

CONGRESS ESTABLISHES OREGON AS A TERRITORY

When news of the massacre reached Fort Vancouver and Oregon City, the reaction was swift and effective. Chief Factors Ogden and Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company were concerned with the necessity of securing the release of the captives; Governor George Abernethy and other officials of the Provisional Government of Oregon took steps to apprehend and punish the perpetrators of the crime.

ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

William McBean, in charge of Fort Walla Walla, first learned of the massacre on Tuesday morning, November 30, when Peter D. Hall staggered into the fort almost exhausted from his night's ordeal. McBean then wisely sent his interpreter, Bushman, to investigate. Bushman made the fifty-mile round trip to Waiilatpu and back in one day. He confirmed all that Hall had told and gave many more details.

In the meantime, Finley with the three half-breed boys had arrived at the fort. Finley delivered to McBean the letter that Mrs. Saunders had written which listed the names of those she believed had been killed. On the basis of this information, McBean wrote that Tuesday evening to the "Board of Management" at Fort Vancouver and reported what he had heard. He also repeated a rumor that Finley had brought to the effect that the Cayuses were planning to attack Fort Walla Walla. "Let them

come!” wrote McBean, “if they will not listen to reason. Though I have only five men at the establishment [which number included two priests], I am prepared to give them a warm reception. The gates are closed day and night, and the bastions in readiness.”¹

McBean deputized Bushman to carry the letter to Fort Vancouver, since he could add his own testimony regarding the massacre to what had been written. Bushman left early on Wednesday morning, December 1, and made the first part of his journey on horseback to The Dalles, where he expected to get a canoe and then continue by water. Judging by circumstantial evidence, it appears that McBean gave Bushman strict orders not to say anything to Perrin Whitman or others at The Dalles regarding what had taken place at Waiilatpu. Evidently McBean was fearful that if the Cayuses should discover that he had written to Fort Vancouver, they would become angry and attack his fort.

Bushman arrived at The Dalles on the following Saturday morning where he found six Americans with Perrin Whitman. They were Mr. and Mrs. Alanson Hinman and their small child; Mr. and Mrs. William McKinney, an immigrant couple; and Dr. Henry Saffarans, who had but shortly before been appointed U.S. Indian Agent for The Dalles. Bushman was so nervous and so insistent on getting a canoe at once and pursuing his trip down the river that both Perrin and Hinman became somewhat apprehensive. Hinman asked if there had been some difficulty at Fort Walla Walla. Bushman replied by telling a falsehood. Hinman reported: “He said four Frenchman [i.e., the Company’s employees] had died recently and he wished to get others to occupy their places.”² A canoe was secured, and Hinman decided to accompany Bushman in order to get some medicine for the natives in the vicinity of Waskopum who had been stricken with measles.

When the two men were nearing the Cascades, about midway between The Dalles and Fort Vancouver, conscience-stricken Bushman confessed that he had lied; he then told the story of the “horrid massacre that took place at Waiilatpu” the preceding Monday. Hinman was aghast at the news, and at once was deeply concerned over the safety of those at The Dalles, including his wife and child. He upbraided Bushman for not warning them, but Bushman defended himself by saying that he was obeying McBean’s order to say nothing.

Hinman and Bushman reached Fort Vancouver on Monday evening, December 6, just a week after the Whitman had been killed. Ogden and Douglas were stunned at the news the two men brought. McBean stated in his letter that he had heard that the Cayuses were sending war parties to the sawmill, to Lapwai, to Tshimakain, and to The Dalles to kill Americans in those places. When Douglas read that, he turned to Hinman and asked: "My God, Hinman why are you here?" The report that the Cayuses were planning to attack The Dalles was new to Hinman, and filled him with alarm. "Why was that Frenchman forbidden to tell me?" he cried. Douglas, seeking to calm his anxiety, replied: "You must remember that [that] man was in trying circumstances."

The next morning Douglas wrote to George Abernethy, a former Methodist missionary then serving as Governor of the Provisional Government of Oregon, informing him of the massacre. He enclosed a copy of McBean's letter, but the sentence referring to the intention of the Cayuses to send war parties to Lapwai and The Dalles to kill Americans in each of those places was deliberately omitted. Evidently, Douglas, knowing that publicity would be given to the letter, felt it best to edit McBean's letter so as not to alarm the Americans in the Willamette Valley unduly.³

On December 9, Douglas wrote to S. N. Castle, a member of the American Board's Mission in Hawaii, giving the details of the massacre, and included a copy of his letter of the 7th which he had sent to Governor Abernethy. Castle forwarded this letter to the editor of *The Friend*, a Honolulu paper, which published it in its March 1 issue. By an interesting coincidence, the ship which carried the letter from Douglas also carried a letter from Whitman, of unknown date, to Castle. In all probability this was the last letter Whitman wrote and, although the original is not known to be extant, Castle did make a quotation from it when he wrote to the editor of *The Friend* on February 2, 1848. Castle wrote: "By the same conveyance, we received a letter from Dr. Whitman informing us of the intention of the mission to erect a school house at his station for the children of the mission, *a meeting house for Indians*, and also to aid the Indians in erecting some permanent store houses, and requesting us some supplies for that purpose; *thus showing that to the last he was devising means for the benefit of those by whose hands he fell.*"⁴

Following the arrival of Hinman and Bushman at Fort Vancouver, Douglas and Ogden made immediate preparations to send a rescue party to Fort Walla Walla to secure, if possible, the release of the captives. Three boats under the command of Ogden left Vancouver on Tuesday, December 7. The expedition arrived at The Dalles on the 15th. Progress up the river was slow, partly because the heavy boats had to be carried over the portages, one being five miles long at the Cascades. The Ogden party reached Fort Walla Walla on the 19th. Ogden at once sought to communicate with the Cayuse chiefs. He realized the great importance of rescuing the captives before the Cayuses heard of any intention of the Provisional Government to send a punitive expedition into their country as Ogden knew it would.

When Douglas and Ogden wrote to Sir George Simpson in London on the following March 16 to report the massacre and the actions they had taken, they said that the primary purpose of sending the large company of employees to Fort Walla Walla was “for the protection of the Company’s establishment.” They also stated that it was then their hope “to rescue the surviving members of the unfortunate mission family, who remained in the hands of the Indians.”⁵ It may have been from fear of Simpson’s disapproval of their actions that they put the material interests of the Company ahead of humanitarian considerations.

CAYUSES THREATEN TO KILL PERRIN WHITMAN

The report that McBean sent to Douglas and Ogden about the intention of the Cayuses to attack Waskopum proved to be true. About twenty minutes after Hinman and Bushman left The Dalles for Fort Vancouver, some of the local Indians crowded into Perrin Whitman’s home. After sitting quietly for a time one asked: “Why are you not crying?” “Why should I be crying?” asked Perrin. “Because your father and mother [i.e., the Whitmans] are dead. All the Americans at Wailatpu are dead; the Cayuses have killed them.”

“How do you know?” Perrin anxiously inquired. “The Frenchman told us that he saw them lying dead about the doctor’s house before he started.”⁶

Dr. Saffarans, in a sworn statement made February 9, 1849, stated that Bushman was the first to tell the Indians at The Dalles about the massacre.⁷ Although Bushman had been given strict orders not to tell

the white people at The Dalles about the massacre, evidently he did not feel that such an order prevented him from communicating with the natives.

Perrin found it difficult to believe the report of the killings at Waiilatpu which had been relayed to him by the local Indians.⁸ On December 12, more than a week after Bushman had called at The Dalles, a friendly Nez Perce arrived at Waskopum and confirmed the news of the massacre. Looking back on those terrifying days, Perrin recalled that the Nez Perce told him that the Cayuse chiefs had offered “one hundred horses... for my scalp.”⁹

When the Indians at The Dalles heard rumors that the white people in the Willamette Valley planned to send soldiers into the upper Columbia River country, they fled to the mountains. Thus Perrin and those with him were left without any possible assistance from friendly natives.

After being warned by the Nez Perce Indian, Perrin and his companions made such preparations as they could to meet any attack. They all gathered in one house. Perrin, who was only seventeen years old, had the main responsibility as neither of the two men with him knew the Indian language. Moreover, one of the men was ill. “We fitted up some old flintlock guns,” Perrin recalled, “and, armed with these and some axes and other weapons... determined to resist any attack the best we could. I stood at the doorway all night with an ax ready to hew down the first Indian that tried to enter. I knew an ax was longer than a tomahawk, and figured that I had the advantage.”

At daybreak on the morning of the 13th, Perrin heard a party of Cayuses stealthily approaching the house. “With bated breath,” he said, “I listened and heard murmurings.” Fortunately, Perrin could understand what they were saying. “I heard the Indians say the white soldiers are coming. ‘We must have the boy,’ they said. ‘He knows us all’... All hope left me. I awaited an attack in a terrible suspense. But again, just in time, some friendly Nez Perces galloped into view, and the Cayuses, guilty and suspicious, thought they were the volunteers. The attacking party fled, and this alone saved my life.”

Later Perrin learned that the Cayuses had planned to call him out of the house on “a pretended truce,” at which time he would have been killed. Perrin stated that he would “readily have fallen into the trap” in the hope of saving the others at Waskopum dependent on him.

To Perrin's great relief, Ogden and his party from Fort Vancouver arrived at The Dalles two days after this incident. With Ogden was Hinman. Ogden brought word that a company of volunteers was being raised in the Willamette Valley and that an advance contingent would soon be arriving. By this time it was clearly apparent to both Perrin and Hinman that the usefulness of Waskopum as a mission station had come to an abrupt end.¹⁰ The very night of the day that Ogden and his party arrived at The Dalles, Perrin, the Hinmans, the McKinneys, and Dr. Saffarans left for the Willamette Valley. Perrin joined the Oregon Volunteers, being the youngest member of that punitive expedition, and was with a company which arrived at The Dalles in April 1848.¹¹

EXPERIENCES OF THE CAPTIVES

Forty-seven men, women and children (including Stanfield) were captives of the Cayuses from the time the massacre began on November 29 to the day they arrived at Fort Walla Walla on Wednesday, December 29. Thus they lived through one month of terror before being rescued. During the first week of their captivity, their fate was undecided. Such hot-headed Indians as Tomahas, Tamsucky, and Frank Escaloom were in favor of killing all, even the women and children, but Tiloukaikt hesitated. When Mrs. Saunders and Beardy interceded with Tiloukaikt in behalf of the women and children, he then assured them that there would be no more killings. On Tuesday, McBean's interpreter, Bushman, arrived and told Tiloukaikt that the Hudson's Bay Company was shocked at what had happened. Bushman passed on McBean's stern warning that there should be no more killings.¹² No doubt Tiloukaikt was loath to incur the displeasure of the Company, as the Indians were dependent upon it for many supplies such as guns and ammunition for their hunts.

Stickus is known to have visited Waiilatpu shortly after the massacre, and it is safe to assume that he too registered his protest. When the Christian Nez Perces, Timothy and Eagle, arrived, they too protested.

Tiloukaikt, however, was unable to control some of the young men of his band. There was a generation gap even in that day. The murder of James Young on the day after Tiloukaikt had promised that there would be no more killings, was evidently done without the chief's knowledge or consent. The murder of the two sick men, Sales and Bewley, took place

when Tiloukaikt was away and when his son, Edward, seemingly was in charge. At the time of the trial of the accused murderers in Oregon City in May 1850, Tiloukaikt was charged with complicity in the deaths of only Dr. Whitman and Judge Saunders. His participation in these cases is not clear for he may not have been the one who struck the fatal blows.

Years later, in her reminiscences, Catherine Sager wrote: "Old Teloukite was a man who intended to do right, as far as he knew... was ever after [the massacre] a heart-broken conscience-stricken man. I used to feel sorry for him as I saw him moving about, viewing the wreck of a once happy home."¹³ Even though at least three of the girls were taken as wives by natives, the fact that forty-seven survived the month's captivity was due largely to the restraining influence of Chief Tiloukaikt.

Catherine and Mrs. Saunders have given us the best account of the experiences of the captives prior to their release. "They supplied us with an abundance of food, both meat and vegetables," wrote Catherine. "We were allowed to have all the sugar found in Dr. Whitman's house." Both the captives and the Indians dipped freely into the stores of supplies which Dr. Whitman had laid up to meet the needs of his large family and the immigrants through the winter of 1847-48. Stanfield, whom Mrs. Saunders called "a necessary evil," undoubtedly continued to perform such chores as milking the cows and getting wood and water for the comfort and survival of the captives. Catherine noted that often he did such things reluctantly.

During the first days of the captivity, the Indians often crowded into the rooms occupied by the women and children, sometimes lingering until late into the night. The women and children at first were fearful of going out-of-doors. Ten-year-old Eliza Spalding was in great demand as an interpreter. Of this Catherine wrote: "She had been born and brought up among the Indians, and could speak the language well. All day long she was here and there interpreting every silly thing the natives wished to say to the captives, sitting for hours at the mill in order to interpret for the men at work at the mill. The exposure, with anxiety for the fate of her father and mother, weighed on her till she gave out. Taking a fever, she lay very low for days."¹⁴ She was still on her sick bed when Timothy and Eagle visited Waiilatpu in an effort to obtain her release.

