did not go to California arrived in Oregon in 1841. Bidwell in his *Century* article in 1890 included Josiah Kelsey and wife among the members of the Oregon party. This must have been the Isaiah Kelsey named by Bancroft as among the Oregon bound, and the Isaac Kelsey who took a June bride en route.⁶⁸

Among the party of Oregon bound immigrants which turned off from the California route near Soda Springs we can name with considerable certainty the following: Samuel Kelsey and family (six children),⁶⁹ Richard Williams and family, Richard Fillan and family (one child),⁷⁰ Rev. Joseph Williams, Jones

⁶⁴*Transactions*, 19th Annual Reunion, Mrs. Whitman's letters of October 1, 6, and November 19, 1841, 139, 147; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:112.

⁶⁵*A Journey to California*. In Bidwell's later accounts we read that there were three families from Arkansas. *Echoes of the Past*, 10; *Century*, LXI:115.

⁶⁶*Transactions*, 19th Reunion, 147.

⁶⁷*Century*, LXI:120.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*; Bancroft, *History of California*, IV:269; *A Journey to California*.

⁶⁹If Bancroft (op. cit., IV:266) is correct, there should have been about 13 women and children with the Oregon party. Williams, (*Narrative*, 49) told us that a family with three children accompanied him down the Columbia; but Brewer (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:112) said that this was the Kelsey family.

⁷⁰Of course, Rev. Williams, an old man, did not always hear names correctly. His account is the source of the name "Fillan" (42).

Caroll, William Fowler (Towler), James Ross, David F. Hill, Isaac Kelsey (Josiah, Isaiah) and wife, W. P. Overton, Charles W. Flugge (E. W.), and Edward Rogers. Bancroft errs in including two whom we know to have returned to the United States, J. M. Jones, and Elisha Stone.⁷¹ The French trapper, Piga, is not accounted for. Mrs. Whitman counted 24 or 25 in the party.⁷² With what DeSmet called the "constancy which is characteristic of Americans," 32 (Bidwell, John) or 31 (Belden, Dawson) persisted in their purpose to travel to California in spite of the ample warnings of the trappers and Captain Fitzpatrick.⁷³ Some wrangling featured the separation, as well as regretful leave-taking.⁷⁴ Captain Bartleson, H. S. Brolaske and two others went to Fort Hall with the missionary group to try to get a guide, provisions and information.⁷⁵

For the balance of the journey from Soda Springs to the Willamette valley we lack the dated accounts of Bidwell and John, who went on to California. We have the letters of Father DeSmet to inform us of the journey to Fort Hall, but he was not traveling with the party, as we have seen. This leaves us only the very interesting account of Rev. Williams, and brief references by the missionaries whom the party visited. By August 21st Rev. Williams and his companions were journeying down Snake River past Salmon Falls with a Hudson Bay Co. Brigade under Francis Ermatinger, whom Williams called "Armington." On the 28th they "crossed the river, which was deep and dangerous, and continued down it. The Snake Indians are now with us, and want to sell us fish and trade horses." They reached Fort Boise on September 1st, remaining two days. We will let him tell the story:

We now started for Wallawalla, over hills and rough roads. 8th. We came to Gunpowder River, a small stream. The next day we staid on a pleasant plain where beautiful springs

⁷¹Bancroft, op. cit., IV:269 n.; *A Journey to California*.

⁷²*Transactions*, 19th Reunion, 139, 147.

⁷³*A Journey to California*; James John MSS; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 30, *History of California*, IV:269; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:295.

⁷⁴Williams, *Narrative*, 46; James John MSS.

⁷⁵*A Journey to California*; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 30; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:296.