The Cayuses found a quantity of calico and muslin in Whitman's storeroom. This they carried to the women and demanded that they sew shirts for them. They also set the women to work knitting socks. At least during the first days of the captivity, the women were also required to cook for the Indians. "The Indians commenced coming early [in the morning]," wrote Catherine, "and stayed until one or two at night. We had to give them their meals but they would not eat until we had first tasted it for fear of poison. They would sit down at the table and make us eat some from each dish."¹⁵

Catherine related an incident which throws light upon the constant danger the captives faced from the capricious and suspicious Cayuses. Because of the harassment suffered at the hands of some of the unruly young men of the tribe, Mrs. Saunders asked Beardy to stay with the women and children each evening until after the young men had returned to their lodges.

By this time Beardy was the most trusted Indian at Waiilatpu. In order to show her appreciation, Mrs. Saunders made him some peach pies from some dried peaches she had found in the Whitmans' storeroom. Evidently Whitman had secured this delicacy at Fort Vancouver at the time of his visit during the preceding summer. Beardy found the pies so delicious that he ate too heartily of them one day and as a result became violently ill.

Catherine wrote: "He vomited the peaches and thought it was blood, and came at once to the conclusion that he had been poisoned, and resolved to have us all put to death. As soon as he recovered, he made his decision known to his people. We were informed that they would kill us the next day. The Indians came armed and with dark brows. Taking my little sister in my arms, I quietly sat on the floor behind the stove determined to meet my fate with her in my arms."¹⁶

At that critical time, an Indian woman by the name of Katherine, the wife of a Hudson's Bay employee, arrived at Waiilatpu. Knowing some English, she quickly diagnosed the situation and told Beardy that there was nothing wrong except he had gorged himself on peach pies. After being convinced that he had no one to blame but himself, Beardy calmed down and later treated the whole incident as a huge joke. But at the time it was no joke for the captives. "We lived in constant fear of death," wrote Catherine. The Indian women, whose intercession had

saved the captives from harm, brought the cheering news that Ellis, Head Chief of the Nez Perces, was coming in from the buffalo country, and would set them free.

Unknown to Catherine, however, Ellis and about sixty members of his band had died of measles, while in what is now western Montana, sometime before the massacre.¹⁷ Moreover, Lawyer, who later became Head Chief of the Nez Perces, was also in the buffalo country. The absence of these two men left the Nez Perces without the leadership which might have effected the release of the captives sooner than was the case.

LORINDA BEWLEY RAPED

The old adage “to the victor belong the spoils” again proved to be true in the days following the outbreak of violence at Waiilatpu. From time immemorial, captors have ravished their women captives; so it is not surprising to read about the rape of at least three young women at Waiilatpu who were left without male protection. They were: Esther Lorinda Bewley,¹⁸ age twenty-two; Susan Kimball, sixteen; and Mary Smith, fifteen. There may have been others, for Spalding made two references to girls being raped who were so young that “the knife had to be used.”¹⁹

Lorinda’s ordeal began the day before her brother, Crocket, was killed. Her attacker was Tamsucky, who is believed to have been the one who had tried about five years before to force his way into Narcissa’s bedroom shortly after Marcus had left for the East. Regarding Lorinda’s experiences, Catherine Sager wrote: “One evening an Indian came to the house and seemed to be looking for someone. We learned that it was Miss Bewley. She was sick with the ague, and was lying in bed. He went to the bed and began to fondle over her. She sprang up and sat down behind the stove. He sat down by her and tried to prevail upon her to be his wife. She told him that he had a wife, and that she would not have him. Finding that persuasion nor threats availed, he seized her and dragged her out of the house, and tried to place her upon his horse; he failed in this... He tried to stop her screams by placing his hand over her mouth. The contest lasted for some time, when, becoming enraged, he threw her with violence upon the ground. After perpetrating his hellish designs upon her, he ordered her to go to the house. The poor, heart-broken girl came in shaking with agitation.”²⁰

All this took place in the presence of witnesses and near the room where Lorinda's brother, Crocket, lay on his sick bed. "While the brute was thus maltreating his sister," wrote Catherine, "Mr. Bewley, unable to stand the screams, got up to go to her rescue. At our earnest request, we sent him back to bed." According to a deposition made by Lorinda in 1848: "The Indian abused me before his [i.e., her brother's] eyes, but he dared not raise his hand even if he had had the strength."²¹ This incident took place the day before the two young men were killed. Just as the brother had heard the screams of his sister, had seen her being raped by Tamsucky, and was helpless to prevent the outrage, so the sister had to experience the agonizing ordeal of hearing the screams of her brother and Sales, unable to prevent their deaths. Catherine remembered that Lorinda "hid under a bed and gave vent to her grief."

Chief Five Crows, whose lodge was on the Umatilla River near that of his half-brother Young Chief, now enters the picture. As has been mentioned, Five Crows had been baptized by Spalding and received into the membership of the Mission church on June 16, 1843. He was the only Cayuse among the twenty-one natives received into the church during the mission period. Spalding had bestowed upon him the Biblical name, Hezekiah, which was spelled by Brouillet as Achekiak (Achekiah, Ackekaiah). Although Five Crows had no part in the Whitman massacre, he may have known what Tiloukaikt and his band were planning to do. If so, we have no evidence to indicate that he tried to prevent the killings. On the day after the deaths of Bewley and Sales, he sent a servant to Waiilatpu with horses to get Lorinda. Eliza Spalding noticed that one of the horses had belonged to her father and therefore came to the erroneous conclusion that he had been killed. When Lorinda learned of the intention of Five Crows to make her his wife, she went to Tiloukaikt and pled with him to allow her to stay at Waiilatpu with the other women, but he refused. "You will be safer at the camp of the chief," he said. "All the Indians will be glad to protect the squaw of Five Crows, but here you will become the property of all and I cannot help you. You will do well to marry the great chief who wants a yellow haired wife."²² At that time Five Crows had no wife. He is reported to have owned more than a thousand horses. Five Crows knew that many of the mountain men as well as the officers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had taken Indian wives. If white men could take Indian

women for their wives, why should not an Indian take a white woman? In this instance, however, the importance difference lay in the fact that Lorinda Bewley did not want to be the wife of an Indian even if he were a rich and powerful chief.²³

The Indian whom Five Crows had sent to get Lorinda insisted on starting back to the Umatilla on that same day, December 9, even though she was then sick with a fever. "There was no escape," wrote Catherine. "The poor girl had to go. We offered her all the comfort we could but what is comfort under such circumstances? We saw the weeping girl ride away."

Shortly after the two had left Waiilatpu, Tamsucky arrived with Joe Lewis and a team and wagon. Not having been able to abduct Lorinda earlier in that day by taking her away on horseback, he had come with a wagon. His plan was to bind her with a rope and put her in the wagon. "They ransacked the house well," wrote Catherine, "not believing our statement that she was gone."²⁴ The incident proved the correctness of Tiloukaikt's statement that if Lorinda had remained at Waiilatpu, she would have become "the common property of all."

Lorinda's experiences with Five Crows, although preferable to what she would have suffered at the hands of Tamsucky, were, nevertheless, deeply traumatic. Since she and the Indian servant left Waiilatpu too late in the afternoon to reach the Umatilla that day, they had to spend the night in the open. It was a cold, stormy night, with snow falling. They arrived at Five Crows' lodge before noon on the 10th. At first, Five Crows was kind. He carried her into his lodge and laid her upon a bed of robes and blankets. He built a fire and gave her food. Seeing her great unhappiness, he said that she could go to the "house of the white men... and at night he would come for her."²⁵

In a second sworn statement, dated December 12, 1848, Lorinda said: "I obtained the privilege of going to the bishop's house before violation on the Umatilla, and *begged and cried to the bishop for protection* either at his house, or to be sent to Wallawalla. I told him I would do any work by night and day for him if he would protect me. *He said he would do all he could.*"²⁶ Lorinda stated that in the house at that time were Bishop Blanchet, Father Brouillet, two other priests, and three Frenchmen. When night came, Five Crows returned to the Bishop's house to get Lorinda. "I refused to go," Lorinda stated, "and he went away,

apparently mad, *and the bishop told me I had better go*, as he might do us all an injury.” On the Bishop’s insistence, she was taken to the chief’s lodge. When Five Crows saw the extent of her distress, he sent her back to the Bishop where she remained for that night and the following three days and nights. On Tuesday evening, December 14, Five Crows returned and demanded that she go with him. Lorinda stated: “*The bishop finally ordered me to go*; my answer was, I had rather die. After this, he still insisted on my going as the best thing I could do.”²⁷ Father Brouillet said: “You must go, or he will come back and do us all an injury.”

In Catherine’s account of the incident, the details of which she had no doubt received from Lorinda, we may read: “She refused to go with him and he resorted to force. She held onto the table until her hands were skinned but what is the strength of a frail woman in the hands of a savage lustful man? She was taken to his lodge, and in the morning after *family prayers*; he sent her back to the Priest’s house.” Five Crows’ attitude towards Lorinda alternated between gentleness and harshness. Likewise his conception of Christianity was filled with contradictions. While keeping up the ritual of family devotions, as taught by the missionaries, he, at the same time, indulged his lustful desires.

For two weeks, from December 14 until she was sent to Fort Walla Walla on the 28th, Lorinda spent the nights with Five Crows and the days in the house of the Bishop. Of this she said: “I would return early in the morning to the bishop’s house, and be violently taken away at night. The bishop provided kindly for me while at his house.”

Spalding, while glossing over the conduct of his only convert among the Cayuses, Five Crows, severely criticized the Catholic clergy for not protecting Lorinda.²⁸ It should be remembered, however, that the Bishop and his associates had to compromise their actions because of the threat of violence to themselves. In this respect, their situation paralleled that of McBean at Fort Walla Walla who hesitated to receive Osborn and his family.

Since Five Crows was a Protestant, the Bishop could make no appeal for mercy which was based on ecclesiastical authority. Moreover, Father Ricard at Fort Walla Walla had sent a messenger with an urgent warning to Bishop Blanchet: “that the lives of the priests were in danger... because the Vicar General [Father Brouillet] helped Mr. Spalding to escape.”

Father Ricard also reported that the Cayuses had become so threatening, even towards the French Canadians in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, that McBean had taken emergency measures at the fort to ward off a possible attack. The receipt of this warning at 4:30 on the morning of Monday, the 12th, no doubt accounted for the reluctance of the Bishop and his fellow clerics to do anything that might arouse the anger of Five Crows. Here is the explanation for those bitter words spoken by Father Brouillet to Lorinda: "You must go, or he will come back and do us all an injury."

TWO GIRLS TAKEN AS WIVES

Emboldened by the apparent success of Tamsucky and Five Crows in their dealings with Lorinda Bewley, several of the young men from Tiloukaikt's camp cast lustful eyes on two teen-age girls, Mary Smith, age fifteen, and Susan Kimball, sixteen. Why sixteen-year-old Ellen Canfield was not involved is not known. She may have been ill at the time.

Mary Smith had so captured the attention of Edward, son of Tiloukaikt, that he had wanted her for his wife several weeks before the massacre took place. Mrs. Saunders wrote: "Edward had tried to buy Mary Smith when he had seen her at Umatilla when the [Smith] family was on their way to the Mission. She was a beautiful brunette and the young chief had offered five horses for her." ²⁹

According to Catherine, one of the chiefs [the implication is that he was Tamsucky] called a meeting of some of the young Indian men and the girl captives for the evening after Lorinda had been abducted. Through interpreters, including Nicholas Finley and Joe Stanfield, the chief pointed out the helpless condition of the young women; "that there were a lot of vagabond Indians who would be happy to introduce into their tepees a young woman;" that it was therefore best for each of the girls to select one of the young men for her husband and thus be protected. When the chief asked if they were willing, all answered with a firm "No."

Then followed another long harangue when the chief became increasingly threatening. Fresh in the minds of the girls was the memory of what had happened to Lorinda Bewley. When the chief threatened taking them by violence, Mary Smith and Susan Kimball consented.

Catherine's account follows: "The chief told them they were wise now, and called on the young men that wanted white wives to come forward. Two did so; one named Clark; the other Frank [Escaloom]; both influential and rich, and both able to speak some English. The girls were told to choose between these young men, when Mary Smith took Clark; and Susan Kimball, Frank... Miss Kimball wept all the time..."³⁰

For some reason Clark, a son of Tiloukaikt, changed his mind. Then his brother, Edward, stepped forward and claimed Mary for his wife. Frank, who was to take Susan, was one who assisted in the killing of her father, a fact she must have known. Catherine wrote that Tiloukaikt was opposed to any of the Indians taking white wives, but by this time he had lost control over his son Edward, who was in various ways usurping his authority.

Among those present at the meeting were Mrs. Saunders and her daughter Helen. When Edward pointed to Helen and asked how old she was, Mrs. Saunders replied: "Eleven snows." Actually she was then fourteen years old. "Eleven snows, too young," said Edward and they let her go.