come down from the spurs of the Blue Mountains. We staid on the Grand Round, a beautiful plain, about twenty miles long and ten broad. It is well calculated for farming, and is well watered. Here we pass some beautiful pines, spruce, and fir trees. After crossing the mountain we staid at the foot of it, on the margin of a small creek. We had some frost this morning. Next day we traveled over the hills, and got into the rich prairies. Camped on the Umatilla River, where we saw a variety of fruits, black haws and brown cherries; and trees like the balm of Gilead, with pods and gum on them. The Indians brought some good sweet roots to sell us. We traveled on, and got to Dr. Whiteman's and Mr. Gray's, on the Wallawalla, where the Presbyterian Mission is located. These are kind, friendly people. On Wednesday following we left the mission, and traveled on down the Wallawalla about twenty-five miles, and reached the fort at the mouth thereof, on the Columbia River. We continued down the Columbia River on a very dangerous road, on the side of the hills, where, if a horse should stumble, he would fall two hundred feet down the river. We traveled through large white sand banks, and passed the falls, where the Indians catch great quantities of fish. . . . We crossed a small river below the falls, where, while we stopped to let our animals graze, we had some of our articles stolen by the Indians. We passed the "Dalles" or Narrows, where the Columbia River is contracted to not more than twenty yards wide. Around this place the Indians are numerous.

Shortly after this we arrived at the Methodist mission, where brother Daniel Lee, brother Perkins, brother Brewer, and their families are stationed. . . . They were very good to us and supplied us with provisions, free of charge. I was often invited to eat with them, but not to sleep in the house.

After resting three days, we left them and traveled on with four men and one family. We passed two mountains—Mount St. Helena (Adams) and Mount Hood. The tops of these mountains are covered with perpetual snow, and may be seen for one hundred miles. We lodged on a large creek, in company with some Indians. The Indians requested me to hold prayers with them which I did. From thence we struck through to the falls of the Willamette River. On our way, we passed through the thickest wood I ever saw in my life, mostly spruce, pith pine, and fir trees. In these thickets it is almost like night in mid-day, so dense is the forest of large and heavy topped trees. The high hills, logs and mud-holes, made our travel very difficult, and even dangerous. There were a woman and three children in company with us, while we lay out two nights in the rain. I had a buffalo rug for a tent cloth. . . . We passed a number of large water-falls. After traveling 8 days of a wearisome journey, we reached the Methodist mission at the Falls of the Willamette River.⁷⁶

With an Indian guide named Kis-Kis, Rev. Williams, Caroll, Samuel Kelsey and family, William Fowler, James Ross, David

⁷⁶Williams, *Narrative*, 46, 49. The immigrants, destitute on their arrival at Waitatpu, were provisioned free, as they were later at The Dalles. *Transactions*, 19th Reunion, 139. The four men besides Williams and Samuel Kelsey were named by Brewer, who

F. Hill and others left The Dalles Mission on September 24th for the Willamette valley; and Richard Williams and family and the remainder of the party arrived at the mission on the same day.⁷⁷ Rev. Williams and party arrived at the Willamette valley settlement to enjoy Mr. Hubbard's hospitality October 9, after visiting with Robert Moore and others en route by Willamette Falls.

On the following day, Sunday, October 10, Rev. Williams, as on every possible opportunity, tried to preach.⁷⁸ Although a Methodist, Williams' contentions during his stay were no more pleasing to his ministerial brothers than other arguments of his had been pleasing to the rather tolerant DeSmet. The basis of the Williams creed was tolerance, and this marked him as eccentric in the eyes of Catholic and Methodist alike. "One Lord, one faith, one baptism,"⁷⁹ was his text at Westport and at Fort Hall. His fundamental belief was "that the love of God is the first of duties, and that to inculcate it we must be tolerant." The height of the ridiculous, to Father DeSmet was Williams' argument that the term "Catholic" meant love and philanthropy. "He carried his absurdities and contradictions so far," according to the Catholic propagandist, "that he excited the hilarity of the whole camp. His ingenuous simplicity was even greater than his tolerance."⁸⁰

Arrived in the Willamette valley to preach his creed, Williams found most of the missionaries kind, as Father DeSmet had been, but, like the Catholic leader, cold to his appeal for a religion of love. "I fear our missionaries are too scornful with the poor naked Indians," he wrote; and he felt that the Catholics were buying the favor of the natives with presents. "I fear the world and speculation has too much influence over

added the words, "and others." *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:112. According to Mrs. Whitman there were six children in the Kelsey family. It will be noted that the short cut to the Willamette valley was not begun till the falls along the Columbia had been passed.

⁷⁷*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:112. The entry for Jan. 5, 1842 (114) reads, "Mr. Overton set out with Mr. Brown and Campbell for Vancouver."

⁷⁸Williams, *Narrative*, 50.