According to Mrs. Saunders, Susan Kimball, previous to the meeting with the Indians, had said that she would rather die than marry an Indian. "Of course," wrote Mrs. Saunders, "we all realized the enormity of the sacrifice, but we also knew that if the Indians once began to kill, they would spare no one. Mrs. Kimball said she would not insist upon life considering the terrible sacrifice her daughter would be called upon to make, but would leave the decision to the girl herself."³¹

Catherine wrote: "Mary was a brave girl. She took the young brave and when in his presence was cheerful, but in secret wept. Never was a young bridegroom prouder of his wife than Edward of this young girl. He strutted about with that consequential air so common with Indians. He would inquire, 'Where is my wife?' so as to cause everyone who heard him great amusement."³²

According to Cannon, Edward wanted a marriage service. Mary's father was hesitant to give his consent but, after talking with Finley and Stanfield, was so cowed by what they said that he dared not object. Daniel Young, in his deposition of January 30, 1849, stated: "I told Mr. Smith, were I a father, I would never suffer that, so long as I had power to use an arm. His reply was, 'You don't know what you would do; I would not

dare to say a word if they should take my own wife.”

Cannon, in his *Waiilatpu*, published in 1915, without stating his source wrote that Mary gave herself freely to Edward because she loved him and that some form of a marriage ceremony was performed. He stated: “Sitting behind the stove, their arms encircling each other’s waist, the Smith girl reading the Bible and Edward commenting on the same, was the manner in which these young lovers spent their evenings.” After the service, the couple retired to an upper room in the emigrant house. And again from Cannon: “At the time of the ransom, when it came to the final parting, Edward was free to admit that the prospect of the girl’s being happy with him after her people should have left the country was very remote and he willingly gave her up, both parting with an aching heart.”³³

This incredible story has been repeated in recent years by two writers. Thus the myths connected with the Whitman story continue to proliferate. Catherine tells a quite different story. According to her, after the captives had been taken to Fort Walla Walla, Edward came and asked McBean to let him see Mary. McBean then told the girl that Edward wanted to see her but she refused to see him. “Three times did Edward send for her,” wrote Catherine, “requesting to see her, if but for a moment; but she would not comply. After they had left the Fort, Mr. McBean came in and laughingly told her that he thought her very hard hearted to treat that poor fellow so, remarking that he seemed heart broken, having wept freely. Mary told him that she did not care for his tears.”

When Catherine wrote her reminiscences, she knew of the report being circulated that Mary was in love with Edward. She wrote in rebuttal: “I was a witness to the above, and would here refute a story that is going the rounds. It is as follows: Mary Smith was in love with the Indian as much as he was with her; that she did not want to leave him, and when we were embarking [at Fort Walla Walla], she stood on the bank with her lover, unable to make up her mind whether to go or stay. Mr. Ogden gave her five minutes to make up her mind; if she did not decide in that time, he would leave her. Mary stood still till just as the boat shoved off, when she kissed the Indian and jumped aboard... I know not what object the author of this tale has in view... I know the above story to be false and without the least foundation. At the time of our leaving the Fort, there

was not a Cayuse Indian on the place... Being her constant companion, I had opportunities of knowing her feelings on the subject. When not in the presence of the Indians, she wept over her disgrace, and would curse the author of it. It seems to me as though these poor girls suffered enough, without the foul language of calumny following them.”³⁴

With but one exception, the married women and widows were not molested during the month’s captivity. Even before the massacre started, Joe Stanfield had cast lecherous eyes on the widow, Mrs. Hays. On the day after the Whitmans were killed, Joe told her that unless she was willing to be known as his wife, the women and children would be killed. “She consented to this in order to save the lives of the rest,” wrote Catherine. “He then tried to persuade her to elope with him some night. This she steadily refused to do, asking him what would become of the others if she deserted them. He replied, ‘Let them all go to hell.’”³⁵

One night when Joe insisted on going to bed with her, Mrs. Hays, with the wisdom of Solomon, placed her four-year-old boy in between them.³⁶ According to Catherine, when Stanfield was finally convinced that she would not be his wife, he finally exclaimed that she could also go to hell.

Judging by the guarded comments of both Catherine and Mrs. Saunders, much that happened went unreported. Of this Catherine wrote: “In conclusion, I would like to say that I have endeavored to present things in their true light. What has been related in the foregoing pages, is for the most part what fell under my own observation. In giving a history, I have had to touch upon a delicate subject, —one that I have always avoided in conversation, namely, the treatment of the young women by the Indians. I have endeavored to present them in such a manner as to spare the feelings of those concerned. For this reason I have not related many things that would be interesting.”³⁷

RELEASE OF THE CAPTIVES

On December 10, 1847, three days after being restored to his family, Spalding wrote to Bishop Blanchet, addressing him as “Reverend and Dear Friend.” He begged for the Bishop’s intercession with the Cayuse chiefs in behalf of the safety of the captives held at Waiilatpu. Naturally, Spalding was concerned for the welfare of his daughter Eliza. He wrote: “My object in writing principally is to give information

through you, to the Cayuses, that it is our wish to have peace, that we do not wish the Americans to come from below to avenge the wrong; we hope the Cayuse and the Americans will be on friendly terms, that Americans will no more come in their country, unless they wish it... I know that you will do all in your power for the relief of the captives, women and children at Waiilatpu, that you will spare no pains to appease and quiet the Indians... Please send this, or copy, to Governor Abernethy. The Nez Perces held a meeting yesterday; they pledged themselves to protect us from the Cayuse if we would prevent the Americans from coming up to avenge the murders. This we have pledged to do, and for this we beg for the sake of our lives at this place and at Mr. Walker's [Tshimakain]. By all means keep quiet; send no war reports; nothing but proposals for peace." ³⁸

Spalding wrote as a frightened man, as indeed he had reason to be. When the Cayuses learned of the contents of this letter, they said that it was easy to see why he had written as he did because "he was in a hole." ³⁹ After his rescue by Ogden, Spalding's attitude towards both the Bishop and the Cayuses made a complete about-face. The Bishop, whom he had called his "Dear Friend," became the object of bitter criticism along with members of his clergy.

Notwithstanding the assurances he had given the Nez Perces that he would do what he could to prevent the Americans from making war on the Cayuses, Spalding urged the Oregon Volunteers, whom he met at The Dalles on his way down the Columbia, to hasten and kill all the Cayuses except a few whom he named as worthy of being spared. "Let them be pursued with unrelenting hatred and hostility," he wrote, "until the life-blood has atoned for their infamous deeds." ⁴⁰ Spalding may not be blamed for dissembling to the Indians when he, the members of his family, and those at Waiilatpu were in danger, yet the vehemence with which he advocated retaliation suggests the emotional reaction which came after being safely rescued.

THE INDIANS PRESENT THEIR CASE

The enormity of the crimes committed by Tiloukaikt and members of his band at Waiilatpu was soon realized by the Cayuse chiefs who lived along the Umatilla River, and they became afraid. Even though they had not taken part in the massacre, they realized that in all probability the

whole Cayuse nation would be subjected to a fearful retaliation at the hands of the Americans. On December 18, Chief Camaspelo, who was also known as Big Belly, called on Bishop Blanchet. According to Brouillet, Camaspelo told the Bishop: "...that he had disapproved of what had happened at Waiilatpu; that the young men had stolen his word." Camaspelo was fearful and discouraged. He even spoke of killing all his horses and "of leaving the country, as all the Indians expected to die."⁴¹

Camaspelo's visit followed by two days the receipt of Spalding's letter with its frantic appeal for the Bishop's intercession in behalf of peace. The Bishop felt that the time was opportune for a council to be held of all the Cayuse chiefs to see what steps should be taken. With Camaspelo's approval, messengers were sent to the different chiefs bidding them to assemble at St. Anne's Mission on Monday, December 20. At 10:00 a.m. on the appointed day, according to Brouillet's account of the meeting, all the great chiefs of the Cayuses, together with many sub-chiefs, crowded into Bishop Blanchet's house. Among those present were Tiloukaikt, Young Chief, Five Crows, and Camaspelo. With the Bishop were three of his clergy, including Father Brouillet, and their interpreter.

Blanchet, acting as chairman, opened the discussion by stating that the purpose of the gathering was to take counsel to see what could be done to prevent war. He passed on the substance of Spalding's letter, together with some proposals given verbally to him by two Nez Perces who had delivered the letter. These proposals were: "1. That Americans should not come to make war; 2. That they should send up two or three great men to make a treaty of peace; 3. That when these great men should arrive, all captives should be released; 4. That they would offer no offense to Americans before knowing the news from below [i.e., the Willamette Valley]." After presenting these proposals, the Bishop invited the chiefs to speak.

The meeting lasted for a full day and, according to Brouillet's account, the chiefs brought up all of their old grievances against the Americans. Here is the most reliable account of the reasons for the Whitman massacre from the Indians' point of view. After a brief speech by Camaspelo, who spoke in approval of the propositions, Tiloukaikt arose. He began by saying that "he was not a great speaker, and that his talk would not be long." He then launched into a detailed review of the history of the

Cayuse nation “since the arrival of the whites in the country down to the present time.” Brouillet noted that he spoke for two hours.

Since Brouillet did not know the Nez Perce language, he was unable to give a detailed report of all the grievances mentioned by Tiloukaikt, but enough was made clear to him through his interpreter to give him a fair appreciation of what was being said. According to Brouillet, Tiloukaikt referred to the death of the Nez Perce chief, called The Hat, who was with W. H. Gray when they were attacked by Sioux Indians in what is now western Nebraska on August 7, 1837, and to the death of Elijah Hedding, the son of a Walla Walla chief, Yellow Serpent, at Sutter’s Fort in California in the fall of 1844.⁴² Neither of these Indians was a Cayuse, yet Tiloukaikt referred to their deaths as a reason for complaint. In both cases, Tiloukaikt held the Americans to blame, as Gray was an American and Elijah Hedding was killed by an American. No doubt, Tiloukaikt also mentioned the death of Cayuse Halket, a nephew of Young Chief, at the Red River Mission in January 1837.

Some have advanced the “blood-feud” theory to explain the Indian code of conduct which demanded a life for a life. This was a matter of tribal honor. Such a theory would account for the killing of the eight immigrant men at Wailatpu against whom the Cayuses held no personal grudges. Unfortunately for these victims, they were Americans and they happened to be at the scene of tragedy when the killings began. Although the members of Tiloukaikt’s band harbored grudges against both Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and possibly also against the two Sager boys and Andrew Rodgers, the existence of a racial feud may also have contributed to the decision of the Indians to kill these five. The fact that Tiloukaikt spoke of the deaths of The Hat and Elijah Hedding lends support to the theory of a blood-feud as one of the causes of the Whitman massacre.

Since Tiloukaikt spoke for about two hours, he must have mentioned many other complaints not recorded by Father Brouillet. No doubt he reviewed the issues discussed with Whitman in the fall of 1841 when he had demanded payment from Whitman for the use of the land. This Whitman had refused to give.⁴³ Undoubtedly, Whitman was accused of being too sympathetic to the immigrants who were crossing the Cayuse country each fall in ever increasing numbers. Tiloukaikt could have repeated the reports that such half-breeds as Joe Gray, Tom Hill, and

Joe Lewis had given regarding the way the Americans had mistreated the Indians in the States, and the probability of the Americans moving in to occupy Cayuse land and to take their horses. All of the fears and suspicions the Indians felt in regard to Americans came to a focus in their anger against the Whitmans.

Following Tiloukaikt, Five Crows and Young Chief spoke, and then Edward Tiloukaikt took the floor. He emphasized the terrible loss of life the Cayuses had suffered because of the introduction of the white man's diseases. Brouillet wrote: "He ...gave a touching picture of the afflicted families, in seeing borne to the grave a father, a mother, a brother, or a sister; spoke of a single member of a family who had been left to weep alone over all the rest who had disappeared." He repeated the accusation, first made by Joe Lewis, that Whitman and Spalding had plotted to poison the Indians in order to get their lands and their horses, and also the calumny that Rodgers, before he died, had admitted that this report was true.

After hours of discussion, the chiefs decided to ask Bishop Blanchet to draw up a "manifesto" to be sent to Governor Abernethy. This was to contain the four proposals suggested by the Nez Percés, which were supported in part by Spalding's letter. To these four, two more proposals were added. One stated that the Americans should "forget the lately committed murders, as the Cayuses will forget the murder of the son of the great chief of Walla Walla committed in California." The second new proposal, suggested perhaps by an ambiguous statement in Spalding's letter to the Bishop, stated: "They ask that Americans may not travel any more through their country, as their young men might do them harm." This called for the cessation of the annual Oregon emigration from the States which, of course, was an impossibility.

The Bishop wrote an introduction for the six-point manifesto in which he referred to the conviction held by the Indians that Whitman had actually been poisoning them. He mentioned the fact that six Cayuses had been buried on Sunday, November 28, and three more on the morning of the day the massacre began. In his concluding statement, the Bishop wrote: "They were led to believe that the whites had undertaken to kill them all, and that these were the motives which led them to kill the Americans." The document was signed by Tiloukaikt, Camaspelo, Young Chief, and Five Crows.⁴⁴

Late in the afternoon or early that evening, a messenger arrived from Fort Walla Walla with the surprising news that Peter Skene Ogden had arrived at Fort Walla Walla and wanted to meet with the Cayuse chiefs and the Catholic clergy without delay.⁴⁵ This was a most surprising development for the Cayuse, as they had assumed that all negotiations for the release of the captives would be carried on with the Americans. Suddenly they were confronted with the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company had entered the picture. The manifesto so laboriously drawn up that day was now nullified. Some good results, however, came from the Monday meeting. The chiefs had come to an understanding that they should negotiate with the whites as a tribe and not as individuals. There was but one discordant note in their discussions. Five Crows had refused to give up Lorinda Bewley, even though all had entreated him to do so, including Bishop Blanchet.