⁷⁹*Ephesians*, 4:5; *Life, Letters and Travels*, I:296-297.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

these missionaries," he concluded. "I believe that it is brother Lee's intention to do good for the heathen; but it seems he has a great deal of business on hand, which seems a hindrance to the work of religion." Thus he continued throughout the winter, critical and criticised, yet accepting hospitality. He tried to farm and to do manual labor, but age and excessive exertions had taken too much toll, and he returned in 1842 to the United States, after being warned by Jason Lee not to be misled by appearances in reporting conditions when he got back home. Dr. McLoughlin, angered by Williams' presence and activities, impressed the latter as "an ill-natured old Roman Catholic."⁸¹

Early in April the unwelcome old man started for home in company with James Ross, arriving at The Dalles April 21 escorted by missionaries Lee, Leslie and Rogers. Edward Rogers joined him at the Whitman mission, May 4. Williams and Ross were obliged to remain at Wailatpu for two weeks waiting for Captain Grant of the Hudson's Bay Co. brigade to recover lost pack horses.⁸² Equipped through the generosity of missionary Gray, Williams and his two companions set out May 17 for the United States. The trip home took the entire summer because of delays on the part of the three groups of trappers with whom the little group traveled, led by Mr. Grant, Mr. Roubedoux, and Solomon P. Sublette on three stages of a roundabout journey. In 1843 Rev. Williams published in Cincinnati the account to which we are so much indebted.⁸³

Little is known about the subsequent activities of most members of the Oregon part of this immigration of 1841. Charles Flugge reached New Helvetia in California with a trapping expedition in December, to rejoin his comrades and bring news of the safe arrival of the Oregon party.⁸⁴ David F. Hill was a member of the first legislative committee of the provisional government, and was named to the executive committee of the first government established because, Bancroft says, he did not have "influence enough to be dangerous to the peace of the com-

⁸¹Williams, *Narrative*, 52 ff.

⁸²"Father Williams and Mr. Ross left us for the states." (April 25, 1842), *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:116.

⁸³Williams, *Narrative*, 66 ff.

⁸⁴Bancroft, *History of California*, IV: 269, 276, 279.

munity." He continued to serve as legislator in subsequent sessions in an important but inconspicuous manner. He was the founder of Hillsboro.⁸⁵ William Overton was one of the founders of Portland, having picked a 640 acre claim on the west bank of the Willamette.⁸⁶ The Kelsey families got together in 1843 and 1844, moving in a body to California in 1844, with an expedition that bears their name. With them went William Fowler.⁸⁷ Others shifted in the other direction. Colonel Michael C. Nye was at Prineville in 1900;⁸⁸ and James John came north in 1843 with Hudson's Bay traders under Frank Ermatinger, becoming a prominent citizen of Linnton and St. Johns.⁸⁹

With other additions to population in 1841 this composite is not concerned. A large party of Red River immigrants imported by Hudson's Bay Co. interests, passed The Dalles October 9, 1841.⁹⁰ Others than those included in our account entered from the United States or the Rocky Mountains in 1841. Whenever any of these could get employment or asylum along the way, they were inclined to delay their arrival. This was the case with two Americans who arrived at The Dalles March 25, 1841, but decided to stay awhile and saw lumber.⁹¹ When Bancroft said that "in 1841 passed the forts the first deliberate emigration to Oregon and California of men, women and children, fifteen in number," he referred to Nichols and the families of Joel Walker, Warfield and Burrows who straggled on to California in 1840 and 1841, by way of Oregon, traveling with Lieutenant Emmons of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, and arriving before the Bartleson expedition.⁹² The lines between immigrations of 1840 and 1841, and between those of 1841 and 1842 cannot be too clearly drawn; nor can one be sure that he

⁸⁵Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I: 304, 312, Index; Clark, op. cit., 306.

⁸⁶Bancroft, op. cit., II: 281.

⁸⁷Bancroft, *History of California*, III: 746, IV: 44, 453, 698.

⁸⁸*Oregonian*, August 6, 1900.

⁸⁹Frank M. Learned, James John MSS; *Oregonian*, March 29, 1903.

⁹⁰*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXX:112.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 60.