None of the Catholic clergy had ventured to leave St. Anne Mission after Father Brouillet's return from Waiilatpu on December 1 because of fear of attack by members of Tiloukaikt's band. They had been warned that Brouillet's life was in danger because he had helped Spalding to escape. Having now been summoned to Fort Walla Walla, they ventured to make the trip and did so without incident.

OGDEN SECURES RELEASE OF THE CAPTIVES

Fortunately for the captives, the responsibility of negotiating their release fell to the lot of white-haired Peter Skene Ogden. In all of Old Oregon there was no other person so well qualified, so highly regarded by the natives, and so strategically situated as he to induce the Cayuse to give up their hostages. He had the advantage of being able to speak to the Indians from a position of power, as they were dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company for many of their supplies, especially guns and ammunition needed for their hunting expeditions. In exchange, the Company received their pelts or horses. Ogden was able to stop all such trading, a fact of which the Cayuse chiefs were fully aware. Here was an advantage which no American official enjoyed. Moreover, Ogden had a native wife and this constituted a bond of sympathy with the Cayuses. Ogden did not go to Fort Walla Walla to punish the Cayuses but to persuade them to release their captives. He did not take a single soldier with him, only sixteen boatmen. Realizing that the safety of nearly fifty men, women,

and children at Waiilatpu was involved, and in addition those at Lapwai and Tshimakain, Ogden moved as rapidly as circumstances permitted to arrange for their deliverance.

The Cayuse chiefs, with the single exception of Five Crows, together with many of the younger men of the tribe, Bishop Blanchet and his clergy, and their interpreter assembled at Fort Walla Walla at 9:30 Thursday morning, December 23. Five Crows absented himself because he did not want to be persuaded to give up Lorinda.⁴⁶ Ogden opened the council by saying: "We have been among you for thirty years without the shedding of blood; we are traders, and of a different nation from the Americans; but recollect, we supply you with ammunition, not to kill Americans, who are of the same color, speak the same language, and worship the same God as ourselves, and whose cruel fate causes our hearts to bleed. Why do we make you chiefs, if you cannot control your young men?"⁴⁷

Ogden pointed out that Dr. Whitman was not guilty of poisoning their people, as Indians all over Oregon were dying of measles and other diseases. Ogden asked: "How could he be responsible for the deaths of so many in such widely scattered places?" Ogden made it clear that he had not come to Walla Walla as a representative of the Americans in the Willamette Valley but rather as an official of the Hudson's Bay Company. He explained that he had left Fort Vancouver before the Americans in the Valley had been notified of the killings. "The company have nothing to do with your quarrel," he emphasized. "If you wish it, on my return I will see what can be done for you, but I do not promise to prevent war. Deliver me the prisoners to return to their friends, and I will pay you a ransom, that is all."

In the report of the negotiations sent to Sir George Simpson under date of March 12, 1848, Ogden stated that although the Cayuses had not altered "their usual friendly deportment towards the establishment, and expressed in very earnest language their desire to remain on friendly terms with the Company, [they] were not so tractable on the subject of restoring the American prisoners, whom they wished to retain as hostages for their own security." Since Ogden was unable to offer any assurances that the Americans would not seek revenge, it required "all his tact and great personal influence with them to procure the liberation of these unhappy captives, who would have been mercilessly butchered on the first commencement of hostilities."⁴⁸

The discussion over the release of the captives and the amount of ransom to be paid continued late into the evening. The Cayuses kept demanding that Ogden give some assurance that the Americans would not make war against them, but this he said he could not give. Regarding this, Brouillet wrote: "He promised them only that he would speak in their favor."

Finally Ogden agreed to give a ransom consisting of "fifty blankets, fifty shirts, ten guns, ten fathoms of tobacco, ten handkerchiefs, and one hundred balls and powder,"⁴⁹ provided all the captives were brought to Fort Walla Walla within six days, i.e., by December 29. Ogden felt that he needed the interval of six days in order to get word to Spalding and to give time for those at Lapwai to arrive at the Fort.

No one could speak for Five Crows, but the chiefs who lived on the Umatilla promised to use their influence to obtain the release of Lorinda. Ogden was concerned about her rescue and emphasized that he would give no ransom until all the captives had been brought to the fort. Tiloukaikt promised to turn over twelve oxen and sixteen bags of coarse flour to provide food for the released captives on their way down the river to Fort Vancouver. Of course, such supplies would come from the property formerly owned by Dr. Whitman.

Some Nez Perces were also present at the December 23 meeting and, although they had not been involved in the Waiilatpu tragedy, they asked that a ransom be given to them for the safe delivery of the Spalding family, Mary Johnson, Horace Hart, W. D. Canfield, and Mr. Jackson. Ogden promised them "twelve blankets, twelve shirts, two guns, twelve handkerchiefs, five fathoms of tobacco, two hundred balls and powder, and some knives."

The items paid to the Cayuses and Nez Perces in ransom may have been limited to the stores on hand at Fort Walla Walla and possibly some supplies that Ogden had the foresight to take with him up the river. Ogden sent a special dispatch to Spalding on the evening of the 23rd reporting on the agreement reached with the natives and urging him to lose "no time in joining me." He warned Spalding against making any promises whatever to the natives. Ogden repeated his injunction for haste, and intimated that he might have to start for Fort Vancouver with the released captives from Waiilatpu before those from Lapwai could arrive. "Use all diligence possible to overtake us," he urged.

Spalding replied in a note dated December 25, which is evidence that Ogden's messenger had made the journey of about 140 miles to Lapwai in two days. Spalding wrote: "This people are unwilling that I should leave their country and I have promised to return and live with them provided the melancholy affair at Waiilatpu can be settled and the Nez Perces continue friendly to the whites." Just before sending his letter to Ogden, Spalding added a postscript: "I have just learned from the two [Nez Perces] who returned from [Walla Walla], that the Cayuses have resolved should they learn that the Americans purpose to come up to avenge the death of those who have been massacred, that they will immediately fall upon myself and family and all Americans in the country and kill all." In view of this alarming information, Spalding begged Ogden not to leave Walla Walla until those from Lapwai had arrived. Ogden sent word to Walker and Eells, who with their families had taken refuge in Fort Colville, to remain there until they could be rescued at some later date.

NO TIME TO LOSE

News of the arrival of Ogden at Fort Walla Walla had reached the Indians at Waiilatpu on Monday, December 20, the day that the meeting of the chiefs was being held at St. Anne's Mission. Although Mrs. Saunders was unaware of the cause, she remembered that the Indians became very excited and "were running about on horseback in every direction." The captives were not told of the December 23 meeting at Fort Walla Walla and did not know that they were to be released until a friendly Cayuse told Mrs. Saunders that "the big white chief" had come and that he was sure "we were not to be killed." Catherine has given us the following: "Christmas dawned upon us at last. Oh, how unlike any that had ever dawned before! Mrs. Saunders prepared a little treat for the children in her room, but we ate in secret when no Indians were about... We entertained little hope of ever leaving our prison house. We knew that as soon as the news reached the [Willamette] settlement, an army would be sent to our rescue. We also knew that this would be the signal for our death. Our captors had given us to understand that they expected the Americans would send an army to punish them, and their intention to kill us in such a case. It was, therefore, with alarm mingled with joy that we heard of the arrival of three boats at Walla Walla."⁵⁰

Tiloukaikt probably returned from Fort Walla Walla, following his meeting with Ogden, on December 24. When some of the members of his band learned of the agreement reached with Ogden regarding the release of the captives, they strenuously objected. We may assume that they included Tamsucky, Tomahas, Frank Escaloom, and the chief's son, Edward. It is possible that some of these persons were at the Walla Walla meeting.

Sometime on Christmas day, Tiloukaikt told Mrs. Saunders that all could leave for the fort on Wednesday, the 29th. When she asked whether they could take their personal belongings, he replied: "Yes. Take all and heaps of food for a long journey." She interpreted this to mean that the released captives would be going down the Columbia River. In the few days interval before the 29th, when they could be leaving Waiilatpu, the five men among the captives had opportunity to butcher the seven oxen and to grind the sixteen bags of flour. Catherine searched through the debris on the floor of the main mission house where she found Dr. Whitman's original commission from the American Board dated February 17, 1835. This she took with some other items which later she presented to the museum at Whitman College.⁵¹

Mrs. Saunders tells of their departure from Waiilatpu: "So on December twenty-ninth, just one month after the massacre, we started on our way. We had finished loading before daylight and were traveling just as the sun rose." Five wagons were needed to carry their baggage, including their food supplies, and the women and children. The wagons pulled by horses soon took the lead, while those with the slow plodding oxen fell behind. Catherine wrote: "We had gone but a short distance when a squaw came out of her lodge nearby and told us to hurry, that the natives were going to kill us."

The wagon in which Mrs. Saunders and the Sager girls were riding, which was evidently at the rear of the caravan, reached the mouth of the Touchet River where it emptied into the Walla Walla River, at noon. They were then a little more than halfway to the fort. The day was cold and rainy. While fording the Touchet, those in the wagon got thoroughly drenched by the high water which washed over the sides of the wagon bed. After crossing the river, they stopped for refreshments. While still at the crossing, Tiloukaikt and Beardy rode up and warned them to keep moving. "Hurry, hurry," they said. "No camp, get to the

fort." Now it was the experience of these two chiefs to become afraid of the rebellious young men of their own tribe. Beardy remained with the party and was especially helpful in urging the oxen on. "It rained all the afternoon," wrote Mrs. Saunders, "and the downpour still continued when we got to the Fort."⁵²

Ogden met the Saunders party at the gate; it was then dark. "Thank God, Mrs. Saunders," he fervently exclaimed, "that you are all safe. I thought that you had been killed." They were quickly ushered into a large room where a fire was burning in a fireplace.

The Sager girls remembered Ogden as being a large, jovial man, whom they called "Uncle Pete." Also present was John Mix Stanley whose solicitude for the comfort of the Sager girls at the fort and while going down the river was never to be forgotten. Shortly after arriving at the fort, someone asked Catherine how long they had been held captives by the Indians. "I innocently replied," she wrote, "three or four months and was surprised to find that it had only been one month."

The released captives had a joyful reunion at the fort with the Osborn family and to their surprise found that Lorinda Bewley had arrived that afternoon. In a deposition dated December 12, 1848, Lorinda told her story: "On the 28th of December, in the morning, while I was at the Five Crows' lodge, an Indian rode up leading a large horse and handed me a note from Mr. Ogden, stating the joyful news that he had finally succeeded in redeeming all the unfortunate captives; that he had redeemed me. I had nothing to fear and nothing to do but to accompany the Indian as fast as I could, comfortably, to Walla Walla."⁵³ From contemporary sources we learn that the Indian who came to escort her to the fort was Camaspelo.⁵⁴ Lorinda's deposition continues: "I could hardly believe my eyes. I bowed upon my knees with a grateful heart, and thanked my Saviour for his great mercy to me. The Five Crows prepared tea and a good breakfast for me, and put a new blanket and buffalo robe upon the saddle to make it comfortable for me to ride and for sleeping at night, and a thick shawl around me, and assisted me on my horse, and bade me goodbye kindly and with much feeling, and gave me food for the journey." Evidently the note from Ogden, added to what Camaspelo had to say, convinced Five Crows that he had no choice but to let Lorinda go. This he did with surprising good grace.

Since a long ride of about fifty-five miles separated the lodge of Five

Crows from Fort Walla Walla, Camaspelo and Lorinda had to spend one night in the open. Lorinda stated that they camped on the Walla Walla River, a few miles below Waiilatpu. The night was cold and foggy and it began to rain in the morning. Camaspelo built a fire which he replenished during the night for her benefit. No one could have been kinder to her than he. After breakfast, the Indian spent a few minutes in his morning devotions, in which Lorinda joined, even though they spoke different languages in their prayers.

As they approached the gate of the fort, Ogden rushed out to meet them. Regarding this, Lorinda stated: "Mr. Ogden took me gently from the horse, as a father, and said, 'Thank God, I have got you safe at last... I feared they would never give you up.'" With all of the captives once held at Waiilatpu safely within the fort, Ogden paid the promised ransom to the Cayuses on Thursday, December 30. Mrs. Saunders wrote that the Indians "celebrated with a dance inside the fort yard." As Ogden was fearful as to what they might do to their former captives, he insisted on the women and children remaining in locked rooms with guards at the doors. "After the dance," wrote Mrs. Saunders, "the only Indians allowed in the fort were the old ones and those known to be friendly, and even these had to leave at sundown. A large band of Cayuses were camped just outside the fort, and this was the cause of no small anxiety to both Ogden and McBean.

The first detachment of Oregon Volunteers, recruited in the Willamette Valley and consisting of only ten men under the command of Major H. A. G. Lee, arrived at The Dalles on December 21.⁵⁵ Alanson Hinman returned to Waskopum with this party. Although Major Lee and his men were the first of the Volunteers to advance that far up the Columbia, their primary purpose was not punitive but rather to protect American mission property at The Dalles and to establish a base for future military operations against the Cayuses.

Exaggerated reports of the number of American soldiers at The Dalles were carried by Indians to Fort Walla Walla. This greatly excited the Cayuses. Fortunately for the safety of the captives at Waiilatpu, these reports arrived after they were safe within the palisades of Fort Walla Walla. Ogden would have been glad to leave for Fort Vancouver the day after the released captives had arrived at Walla Walla, but he felt constrained to wait for the Spalding party of nine who were to come from Lapwai.

Brouillet reported: "Divers rumors were in circulation among the Indians. It was said that an army had arrived at The Dalles, and they had come to avenge the murders. It was feared that these rumors might change the minds of the Indians, and cause them to retain the captives." Although Ogden, his men, and the former captives were within the walls of the fort, actually they were in a vulnerable situation, as the Indians could easily set fire to the palisades and burn down the fort.

Again and again the Cayuses asked Ogden if it were true that American soldiers were at The Dalles. Of this, Brouillet wrote: "Mr. Ogden told them he knew nothing about it, but that he did not believe it." Ogden was correct in assuming that the Americans would not send a punitive expedition into the Cayuse country before the captives were safely delivered into the Willamette Valley. Brouillet wrote that had the Americans attacked the Cayuses before the captives were in a safe place, such a step would have become "the signal for the general massacre of all those unfortunate beings."⁵⁶ No one appreciated the delicacy of the situation more fully than Ogden, who became increasingly anxious for the safe arrival of the Spalding party. He realized that there was no time to lose.

THE LAPWAI MISSION ABANDONED

After receiving Ogden's letter of December 23 late in the evening of the 25th, Spalding made immediate preparations to leave for Fort Walla Walla. Even though he and his wife had the help of Mary Johnson and the three men, Hart, Canfield, and Jackson—it took them two days to get ready to go. Food supplies for the journey of nearly 150 miles had to be packed. Personal belongings had to be selected and there were countless decisions that had to be made regarding which items were to be taken on pack animals to the fort and which were to be abandoned. The Spaldings had to face the difficulties involved in taking their three small children with them on horseback for such a long ride through wintry weather. Since it was raining during those days at Fort Walla Walla, it could well have been snowing at Lapwai. The children were a boy, eight years old, and two girls, aged three and one. No one can measure the depth of the emotions which stirred the hearts of both Henry and Eliza as they hastily prepared to abandon their home and leave their work among the Nez Percés where they had lived for eleven years and to go whither they knew not.

The inventory which Spalding later compiled of the property he was obliged to abandon at Lapwai gives eloquent evidence of the success of his work. A cluster of nine buildings were on the grounds: their story-and-a-half log cabin home which measured 30 x 20 feet; a schoolhouse, 20 x 16; a meeting house, 50 x 30; a printing shop, 28 x 16; and five other buildings used largely for storage purposes. There was a millrace one-third of a mile long with an enclosed gristmill. More than twenty acres were under cultivation and the fruit orchard contained more than two hundred trees, some of which were bearing. The livestock included 101 head of cattle, thirty-nine horses, and thirty-one hogs. Also listed were over six hundred bushels of wheat, corn, peas, and potatoes, and four hundred copies of the *Gospel of Matthew in Nez Perce*, five hundred copies of primers, and three hundred copies of a native hymn book. Spalding estimated the monetary value of the property abandoned to be more than \$10,000.⁵⁷ This is a remarkable showing when it is remembered that Spalding received no salary from the Board [Appendix 2].

The evidence of the material prosperity of the Lapwai station reflects only indirectly the beneficial results which the Spaldings had achieved in their educational and religious activities for the natives. These achievements could never be catalogued or evaluated in financial terms. No Protestant missionaries in all of Old Oregon were as successful in their work of Christianizing and civilizing the natives as were Henry and Eliza Spalding. Then came the sad day, December 28, 1847, when all their work with the Nez Percés came to an abrupt end. They had to flee for fear of what might happen to them and to their children should the Oregon Volunteers bring war to the Cayuses.

When the Spalding party, consisting of six adults and three children, mounted their horses and guided their pack animals down the trail that led to Fort Walla Walla, they were joined by a company of forty armed Nez Percés who decided to escort them to make sure of their welfare and safety. No doubt Henry and Eliza remembered how, during the last week of November 1836, they had been escorted to the Lapwai Valley by a similar number of Nez Percés who were in that manner expressing their joy in having the missionary couple settle in their midst. Perhaps some of the Nez Percés who had been in the welcoming party were now guarding their departure. Perhaps also Spalding remembered that some of the Nez Percés had told him eleven years before: "The Nez

Perces do not have difficulties with the white men as the Cayuses do.” As Spalding rode away, he resolved, God willing, to return.⁵⁸ William Craig, who had a Nez Perce wife and was living with the Indians, decided that he would for the time being remain in the Lapwai Valley.

When Ogden wrote to Spalding on December 23, he anticipated that Spalding would be able to arrive at the fort much sooner than proved to be the case. As each day passed and the Indians around the fort became more and more restless as they mulled over fresh rumors about the presence of American soldiers at The Dalles, Ogden became uneasy. Mrs. Saunders wrote that finally Ogden declared: “If the people from the Nez Perce Mission did not arrive by Saturday [January 1, 1848], he would not take the chances of staying any longer, but would start without them.” On Saturday noon, an Indian, riding in advance of the Spalding caravan, reached the fort with the welcome news that the Lapwai party was approaching. “Great was the rejoicing,” wrote Mrs. Saunders, when the Spaldings arrived. Canfield was reunited with his family and the Spaldings with their daughter Eliza. Catherine noted: “Mrs. Spalding found her daughter much changed from the healthy girl who had left her a month before. She was thin as a skeleton.”

Catherine wrote of a different kind of welcome which Spalding might have received: “Early in the day Tamsucky came to the fort with his gun in his hand, evidently going to kill Mr. Spalding. Taking his stand by the side of the gate, he seemed to be waiting for Mr. Spalding to pass on. Mr. S. came right in to see his daughter, who stayed in the house. He kept his eyes on Tamsucky as he passed by. Seeing so many Nez Perces there armed, he [Tamsucky] became alarmed and left by the opposite gate.”⁵⁹

The ransom promised to the Nez Perces for the safe deliverance of the Spalding party was duly paid. Spalding listed the items in his inventory of the Lapwai property and valued them at \$130.31. Writing to Simpson on March 12, 1848, Ogden reported the actions he had taken in paying the ransom to the Indians and directed that, should the Company not approve of this expenditure, “to avoid any remarks being made, let it at once be placed to my private account.”⁶⁰ Spalding in a letter written to the American Board in 1851 stated: “I am not aware that the H.B. Co. have ever been indemnified by the Government of this Territory or the Home Government.”⁶¹ There is no evidence that

the Hudson's Bay Company ever submitted any claim to any American authority for a reimbursement nor held Ogden liable for the modest cost of the goods given in ransom.

THE FINAL DELIVERANCE

As rumors of the presence of American soldiers at The Dalles continued to spread, the anger of the malcontents among the Cayuses increased. Looking back on those days, Ogden said that it was his firm conviction that "had not the women and children been given up, they undoubtedly would all have been murdered."⁶² With the safe arrival of the Lapwai party, Ogden made immediate preparations to leave for Fort Vancouver the next morning. The urgency of the occasion was such that even the Spaldings seemingly made no objection to Sunday travel. In addition to the forty-seven, including Stanfield, arriving from Waiilatpu and the nine from Lapwai, there were eleven at the Fort who wanted to go down the river. This included the Osborn family of five, the artist Stanley, the two Manson boys, Bishop Blanchet, and two of his priests. The other members of the Catholic clergy decided to remain at Walla Walla with the hope of being able to return to one or both of their newly established missions. The combined parties seeking transportation to Fort Vancouver numbered sixty-seven, including fourteen men, eleven women, and forty-two children. With Ogden and his sixteen boatmen, this meant a grand total of eighty-four who had to be divided into three groups, one for each of the three boats. Much of the baggage which had been brought to Walla Walla from Waiilatpu and Lapwai had to be stored temporarily at the fort as the bateaux were not large enough to carry all this in addition to the passengers, necessary food supplies, bedding and camping equipment, and personal baggage.

A distressing decision had to be made regarding eight or nine-year-old David Malin Cortez, who had been under the Whitman's care ever since March 1842, when he was left as a forlorn and mistreated waif on their doorstep. No one of the refugee families wanted the responsibility of caring for him. According to Catherine, the priests recommended that the lad be left with McBean at Fort Walla Walla, since his father had been in the employ of the Company and his mother had been a native. Years later, when writing her reminiscences, Matilda recalled how, as the heavily laden bateaux shoved off for their voyage down

the river, the lonely lad stood on the bank “crying as though his heart were breaking as his friends floated away from him.”⁶³ No further reference has been found regarding what happened to him.

A few hours after the three boats had left, a party of about fifty armed Cayuses arrived at the fort with the demand that “Mr. Spalding be given up to be killed, as they had reliable news of American soldiers en route to their country.”⁶⁴ By this time the Cayuses were convinced that Ogden had double-crossed them.

To offset the ill repute given the whole Cayuse tribe by the misdeeds of a few, the good deeds of such men as Stickus, Beardy, and Camaspelo should be remembered who, often at great personal risk, did what they could to ameliorate the lot of the white people. Many of the Cayuses, both men and women, whose names were unknown to the captives but who were anonymously referred to as “an Indian,” rendered innumerable acts of kindness to the captives.

Many a flotilla of bateaux and canoes belonging to the Hudson’s Bay Company had passed up and down the Columbia River, but never before had one carried such a precious cargo as that commanded by Chief Factor Ogden in January 1848. Catherine remembered how “the amiable man with an inexhaustible sense of fun... cheered the monotony of our journey with the reminiscences of his voyages up and down the river. He laughed a great deal about his large family, as he styled us.”⁶⁵

The voyage lasted from Sunday morning, January 2, to noon on the following Saturday, the 8th. Chief Factor James Douglas gave the party a warm welcome at Fort Vancouver. Catherine remembered that most of the refugees were given quarters near the river, while the Spaldings, the four Sager girls, and Lorinda Bewley were entertained in the Douglas home. Elizabeth Sager made such a favorable impression on Mrs. Douglas that she asked to keep her, but Ogden declared that it was his intention to deliver all the Americans into the hands of Governor Abernethy.

After spending the week-end at Fort Vancouver, the Americans were taken by boat to Portland. Since the captives had arrived in the lower Columbia country, the Oregon Volunteers, under the command of Colonel Cornelius Gilliam, were ordered to move up the river and into the Cayuse country to apprehend, if possible, the murderers. The first company of fifty men under Colonel Gilliam’s personal command were on the wharf at Portland ready to leave for The Dalles at the time

the boats arrived from Fort Vancouver. Also present to welcome the former captives were Governor Abernethy and Captain William Shaw; the latter being the one who had delivered the seven Sager orphans to the Whitman home in October 1844. Since Colonel Gilliam had also been a member of the 1844 Oregon emigration and had known the parents of the Sager children, he shared with Shaw a special interest in the twice-orphaned girls.

Elizabeth has given us the following description of their welcome to Portland: "As we pulled in toward the wharf at Portland, a lot of men on the wharf fired a salute. We children were terrified. We crawled under some canvass and tried to hide in the bottom of the boat. We thought they were trying to kill us." Seeing the terror of the children, Gilliam and Shaw hastened to comfort them. "They told us," wrote Elizabeth, "that they were firing the guns in our honor."⁶⁶

The company of former captives began to separate at Portland as relatives and friends took them to their homes. The Spalding family the Sager girls, and Stanley first went with Governor Abernethy to Oregon City. There Stanley was received by Dr. McLoughlin, who was living in retirement and had become an American citizen. The others were entertained for several days in the Abernethy home. The Spaldings then moved to Tualatin Plains to be near their friends, the former independent missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Smith. After a year or so on the Plains, the Spaldings moved to Calapooya, near Brownsville, Oregon, where Mrs. Spalding died on January 7, 1851.⁶⁷ Separate homes were found for each of the Sager girls. Their subsequent history is well told in Erwin N. Thompson's book, *Shallow Grave at Waiilatpu*.

Two of the children died after their arrival in the Willamette Valley, perhaps both as a result of lack of medical care during the captivity and the exposure suffered during their voyage down the Columbia River. Mention has already been made of the death of the four-year-old son of the Osborns. The second to die was the eleven-year-old girl, Mary Aim Bridger, who passed away sometime in the following March.⁶⁸ Where she had lived after her arrival in the Valley is not known. Her father, Jim Bridger, was then at Fort Bridger in the Rockies. The death of five children, three at Waiilatpu after the massacre began and two in the Valley, could well be counted as casualties of the massacre, thus bringing the total loss of life to nineteen.

The first to be arrested by authorities of the Provisional Government and charged with complicity in the massacre was Joe Stanfield, who had thrown in his lot with the Americans and had gone down to the Willamette Valley with them. Of him Catherine wrote: "On our arrival at Oregon City, Joe Stanfield was arrested on suspicion of taking part in the massacre, and brought to trial. On being taken by the sheriff, he attempted to conceal a watch which had belonged to Mr. Kimball and some money which had belonged to Mr. Hoffman.⁶⁹ Two of the widows testified that Joe had told them he knew of the plans of the Indians before he went after the beef [which was butchered on the morning the massacre began]. He was convicted and sentenced to be taken to General [sic] Gilliam in the Cayuse country to be dealt with as the General saw fit. Gilliam having died before he could reach him, Joe escaped punishment. Reports say that he died in the California gold mines in '49 or '50."⁷⁰

Mrs. Saunders characterized Stanfield as "a French Canadian of a very common type." There is no doubt that he rendered much needed services to the captives during their month's detention. Since he was able to move among the Indians with impunity, he was able to get food, wood, and water for the captives. He helped Canfield escape. Possibly it was he who suggested that Mrs. Saunders write a letter to McBean which Finley carried to Fort Walla Walla. It was he who dug the graves and buried the dead. And finally he drove one of the ox teams which, yoked to a wagon, carried some of the captives with their belongings to Fort Walla Walla on the day of their deliverance. He was, as Mrs. Saunders described him, "a necessary evil."