⁹²Bancroft, *History of Nevada*, 687; Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 134.

has included all arrivals when members of important expeditions have been determined and listed.⁹³

The DeSmet-Bartleson expedition of 1841, part of which reached Oregon, resulted from the interaction of missionary zeal and California fever. Human energy, resourcefulness, and determination to reach a desired goal regardless of obstacles could be illustrated better by few other historical movements. Those whose goal was the Rocky Mountains, reached the Rocky Mountains; those who wished to preach to the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, went to their destinations and engaged in religious activity; those who had their hearts set on California refused to be dissuaded. Insignificant numerically as the movement was, it should no longer escape our attention, because it set the pace, and was really a part of larger migrations to follow. The people on the Missouri frontier were swarming like bees, and nothing could keep them from moving westward and settling down in new fields of fragrance. Locally, in Oregon, this small invasion of territory formerly dominated by the Hudson's Bay Co., marked the turning point which was to make the land south of the Columbia, at least, inevitably American. As missionaries went into the business of supplying immigrants, the Hudson's Bay Co. continued to lose its hold on the Oregon country. Invalids, infants, women and old men had shown that they could cross a continent without mishap, travel by new trails, without guides, and live during the first winter without aid from the British monopoly. The time was ripe for a continuous movement to the widely advertised west coast, and there was no force or obstacle that could henceforth avail to hold back the advance of a people. The tourists and the settlers were coming in forgotten forty-one. They are still coming.

⁹³Although the additional list of names which follows probably does not include any who came with the DeSmet-Bartleson expedition, a few names taken from the lists in the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association are given below, for the convenience of those who may continue the study of additions to population in 1841: Franklin Barnier, from Missouri in 1841, born in Canada (5th Reunion); W. T. Jones of Yamhill County, (9); Mrs. C. J. Hood of Portland, born in Illinois, 1840, (17, 23, 25, 27-29, 37); Samuel Williams (17); Mrs. George W. Plumey of Portland (22, 25); Mrs. J. Elinor Stratton of Portland (24); Mrs. Louise Bowie (31); Mrs. Mary E. Chastain of Tygh (33); Mrs. C. I. Wood of Portland (33); and a number of others known to have come from Canada or by sea or who were born in Oregon.

Emigrant's occupation: _____ Origin: _____

Age: _____ M/F: M With family? (Y/N) _____ No. in family: _____

Departed from (code): J1 MO-INDEPENDENCE Arrived at (code): 04 OR

Date of departure: 5/8/41 Date of arrival: 10/10/41 (use form mm/dd/yy)

Party: BARTLESON

Mode of travel: W (one code only: W - wagons; P - packing; L - passenger lines; H - handcart; X - other)

Number of wagons at departure: _____

Number of people at departure: 63 total 48 men 15 women CHILDREN children

Draft animals at departure: _____ oxen _____ mules _____ horses _____ other (use X or a number)

Other animals: _____ (H - horses; C - cattle; S - sheep; P - pigs; F - fowl; D - dogs; X - other)

Routes: 1B 1D 1E 1L 2M _____ (use codes from the trail maps)

Guidebook used by emigrant (enter either a title, or an author and title if given)

Notes on back? _____

Emigrant's last name: Tobie, Surveyed by: JMP 87
first & middle names: H. E. Date surveyed: 02/06/93
Title: FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE COLUMBIA, 1841

Year of journey: 1841 Year written (if different): _____ Page nos. surveyed: 136-147
Type of document: J (D - diary; J - journal; R - reminiscence; L - letter; N - newspaper article; G - guide; A - autobiography; O - other)
Items in document: F (use all applicable codes)
M - daily mileages D - emigrant drawings P - emigrant maps Q - maps by editor K - biographical sketch
I - Introduction B - bibliography N - index X - photos F - footnotes/commentaries

Published? (Y/N): Y Location of original document: _____

For PUBLISHED documents only:
Published in: The OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
VOLUME XXXVIII NUMBER 2

Publisher: _____ Year published: 1937

Place published: _____

Editor's (or translator's) last name: _____
first & middle names: _____

Notes about publication history: _____

For UNPUBLISHED documents only:
Notes about format of document: _____

Notes on back?

Tobie was NOT the emigrant on this trek. He merely compiled this piece.