SPALDING'S LETTER OF APPRECIATION

The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company contain a letter of appreciation written by Spalding from Tualatin Plains on January 13, 1849, and addressed to Peter Skene Ogden whom he called "My Most Worthy Benefactor." Spalding wrote: "The date of this letter will call to your mind scenes of the liveliest interest, and does to mine, the occasion of the warmest gratitude to yourself, the honored agent in the hands of kind Heaven, in delivering myself & family & our fellow companions in suffering from the blood stained hands of ruthless, lawless savages, & placed us all in the arms of safety, the bosom of Christian society."

“I could not allow the anniversary day of our safe arrival at Oregon City to pass without doing myself the pleasure of repeating to you my warmest thanks for your prompt & philanthropic efforts in flying so speedily to our relief & for your judicious & successful efforts in rescuing us all from the perilous situation in the Indian country.”⁷¹ This is only a short quotation from Spalding’s long and effusive letter of appreciation.

DISCOVERY OF TWO STANLEY CAYUSE PORTRAITS

The artist, John Mix Stanley, took a special interest in the four Sager girls during their voyage down the Columbia River. Catherine remembered: “When we camped at night, he gave me his guns to carry and taking my little sister would carry her to the camp and wrap us in his serape and kindle a fire for us. He also carried my sister for me when we made the portages.” After their arrival at Fort Vancouver, Stanley bought some calico dress materials for each of the girls. “His care for us,” wrote Catherine, “was a subject of much joking by Mr. Ogden.” Matilda wrote of the visit that she and her sisters made on Dr. McLoughlin when they were in Oregon City: “Mr. Stanley had a room there and was painting portraits and he came to take us down to see his pictures. He wanted to paint my picture, but I was entirely too timid and would not let him.”⁷² Before leaving Oregon, Stanley painted pictures of Dr. McLoughlin, Dr. Forbes Barclay, and A. L. Lovejoy.⁷³

As has been stated, Stanley painted the portraits of at least four Cayuses when he was at Waiilatpu during the first part of October 1847: Tiloukaikt; Tamsucky; Edward, son of Tiloukaikt; and Waie-cat, son of Tamsucky. We also knew from listings in one of his exhibition catalogues that he had two pictures entitled: “Massacre of Dr. Whitman’s family at Waiilatpu Mission,” and “Abduction of Miss Bewley from Dr. Whitman’s Mission.”⁷⁴

It is possible that Stanley began work on these pictures during the weeks he was at Fort Walla Walla, getting details from McBean, Osborn, and others, and also drawing on his own recollections of his visit to Waiilatpu. Possibly, when Stanley took the Sager girls to see his pictures, he obtained further information from them as to some details he wished to include in his paintings.

After returning to the States, Stanley exhibited his Indian paintings in several cities including Washington, D.C., and Cincinnati, Ohio.

Catalogues describing his exhibit are extant for each of these places.⁷⁵ The annotations for the Cayuse portraits displayed in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington reflect information that Stanley had secured from the released captives. The legend for No. 120, listed below, contains some inaccuracies which may be excused when one remembers that he wrote the account several years after the massacre when both his notes and his memory were faulty. The annotations from the catalogue of the Smithsonian exhibit follow:

119. Te-lo-kikt, or Craw-fish walking forward. Principal Chief of the Cayuses, and one of the principal actors in the Whitman butchery at Waiilepu.
120. Shu-ma-hic-cie or Painted Shirt. [Edward] Son of Te-lo-kikt and one of the active murderers of the Mission family. After the massacre, this man was one who took a wife from the captive females, a young and beautiful girl of fourteen [Mary Smith, age 15]. In order to gain her quiet submission to his wishes, he threatened to take the life of her mother and younger sisters. Thus, in the power of Savages, in a new and wild country, remote from civilization and all hope of restraint, she yielded herself to one whose hands were yet wet with the blood of an elder brother. [An obvious reference to Crocket Bewley, who was not Mary's brother.]
121. Tum-suc-kee. The great ringleader and first instigator of the Whitman Massacre.
122. Waie-Cat. One that Flies. Cayuse Brave and son of Tum-suc-kee. This man, though young, was an active participator in the murder of Dr. Whitman and committed many atrocities upon the defenceless captives. He escaped the ignominious death which awaited those not more guilty than himself.⁷⁶

A disastrous fire on the night of January 24, 1865, destroyed a part of the Smithsonian Institution including the room where the Stanley pictures were being displayed or stored. With the exception of five of his paintings, which happened to be in another part of the building, the whole Stanley collection then at the Smithsonian was lost including the portraits of Tiloukaikt, Tamsucky, and the pictures of the massacre and

the abduction of Miss Bewley. This was an irreparable loss.

Now comes the story of an amazing discovery. The Stanley paintings of Shu-ma-hic-cie and Waie-cat have been found.⁷⁷ For years it had been assumed that all four of Stanley's portraits of Cayuse Indians had been lost in the Smithsonian fire. Now, however, it appears that Stanley had removed the portraits of the two young men sometime before the fire and that they, with perhaps some other of his works, remained in his possession until his death in 1872. Several efforts were made by Stanley, and later by his heirs, to interest the government in purchasing his paintings, but without success. We can surmise that these two Cayuse portraits passed from generation to generation, and perhaps from living room to attic, and then finally from attic to an antique store.

In the spring of 1968, a collector of antiques noticed two oil paintings of Indians, each measuring about 9 x 6½ inches, in an antique shop in upstate New York. Although not especially interested in Indian lore, he was sufficiently attracted by the paintings to buy them. Later he had opportunity to show them to a qualified authority on American Indians, who declared them to be original Stanley paintings. Although neither of the paintings was signed, positive identification was made on the basis of Stanley's handwritten inscriptions on each portrait and by a comparison of the legends on the pictures with the descriptions in the two known catalogues of Stanley exhibitions. The fortunate discoverer and owner of the two paintings wishes to remain anonymous at the time of this writing, but has graciously permitted colored reproductions to be used in this work.

IN PURSUIT OF THE MURDERERS

The Legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon was in session in Oregon City, Wednesday, December 8, 1847, when the letter from Chief Factor Douglas, dated the 7th, arrived with the shocking news of the Whitman massacre. The legislators reacted immediately. Action was taken which called upon the governor to raise and equip an initial company of fifty riflemen to proceed as quickly as possible to The Dalles to protect American property and to establish a military base for future operations. On the 9th, the Legislature authorized the raising of a regiment "not to exceed 500 men" for the purpose of marching into the Cayuse country to apprehend, if possible, the murderers. Cornelius

Gilliam was appointed Colonel-Commandant; James Waters, Lieutenant-Colonel; and H. A. G. Lee, Major. Steps were taken to borrow money to pay for the expedition. The term of service for the Volunteers was ten months. These acts by the Legislature were tantamount to a declaration of war against the Cayuse nation. In reality, this marked the beginning of a series of Indian wars which troubled the Pacific Northwest for the following eleven years.

On December 14, the Legislature appointed Joel Palmer, Robert (also called "Doc") Newell, and Major H. A. G. Lee to serve as peace commissioners. On that date Ogden and his men were laboriously working their way up the Columbia to Fort Walla Walla and no one in the Willamette Valley knew the fate of the captives. The peace commissioners were directed to proceed "immediately to Walla Walla, and hold a council with the chiefs and principal men of the various tribes on the Columbia, to prevent, if possible, the coalition with the Cayuse tribe in the present difficulties."⁷⁸ Newell had first met Whitman at the 1835 Rendezvous; had accompanied him on his return trip to the Missouri frontier; and in 1840 had named a son after him.

JOE MEEK APPOINTED SPECIAL ENVOY

Jesse Applegate, who had traveled to Oregon with Whitman in 1843, suggested that a messenger be sent to Washington, and the Legislature gave this idea its immediate endorsement. First, however, an official "Memorial to Congress" had to be drawn up and adopted. For more than ten years, or ever since Lieut. Slacum had carried the first petition from Willamette Valley residents to Washington in 1837, repeated memorials had been sent to Washington praying for the extension of United States jurisdiction over Oregon. The time had come for another and a more urgent appeal.

The text of the memorial included the following: "Having called upon the government of the United States so often in vain, we have almost despaired of receiving its protection, yet we trust that our present situation, when fully laid before you, will at once satisfy your honorable body of the great necessity of extending the strong arm of guardianship and protection over this remote, but beautiful portion of the United States domain."

Reference was then made to the fact that eleven [sic] American citizens had been murdered by the Cayuse Indians, including "Dr.

Marcus Whitman and his amiable wife." The memorial continues: "Called upon to resent this outrage, we feel sensibly our weakness and inability to enter into a war with powerful Indian tribes. Such outrages can not, however, be suffered to pass unpunished... To repel the attacks of so formidable a foe, and protect our families from violence and rapine, will require more strength than we possess. We are deficient in many of the grand essentials of war, such as men, arms, and treasure; for them, our sole reliance is on the government of the United States; we have the right to expect your aid, and you are in justice bound to extend it."⁷⁹

The Legislature selected one of its members, Joseph Meek, to be its special envoy to carry the memorial overland to Washington. This colorful ex-mountain man was an excellent choice. He had met the Whitmans for the first time at the 1836 Rendezvous. He had left his half-breed daughter, Helen Mar, with them in the fall of 1840 to be reared and educated. Of course he had no way of knowing at the time of his appointment that she had died of the measles. After moving to the Willamette Valley in 1840, Meek had become active in public affairs and held the office of sheriff in the Provisional Government. Moreover, Meek was a cousin by marriage of James Polk, then President of the United States. As will be seen, this served much to Meek's advantage after he arrived in Washington.

Colonel Gilliam set out for The Dalles with a company of Oregon Volunteers on January 8, 1848, the very day the released captives arrived in Portland. Traveling with Gilliam were Meek and his overland party of eight or nine men. On that same day, also, an incident occurred at The Dalles between some Indians and the small detachment of Volunteers under Major Lee's command. A band of Cayuses, together with some local Indians, succeeded in driving off about three hundred head of cattle which had been left at The Dalles by the immigrants of the preceding year. In the skirmish which resulted, the Americans succeeded in capturing about sixty head of horses from the Indians, a poor exchange for the cattle they lost. Three Indians were killed, and one wounded.⁸⁰ The first shots in the Cayuse War had been fired. On January 28, Colonel Gilliam arrived with his company of Volunteers. A few weeks later the remainder of the Volunteers reinforced the little company at The Dalles.

THE WHITMAN MISSION BURNED

Following Gilliam's arrival, a detachment of the Volunteers pursued the Indian raiders in an effort to recover the stolen cattle. Several skirmishes took place between The Dalles and the Deschutes River early in February 1848 whereby some of the stolen animals were recovered. In retaliation for the theft, the soldiers burned some Indian lodges on the Deschutes River. As a direct result of this wanton act of destruction, the Cayuse Indians burned the mission buildings at Waiilatpu and also St. Anne's Mission on the Umatilla.

Included in Colonel Gilliam's regiment were seventeen-year-old Perrin Whitman; W. D. Canfield, one of the released captives; and half-breed Tom McKay who with John L. McLeod had escorted the Whitman-Spalding party from the Rendezvous of 1836 to Fort Walla Walla. McKay was serving in the Volunteers as a Captain, and a brother, Charles, had the rank of Lieutenant. With them was a company of French Canadians and half-breeds from the Willamette Valley. Their presence, and especially that of Tom McKay, was most disconcerting to the Cayuses, who never dreamed the half-breeds would take up arms against them.

Among the best first-hand accounts of the march of the Volunteers into the Cayuse country is Robert Newell's Memoranda. He tells of a skirmish which began on February 24 when the Volunteers were challenged by a band of about four hundred warriors which included Indians from several of the tribes from the upper Columbia River country. Newell made note of the fact that the Cayuses were divided, some not being in favor of making war. In his style, inimitable in both grammar and orthography, Newell wrote: "The murderers were verry eager for battle those not guilty kept off, except the Indians on the Columbia."⁸¹

We may assume that among the friendly Cayuses were Stickus, Beardy, and Camaspelo, while Tamsucky, Tomahas, Five Crows, and the younger men were among the hostiles.

A second skirmish took place on the 25th on the banks of the Umatilla River. During this engagement, two Cayuse chiefs, Gray Eagle and Five Crows, boastful of their prowess, rode within both shooting and shouting distance of the Americans and taunted them. Gray Eagle was a medicine man, well known to McKay, who had often boasted that he was immune to American bullets. He claimed that if he were shot by an American, "he would puke up the bullet." This boast was known to

Tom McKay. When Gray Eagle saw McKay among the Volunteers, he exclaimed: "There's Tom McKay: I will kill him." Before he could carry out his threat, McKay, who was a crack shot, fired at Gray Eagle, sending a ball through his head. As the medicine man tumbled from his horse, McKay said: "There, I've shot him above his pukin' spot."⁸² About the time that Tom fired, his brother Charles McKay shot at Five Crows, hitting him in one of the arms, badly shattering a bone.