Party included Paul Geddes alias Talbot H. Green, an absconding bank clerk from PA, traveling w/stolen funds

Last name	First names	Age	M/F	Origin	Party	Page	Date (mm/dd)	CODES 1 2
✓ De Smet ✓	^{Father} Pierre Jean		M		Catholic missionary BARTLESon party	138	5-10	
✓ BIDWELL	John		M		"	139		
✓ ROMAINE ✓	? NFN		M	ENGLISH	"	139		J ✓
✓ HINSHAW ✓	George		M	ILLINOIS	"	139		
✓ FITZPATRICK ✓	Thomas		M		Cath. missionary party	138		L
✓ BAKER ✓	? NFN		M		"	139		
✓ NYE AND ✓	Michael C		M		"	139		
✓ THOMAS ^E ✓	ROBERT H.		M	Maine	"	139		
✓ BARTLESon ✓	John		M		"	140		L L
✓ DAWSON ✓	NICHOLAS		M	MISSOURI ^{ST Joseph}		140	5-8	
✓ BELDEN ✓	Joseph Josiah		M	ST LOUIS MO		140	5-8	
✓ CHANDLER ✓	?		M	" "		140	5-8	
✓ BROLASKE ✓	H.S.		M	" "		140		
✓ KELSEY ✓	SAMUEL		M			140		W
✓	WIFE + 6 CHILDREN		F/P	KENTUCKY		140		
✓ GRAY (WIDOW) ✓	? Child		F/P	"		140		BRACKET [1] G W
✓ WILLIAMS ✓	RICHARD		M			140		W ✓
✓	FAMILY		F/P			140		
✓ (GEDDES ✓)	PAUL		M	PENN.		140	5-18	
✓ (ALIAS TALBOT)	GREEN		M	PENN.		140		

Talbot H. Green

CODES for column 1:

A - birth	G - marriage (*)
B - death, illness	H - registered name
C - death, accident	I - name on roster
D - death, murder	J - turned back
E - death, other/unknown	K - traveling east-
F - name on grave	

CODES for column 2:

L - capt. of party	R - Black
M - guide of party	S - Indian
N - military	T - Hispanic
O - govt. surveyor/explorer	U - non-US citizen
P - trader	V - Mormon
Q - non-immigrant	W - joined other party

Codes may not apply to all names. Use up to 2 codes in each column, if multiple codes apply.

* For marriages, bracket the spouses' names and number the couples sequentially.

Last name	First names	Age	M/F	Origin	Party	Page	Date (mm/dd)	CODES	
								1	2
✓ FATHER PONT (POINT) ✓	Father		M		BARTLESON	140			
✓ FATHER MENGARINE ✓	Father		M			140			
✓ GRAY ✓	John		M			140	5/18	J	P
✓ Green HOPPER ✓	T.H. CHARLES		M	Alaska		140	5/18		
✓ SPRINGER ✓	J.P.		M			140			
✓ PATTON ✓	A.G.		M			141	J		
✓ Jones ✓	J.M.		M			141	J		J
✓ Chandler De SWART ✓	J.W. John		M			141			
✓ BARNET ✓	ELIAS		M			141			
✓ WALTON ✓	MAJOR		M			141			
✓ WALTON ✓	A.		M			141			
✓ McMAHAN ✓	GREEN		M			141			
✓ Mc DOWEL ✓	J.		M			141			
✓ STONE ✓	ELISHA		M			141			J
✓ KELSEY ✓	ISAIAH		M	Ky		141			
✓ TOWLER (Fowler) ✓	WILLIAM		M			141			
✓ FLUBBE ✓	E.W.		M			141			W
✓ OVERTON ✓	W.P.		M			141			W
✓ SIMPSON ✓	GEORGE		M			141			W
✓ DAWSON ✓	V.W.		M			141			

CODES for column 1:

- A - birth
- B - death, illness
- C - death, accident
- D - death, murder
- E - death, other/unknown
- F - name on grave
- G - marriage (*)
- H - registered name
- I - name on roster
- J - turned back
- K - traveling east

CODES for column 2:

- L - capt. of party
- M - guide of party
- N - military
- O - govt. surveyor/explorer
- P - trader
- Q - non-immigrant
- R - Black
- S - Indian
- T - Mexican/Spanish
- U - non-US citizen
- V - Mormon
- W - joined other party

Codes may not apply to all names. Use up to 2 codes in each column, if multiple codes apply.

* For marriages, bracket the spouses' names and number the couples sequentially.

(JEANNE M. PATTERSON)

COED - Census of Overland Emigrant Documents
PAGE 3: Survey of Names (page 3 of 3)

JMP 87
Document ID: (41-TOB-0/)

Last name	First names	Age	M/F	Origin	Party	Page	Date (mm/dd)	CODES	
								1	2
✓ Kelsey ✓	ANDREW		M	Kentucky	BARTHESON	141			
✓ Kelsey ✓	BENJ		M	"		141			W ✓
✓ "	FAMILY		F/R	"		141			
✓ ROGERS ✓	EDWARD Edw.		M			141			W
✓ HILL ✓	D.F.		M			141			
✓ COOK ✓	A		M			141			
✓ CARROLL ✓	JONES		M			141			W
✓ ROSS ✓	JAMES Jas.		M			141			
✓ Huber ✓	HENRY		M			141			
✓ Bolland ✓	John		M			141			
✓ BELTY ✓	WILLIAM		M			141			
✓ JONES ✓	THOMAS		M			141			
✓ FIFER ✓	AUGUSTUS		M			141			
✓ John ✓	James		M			141			
✓ RICKMAN ✓	Robert		M			141			
✓ PEYTON ✓	HENRY		M			141	5-23		J ✓
✓ CHILES ✓	J B		M	MISSOURI		141			
✓ WEAVER (Weber) ✓	CHARLES		M			141			
✓ SHOTWELL ✓	JAMES		M	MISSOURI		141			C
✓ KELSEY ✓	ISAAC		M	KENTUCKY		145			Bracket [2] G W
✓ John ✓	JAMES		M			142			

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H - registered name
I - name on roster
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K - traveling east-

CODES for column 2:

L - capt. of party
M - guide of party
N - military
O - govt. surveyor/explorer
P - trader
Q - non-immigrant
R - Black
S - Indian
T - Hispanic
U - non-US citizen
V - Mormon
W - joined other party

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* For marriages, bracket the spouses' names and number the couples sequentially.

Last name	First names	Age	M/F	Origin	Party	Page	Date (mm/dd)	CODES	
								1	2
✓ BAKER ✓	JAMES		M		trapper BARTLESon	141			
✓ MAST ✓	WILLIAM		M		" trapper	141			W
✓ PIGA ✓	? VFN		M	France	" trapper	141			
✓ FRYE ✓	A E		M			141	J	J	
✓ ROGERS ✓	Edward		M			141	5-26		
✓ WILLIAMS ✓	Joseph	64	M	IV.		141			W
✓ McMAHON ✓	Nelson		M			141			
✓ CLAESSENS ✓	WILLIAM		M			141			
✓ HUETT ✓	CHARLES		M			141			
✓ SPECHT ✓	Joseph		M			141			
✓ WILLIAMS ✓	MISS		F			145	6-26-1	G	Bracket 2
✓ STONE ✓	ELISHA		M		daughter R. Williams	145			
✓ SIMPSON ✓	George		M			148	6-23		W
✓ ELLAN ✓	RICHARD "Cocrum"		M			150	7-30	G	W [L] BRACKET
✓ WHITMAN ✓	NARCISSA		F			152	8-11		Q
✓ BREWER ✓	(REV)		M			152	8-11		Q
✓ HILL ✓	DAVID F.		M			154			
✓ Ermatinger (Armington) ✓	Francis		M		Hudson Bay Co. brigade	154	8-21		
✓ WHITMAN ✓	(DR)		M		Presbyterian Mission	155	9-8		Q
✓ GRAY ✓	MR.		M			155	9-8		Q
✓ Lee (brother) ✓	DANIEL		M		Methodist Mission	155			Q
✓ PERKINS (brother) ✓			M		" "	155			Q
✓ XAVIER ✓	Francis		M			152	8-10		SM

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- T - Mexican/Spanish
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- V - Mormon
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* For marriages, bracket the spouses' names and number the couples sequentially.