Perhaps the ease with which the Cayuses had killed ten American men (two beaten to death with clubs) and two boys at Waiilatpu had given them a false sense of their invincibility. They became boastful and some claimed that they could "beat the Americans to death with clubs."⁸³ Then came the skirmishes on February 24 and 25 which resulted in the death of eight and the wounding of five of their number. This shocked the Cayuses into a realization that the Americans could and would fight. Many of the temporary allies of the Cayuses fled. Being now divided and demoralized, the Cayuses ceased all forceful resistance to the advancing Volunteers.

After leaving the Umatilla, Colonel Gilliam first marched to Fort Walla Walla to get supplies, and then he and his men proceeded to Waiilatpu. On March 2, the little army camped within about two miles of the mission, perhaps near or at the place where Tiloukaikt had lived.

Eager to inspect the mission site, Gilliam with Newell and perhaps Perrin Whitman and Meek, together with two companies of soldiers, rode ahead that evening to Waiilatpu. They were shocked at the evidences of destruction and desolation which were spread before them.

Newell wrote: "The remains looked horrible. Papers letters pieces of Books Iron and many other things lay around the premises waggon wheels and other property was put in the house before it was set on fire I got Some letters and many lay about in the water."⁸⁴ Perrin remembered that even some of the rail fences had been burned. Perhaps the rails had been piled inside the buildings to add to the intensity of the flames.

Archaeological evidence shows that some of the roofs were of dirt. When the rafters were burnt, the roofs collapsed, thus completing the ruin. Only the gaunt walls remained standing. Even the fruit trees in the orchard had been cut down. Only the unenclosed gristmill had escaped destruction. Here was a gift from the white man which the red man had come to appreciate.

Far more distressing than the scenes of material destruction was the discovery of the bones and other bodily remains of the massacre victims strewn about the premises. As has been stated, a day or so after the first ten victims had been buried, wolves dug up several of the bodies including those of the Whitmans. Joe Stanfield had then reburied the exhumed remains, but after the captives had left for Fort Walla Walla, the wolves again dug out the dead bodies. This was the gruesome sight which Gilliam and his party saw when they arrived at Waiilatpu.

After the full contingent of Volunteers arrived at Waiilatpu on the following day, a thorough search was made of the area, and the remains of the victims were collected. Catherine, who evidently secured her information from one or more of the Volunteers, wrote: "When the first of the volunteers reached there... they found the bones badly scattered. Some of Mrs. Whitman's hair was picked up... a mile from the grave."⁸⁵ Only five skulls of the ten bodies, once buried in the wide shallow grave, and a few bones were found. Among the skulls were those of both of the Whitmans. Perrin Whitman was able to identify his uncle's skull by the gold filling which was placed in one of his teeth while passing through St. Louis in May 1848. Since the skull of a woman has certain distinguishing characteristics not found on that of a man, it was easy to identify Narcissa's skull.

After Meek had arrived in Washington, D.C., Jonas Galusha Prentiss, one of Narcissa's brothers, wrote to him asking for information about the massacre. Meek, replying on July 8, 1843, commented as follows about the reburial: "I myself conducted the melancholy rites and a solemn one it was. The head of Mrs. W. was severed from her body and other portions of manes [possibly remains or her hair] scattered in various directions. The body of Dr. W., however was whole."⁸⁶

Evidently the graves that Stanfield had dug after the first ten victims had been buried, including that of Helen Mar Meek, had not been molested by the wolves. The Volunteers dug a deeper grave and, after depositing such remains as they could find in it, covered them with an overturned wagon-box on which a mound of dirt was shoveled. Here the bones lay until the semicentennial of the massacre was observed in 1897, when the grave was reopened, the bones placed in a new sepulchre and covered with a marble slab.

WAILLATPU BECOMES FORT WATERS

The arrival of the Oregon Volunteers at Waillatpu suddenly transformed what had once been a thriving mission station into a military outpost. According to Newell, Colonel Gilliam at once set his men to work tearing down the adobe walls of the burned-out mission buildings and using the bricks to erect "a wall 4 or 5 feet high around the Camp." This makeshift fortification was named Fort Waters after Lieutenant-Colonel James Waters who had been wounded in the skirmish on the Umatilla.

Even before the Volunteers had established Fort Waters, several contacts had been made with the natives by the peace commissioners for the surrender of the suspected culprits, but without results. Writing in his journal on March 9, Newell referred to another such meeting: "...we met Stickers one Nez perse and two Kiyuses with a flag. made us a proposition for a Council. After much talk the Col ordered the regiment to return to the fort. which order was obeyed, but with much dissatisfaction. Col Gilliam offered to take Jo Lewis for five of the Murderers, but the Indians would not give up Tosucka [Tamsucky] or Towita [Tautau or Young Chief]... We hear of many of the Keyuses separating from the Murderers."⁸⁷

By this time, a serious difference of opinion had developed between Gilliam, representing the military, and Palmer, one of the peace commissioners, over the best policy to be pursued in apprehending the guilty Cayuses. Gilliam was willing to be content with the seizure of such ringleaders as Joe Lewis and let those less guilty go free. Palmer would not be satisfied until all of the guilty were captured.

Since the Americans had fragmentary and sometimes conflicting testimony as to just who the murderers were, it was difficult to determine who were to be apprehended.

On March 28, Gilliam left with some men for The Dalles to get supplies. That night he was accidentally killed while drawing a gun from a wagon. Waters succeeded him in command of the Volunteers. Joel Palmer, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs as well as a peace commissioner, resigned his offices and left for the Willamette Valley. He was succeeded as Superintendent of Indian Affairs by Major H. A. G. Lee.

Several expeditions were sent out from Fort Waters in pursuit of the hostile Indians in the hope of capturing one or more of the murderers

but always without success. Those being sought found refuge by fleeing to other tribes or hiding in the mountains. Pressure was laid upon the friendly Cayuses to aid in apprehending the murderers, and even generous rewards⁸⁸ were offered for delivering the guilty over to the Americans, but such methods were also fruitless. Once Stickus held Joe Lewis in his camp as a prisoner, but Lewis was rescued by some of his friends. This act of Stickus is evidence that some of the Cayuses may have begun to realize that the half-breed was a primary cause for their misfortunes.

Possibly hearing of the reward that the military authorities had offered for his capture, and being aware of the growing hostility towards him shown by some members of the Cayuse tribe, Joe Lewis decided that it was best for him to flee the country. He concocted a fanciful story about being able to persuade the Mormons, who had planted a colony in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, to send sufficient troops to drive the Volunteers out of the country. Lewis succeeded in persuading three Cayuses, including Edward and Clark, sons of Tiloukaikt, to go with him on this errand. While in the vicinity of Fort Hall, he “cut their throats in the night,” and then ran away with their horses and property.⁸⁹

According to Perrin Whitman: “Angus McDonald, a Hudson’s Bay Company clerk at Fort Hall, while en route to Wallula on his annual trip for supplies, came upon these Indians and recognized them.” He carried the story of their fate to the Cayuse tribe. “It soon dawned upon them,” Perrin stated, “that this was more of Joe Lewis’s dastardly work.”⁹⁰

Lewis is reported to have settled in the Jocko Valley in the Flathead country, in what is now Montana, about forty-five miles due north of present-day Missoula.⁹¹ There he was joined by Nicholas Finley, in whose lodge at Waiilatpu the conspirators had met to plan the killing of the Whitmans. Nicholas had a Flathead mother; this may have been the reason why he returned to that part of the country. The valley may have been named after Jocko Finley, once in charge of Spokane House, the father of Nicholas. Lewis is reported to have been killed in an attempted stagecoach robbery in 1862, nearly fifteen years after the Whitman massacre.⁹²

Another factor which militated against the success of the military authorities in capturing the suspected murderers was the anger aroused against the Volunteers among even the friendly Cayuses because of the unrestrained way the soldiers stole the horses and cattle of the Indians.

They committed other atrocities also against the natives. After Anson Dart visited the Cayuse country in 1851, he reported: "While the Oregon troops were stationed at Waiilatpu, they were in constant practice of taking all the horses and cattle they could find belonging to the Cayuses; and using and disposing of them in various ways. The Chiefs of the Cayuses informed me that more than five hundred head of horses were taken from them during this war, for which they never have received the least compensation."⁹³ The friendly Cayuses, who had taken no part in the massacre or in the burning of the mission buildings, felt that it was most unjust to be treated as though they were as guilty as the murderers themselves. Even Perrin Whitman claimed that several of his horses, which had been left at Waiilatpu, had been taken by the soldiers for which he had been unable to receive any compensation.⁹⁴

THE END OF THE OREGON MISSION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD

As has been stated, Stanley's Spokane Indian guide, Solomon, had arrived at Tshimakain on December 9 with Stanley's letter of the 2nd in which he told of his narrow escape and of the massacre.⁹⁵ The Walkers and the Eellses were shocked and grief-stricken. Naturally, their first concern was for their own safety. The Spokane Indians, living in the vicinity of Tshimakain, urged the missionaries to remain where they were and pledged their protection. Mary Walker wrote in her diary for December 17: "The Indians say that [i.e., the Cayuses] must kill them first before they can us."⁹⁶ When Chief Factor John Lee Lewes, then in charge of Fort Colville, heard of the massacre, he invited the missionaries to seek refuge in the fort.

The situation which the two families faced was complicated by the fact that Mary was expecting the birth of her sixth child at any time during the latter part of December. On the 9th of that month, she had written in her diary: "We were hoping to have Dr. Whitman to supper with us tonight." Instead that was the day that Solomon arrived with the news of the massacre. In view of the tense situation which had developed at Waiilatpu shortly before the tragedy, it is doubtful if Dr. Whitman would have felt free to go to Tshimakain at that time.

A son was born to the Walkers while they were still at Tshimakain on December 31. The presence of six Walker children, all under nine

years of age, and the two Eells boys, six and four years old, made any lengthy travel on horseback in winter extremely difficult. Living with the Walkers at that time was a Mrs. Marquis who had gone out to Oregon with the 1847 emigration and who had accepted employment with the Walkers in October. The two families decided to stay where they were as long as their Indians remained friendly and there was no threat of danger from other tribes.

A potentially dangerous situation developed for the missionaries on or about March 8, when Nicholas Finley arrived from Fort Walla Walla to be with his two brothers who lived on the trail that connected Tshimakain with Fort Colville. Finley told the Spokane Indians that the Americans were planning "to make a grand sweep of the natives of the whole land," and that they intended to fight the Hudson's Bay Company as well. Nicholas had been with the Indians in the skirmishes which had taken place on the Umatilla on February 24 and 25. Elkanah Walker noted in his diary that Nicholas Finley "had come up to get his friends to go down & join the Cayuses."⁹⁷ If Walker had known the extent to which Nicholas had been involved in the Whitman massacre, he would have indicated more alarm than he did.

Reports of Nicholas' subversive agitations came to the attention of Lewes at Fort Colville, who felt it necessary to post guards day and night. Being concerned about the safety of the missionaries at Tshimakain, he again invited them to seek sanctuary in the fort. "We are most perplexed to know what to do," wrote Mary in her diary on February 12. "We fear to go, we fear to stay." A few days later the missionaries learned to their great relief that the Spokanes had refused to follow the advice of Nicholas Finley.

After trying for more than two months to carry on their normal activities, alternating between fear and hope, the missionaries decided that the uncertainties of their situation were such that it was prudent for them to move to Fort Colville. After leading ten or twelve pack animals with their personal belongings, the five adults and eight children started for the fort on March 15. Mary wrote that day in her diary: "We left home about noon. Perhaps to return no more." Had they remained until the 20th, the two couples would have rounded out nine full years of residence at Tshimakain. Although the men returned to the station several times during the following two months to do some spring planting,

the departure for Fort Colville on the 15th marked the end of their missionary work among the Spokanes.

Because of the failure of the Volunteers to apprehend any of the suspected murderers and the fact that the enlistment period of the soldiers was coming to an end, Colonel Waters decided to evacuate all Americans living in the upper Columbia River country and then abandon Fort Waters. Since Tiloukaikt and some of his band were known to be in the Nez Perce country, Waters sent a detachment of soldiers to escort Craig to Fort Walla Walla. It may be assumed that Craig left his wife and their children with her people. Since the Nez Percés were friendly, he soon returned to his home.

Major Joseph Magone with a company of fifty-five soldiers was ordered to go to Tshimakain to escort the Walker-Eells party to safety. The soldiers arrived at the mission station on May 29 where they found Walker and Eells waiting for them. While the soldiers waited at Tshimakain, the two men hurried back to Fort Colville to get their families.

On June 1, the five adults and eight children left the fort for their long journey of over two hundred miles to Fort Waters and from there on down into the Willamette Valley. Undoubtedly Lewes accompanied them to Tshimakain, as Walker and Eells had made arrangements for him to get some of their belongings and when convenient ship them down the Columbia River. The mission party arrived at Tshimakain about 11:00 a.m., Saturday, June 3.