Last name	First names	Age	M/F	Origin	Party	Page	Date	CODES
Kis-Kis	NFN		M					1 2
GRANT	Capt.		M		Hudson's Bay Co. brigade BARTLESON	155	09/24	MS
Rouhedouy	Mr		M			157		
Sublette	SOLOMON		M			157		
Hubbard	Mr		M			156	10/09	
McLoughlin	Dr.		M			157		
Leslie	NFN		M		missionary	157	04/21/42	
Walker	Joel (Family)		M		Wilkes Expl. Exped.	158		
Warfield	HE Family		M		" " "	158		
Burrows	NFN Family		M		" " "	158		
Emmons	Lieutenant		M		Wilkes Exploring Exped.	158		
Nichols	NFN		M		" " "	158		

CODES for column 1:

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Codes may not apply to all names. Use up to 2 codes in each column, if multiple codes apply.

* For marriages, bracket the spouses' names and number the couples sequentially.

Location	Page	Date
WESTPORT	139	5/7
KANSAS RIVER	139	5/7
SOLDIER CREEK	139	
SAPLING GROVE	139	
WESTON	140	5/8
INDEPENDENCE	140	5/8
KANSAS	140	5/19
BLUE CREEK	142	5/21
VERMILLION CREEK	143	5/24
BIG BLUE CREEK	143	5/24
PLATTE RIVER	144	5/31
PLATTE RIVER, NORTH + SOUTH FORK	145	6/1
LEFT SOUTH FORK TO NORTH FORK	147	6/12
dry ASH CREEK	147	6/12
CHIMNEY ROCK	148	6/16
COURT HOUSE ROCK	148	6/16
SCOTT'S BLUFF	148	6/19
HORSE CREEK	148	6/20
FORT LARAMIE	148	6/22
New FORT JOHN STAR	148	6/22
BLACK HILLS WEST	148	6/22
GREEN RIVER	148	6-21 + 27
NORTH PLATTE	148	6/29 + 7/1
SWEETWATER	149	7/4

Location	Page	Date
INDEPENDENCE ROCK	149	7/5
WIND RIVER MOUNTAINS	149	7/8
LITTLE SANDY - BRANCH OF GREEN RIVER	149	7/18
BIG SANDY	149	7/22
HAMS FORK	150	7/26
BLACK'S FORK of Green River	150	7/31
BEAR RIVER NEAR BEAR LAKE	151	8/2
SODA FOUNTAIN	152	8/10
Post HALL	152	
valley of PORTNEUF	152	8/12
SODA SPRINGS	153	
SNAKE RIVER	154	8/21
SALMON FALLS	154	8/21
FORT BOISE	154	9/1
GUN POWDER RIVER	154	9/4
BLUE MOUNTAINS	155	9/5
GRAND ROUND	155	
UMATILLA RIVER	155	
WALLAWALLA RIVER	155	
PRESBYTERIAN MISSION	155	
COLUMBIA RIVER	155	
the "Dalles" or Narrows	155	
MOUNT ST HELENA & MOUNT HOOD	155	
DALLES MISSION	156	09/24
WILLAMETTE RIVER	156	10/10

CODE	Tribe name (leave blank if not mentioned)	Page	Date
<u>D 1</u>		<u>139</u>	<u>5-15-41</u>
<u>D 1</u>		<u>142</u>	<u>5-20</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>Pawnee</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>5-21</u>
<u>I</u>		<u>143</u>	
<u>I</u>		<u>143</u>	
<u>C</u>	<u>Chienne</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>6-3</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>PAWNEE</u>	<u>146</u>	
<u>I</u>		<u>146</u>	<u>6-5</u>
<u>H</u>	<u>SNAKE</u>	<u>151</u>	<u>7-3</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>SNAKE</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>8-28</u>
<u>I</u>		<u>155</u>	
<u>I</u>	<u>"KIS-KIS" - NAME OF INDIAN GUIDE</u> <u>on names page</u>	<u>155</u>	<u>9-24</u>
1		156	

CODES (use up to 3 for each entry)

- A** - attacked
- B** - begged
- C** - robbed
- D** - saw Indians
- E** - imagined sighting
- F** - worried about Indians
- G** - were warned about
- H** - traded with Indians
- I** - other
- J** - paid toll to Indians

*R. V. Smith/Talks
for instructions*