Hearing that their missionaries were about to leave them, all of the natives in the vicinity of Tshimakain gathered to express their sorrow on seeing them leave and to say good-by. Major Magone said that some of the Indians wept. Possessions which the missionaries were unable to take with them or have sent down the Columbia, were given to the natives. These included agricultural implements, tools, and some household goods.

No inventory was compiled for items left behind at Tshimakain, such as Spalding prepared for things destroyed, pillaged, or abandoned at Lapwai and Waiilatpu. Since the Walker and Eells families were not forced to abandon their station by the immediate threat of harm from hostile natives, there was no basis for a claim for compensatory payment from the government. With the closing of the stations at Lapwai and Tshimakain, it was not practicable to try to keep the work going among the Spokanes.

After completing the distribution of their belongings, the Walkers and the Eellses said farewell to Tshimakain, “the place of Springs”⁹⁸ and rode that afternoon with their military escort seven miles south to the Spokane River. Their departure from Tshimakain marked the end of the Oregon Mission of the American Board.

Out of deference to the scruples of the missionaries regarding Sunday travel, Major Magone kept his men in camp over the week-end. Since many Indians had followed their missionaries to the river, Walker and Eells conducted a worship service for them on Sunday. This was the last of innumerable services they had held for the natives.

No criteria are available to measure the results of the devoted services rendered by these two missionary couples to the Spokane Indians over nine years. Under their direction and encouragement, many of the natives had begun to cultivate the soil. The missionaries had promoted the raising of cattle. A school had been conducted, but without the degree of success which Spalding had achieved at Lapwai or Whitman at Waiilatpu. Walker had reduced the Spokane language to writing and had, with Spalding’s help, printed a sixteen-page Spokane primer on the mission press at Lapwai in 1840. Moreover, Walker had translated the first four chapters of the Gospel of Matthew into Spokane (Flat-head), but it was never published during the Mission period.⁹⁹ Although the two couples had lived among the Spokanes for nine years without the satisfaction of seeing a single convert received as a member of the Mission church, the Christian seed had been sown; in due time, as will be told, the results became apparent.

Major Magone with his soldiers and the mission party began their long march to Fort Waters on Monday morning, June 5, and arrived at their destination the following Saturday afternoon. The Walkers and the Eellses found their visit to Waiilatpu a sad and trying experience. The ruined buildings, deserted fields, and the great grave at the foot of the hill stood out in sharp contrast to what had been there.

Joseph Elkanah Walker, then only four years old, never forgot seeing his mother pick up some strands of Narcissa’s golden hair and show them to Mrs. Eells.¹⁰⁰ Writing of their visit to Waiilatpu, Walker in a letter to Greene dated July 8, 1848, said that their visit was so painful that: “The shortest time was sufficient.” Whereas the soldiers made camp at the military base established there, the missionary party could not bear

the thought of spending a night in that ravaged spot; they moved down the Walla Walla River several miles before making camp. After being escorted to The Dalles by soldiers, the two families continued their way down the river by boat to the Willamette Valley, where they had to begin life anew.¹⁰¹

Realizing the futility of remaining any longer at Fort Waters in the hope of capturing the elusive murderers, Colonel Waters, disbanded the Volunteers on July 5 with the exception of fifty-five men who agreed to stay until September 15 in order to provide protection for the Oregon immigrants of that year. The hostile element within the Cayuse tribe had been so dispersed, and the others too eager to avoid any conflict with the Americans, that the immigrants experienced no difficulties while passing through the Cayuse country.

With the departure of the last soldiers from Fort Waters the desolation of the formerly prosperous mission station was complete. The adobe walls which had surrounded the military camp were gradually washed down by winter rains; the ryegrass crept back into the now uncultivated fields; and even the Indian camps which once had been in the vicinity were deserted. Only a small grove of locust trees, heaps of rubbish where buildings once stood, the outlines of the millpond and the irrigation ditches, perhaps some remnants of rail fences, and the graves in the cemetery remained as visible evidence of the fact that for eleven years Marcus and Narcissa Whitman had lived there.

MEEK CARRIES NEWS OF THE MASSACRE TO WASHINGTON

On March 4, 1848, the day after the Volunteers established their camp at Waiilatpu, Joe Meek with nine companions began his long journey overland to Washington, D.C.¹⁰² He was not only the special envoy of the Provisional Government of Oregon commissioned to carry its memorial to Congress, he was also to be the first person to reach the eastern states with the news of the Whitman massacre. Meek carried with him two letters from Spalding to Secretary Greene, dated January 8 and 24, giving details of the tragedy.¹⁰³ Undoubtedly he also carried letters from survivors of the massacre directed to their relatives telling what had happened to them at Waiilatpu. There was no person in Oregon so well qualified to report on the circumstances of the massacre

as Meek. Having spent several years in the mountains, he was well acquainted with the Indians. The Whitmans had been his friends to whom he had entrusted the rearing of a daughter. From interviews with the survivors and his visit to Waiilatpu at the time of the reburial of the remains of the victims, he had become well informed regarding the details of the tragedy.

A detachment of one hundred Volunteers escorted Meek and his party through the Cayuse country to the Blue Mountains. Since the season was early, Meek found travel exceedingly difficult at the higher elevations because of the deep snow. At times he and his men had to dismount and lead their horses. After arriving at St. Louis on May 17, Meek told a newspaper reporter: "We arrived at Fort Hall on the 25th of March, where we encountered a tremendous snow storm. At this place we crossed the Bear River—the snow very deep—our provisions all gone—and we were forced to eat our mules and horses."¹⁰⁴ The privations suffered are reminiscent of those of Whitman and Lovejoy in their journey over the Rockies in the late fall of 1848 and the following winter.

Meek, on his journey through the Rockies, met several of his old friends who had been with him in his fur trapping days. The Meek party stopped at Fort Bridger, where they met its proprietor, Jim Bridger. No doubt Meek told Bridger of the safe arrival in the Willamette Valley of his eleven-year-old daughter, Mary Ann. About the time these two former mountain men were together, Mary Ann died, but of course this was unknown to them.

When the Meek party was about 150 miles west of St. Joseph, Missouri, they met the first contingent of the Oregon emigration of that year, consisting of about 245 wagons.¹⁰⁵ Here is evidence that the news of the Whitman massacre did not reach the States early enough in 1848 to affect that year's emigration. Meek gave the emigrants the news of what had happened, and also assured them that it was safe for them to continue, as the hostile Cayuses had been scattered and the Volunteers were at Waiilatpu to insure safe-conduct through the country.

Meek and his companions arrived at St. Joseph on May 11, having traveled about 1,900 miles in sixty-six days, an average of about thirty miles a day. This was a remarkable record for that time of the year.

On May 18, the day after Meek arrived in St. Louis, the St. Louis

Republican devoted nearly a page to Meek's account of the Whitman massacre, the actions taken by the Provisional Government of Oregon, the rescue of the captives by the Hudson's Bay Company, and a brief summary of his travel experiences. This was the first newspaper account printed in the States of the massacre and of Meek's mission to Washington, D.C.

The news was quickly copied by other papers, and it seems evident that word of the massacre had reached eastern cities before Meek arrived in Washington on May 28.¹⁰⁶ Secretary Greene in Boston read about the death of the Whitmans on the 27th and immediately addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington requesting confirmation or denial of the report.¹⁰⁷ Greene received Spalding's letters carried east by Meek on June 5. That dated January 8 was published in the July issue of the *Missionary Herald*.

THE WHITMAN RELATIVES GET THE NEWS

The reminiscences of the Rev. Joel Wakeman, to which references have been made in earlier chapters, contain an account of the reception of the news of the massacre by Narcissa's parents. In 1848 Wakeman was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at West Almond, New York, where one of Narcissa's brothers, Jonas Galusha Prentiss, owned a store. Judge and Mrs. Prentiss had moved there in the latter part of 1847 or the early part of 1848 and were living with their son. Wakeman wrote that when he read about the massacre in a newspaper, he hastened to the store to break the sad news to Jonas and his parents. Wakeman found Jonas and his father in the store and was about to tell them what he had read, when Mrs. Prentiss entered with her paper and said: "Marcus and Narcissa have been murdered by the Indians."¹⁰⁸

On April 8, 1848, Spalding wrote a long letter to Narcissa's parents in which he gave a detailed account of the massacre.¹⁰⁹ He enclosed a lock of Narcissa's hair which had been found by one of the Volunteers at Waiilatpu.

Dr. Whitman's niece, Mary Alice Wisewell Caulkins, has given the following account of the reaction of members of her family: "His Mother received the news of the massacre with stony grief without tears, and sat alone for days without speaking, and his sister, Mrs. Wisewell, was made sick by the news... went out into the orchard and cried, until she could

cry no more.”¹¹⁰ On the page in the Whitman family Bible which contains the record of births, marriages, and deaths, we find the following, possibly written by the grief-stricken mother:¹¹¹

Marcus Whitman was Killed by the Indians of Oregon
together with his wife and several others.

November 29th, 1847

OREGON MADE A TERRITORY

There is a direct connection between the deaths of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the final approval by Congress of the bill which made Old Oregon a territory of the United States. Ever since the boundary question had been settled with Great Britain in 1846, fixing the dividing line at the 49° parallel, the extension of United States jurisdiction over Oregon was inevitable. A number of troublesome political issues, such as those arising out of the Mexican War and the slavery problem, had postponed the final decision. It took a Whitman massacre to bring action.

When Meek arrived in Washington on May 28, he found that a fellow Oregonian, J. Quinn Thornton, who was a personal representative of Governor Abernethy, had preceded him by about two weeks. Thornton had sailed from Oregon for San Francisco on October 19, 1847. From there he had taken ship to Panama and, after crossing the Isthmus, caught another vessel for Boston, where he arrived on May 5. A week later he was in Washington.

Having left Oregon more than a month before the Whitman massacre, Thornton did not have the first-hand information of that event which Meek possessed. Moreover, Thornton had not been commissioned by the Legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon to present its memorial, as had Meek. After Thornton arrived in Washington, he wrote out a petition which in effect begged the Government to extend its jurisdiction over Oregon. This he gave to Senator Thomas R. Benton of Missouri, who presented it to the Senate, but no action was taken.

Then came Joe Meek, who, because of his being a cousin of the wife of President Polk, had immediate access to the White House. Moreover, he had important information about an Indian uprising. American

citizens had been murdered. There was immediate need of government protection. On May 29, the day after Meek arrived in Washington, the President transmitted the memorial Meek had carried, together with other documents, to the two houses of Congress, with the recommendation that immediate favorable action be taken.

On June 29, Jonas G. Prentiss wrote to Meek while the latter was in Washington to ask for information about the massacre. Jonas asked: "Why did it happen?" Meek replied on July 8: "...the causes which led to the horrid perpetration, so far as I could glean information upon the subject, are briefly these: The Indian population for some time past had been suffering from various ills, and the measles finally breaking out among them, their discontent (swayed by superstitious motives), sought to fasten the cause upon something on which they could wreak their vengeance, while at the same time the sacrifice would offer the virtue of a remedy to put an end to their contagion. A Canadian [i.e., half-breed Joe Lewis] dwelling among them induced them to believe Dr. Whitman was the eyesore—that he, by his drugs and medicines, had created the pestilence in order to secure patients; and that, if himself and family were removed, the evil would be removed. Acting upon this advice—prompted by the worst species of vindictiveness and malice—a band of the tribe rode to the doctor's residence, and shot him as related..."¹¹²

As often as the Whitman story will be told, the question will be asked: Why did the massacre take place? The causes are many and complex and stretch back through the years to the fall of 1836 when the Whitmans first settled at Waiilatpu.

No person was better acquainted than Joe Meek with the many interlocking causes such as those which inevitably arise out of a conflict of cultures; the fears of the natives when they saw the repeated migrations of seemingly endless numbers of white men passing through their country; and the reports passed on by half-breeds about the way the Indians of the East had been treated by the white men. Yet, in this letter to Jonas G. Prentiss, Meek touched on none of these issues, but declared that the precipitating causes were the following: (a) the measles epidemic, (b) the superstitions of the natives, (c) and the false accusations of Joe Lewis who claimed that Whitman was poisoning the Indians.

The bill making Oregon a territory of the United States passed the House of Representatives on August 2, and the Senate gave its approval on the 13th. President Polk signed the bill the next day. Thus the hopes and aspirations of the American residents of Oregon were finally fulfilled.

Ever since Lieutenant Slacum had carried the first petition to Washington in 1837, the Americans in the Willamette Valley had worked for the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States over that land. Meek's visit to Washington brought the whole issue to a successful climax. Only five years earlier, Whitman had called on high government officials in behalf of Oregon but without success. The bill which he submitted to Congress in the fall of 1843 carried many provisions which were embodied in the Oregon Bill of 1848. To a remarkable degree, the prophetic words Whitman had spoken, when he and Spalding were riding through the rainy night of November 27 on their way to the Umatilla, had been fulfilled: "I believe my death will do as much for Oregon as my life can."

One of the best tributes ever paid to the memory of Marcus Whitman was that given by Peter H. Burnett, a member of the 1843 Oregon immigration and who served as the first Governor of the State of California, 1849-54. He wrote: "In my judgment he made greater sacrifices, endured more hardships, and encountered more perils for Oregon, than any other one man; and his services were more practically efficient than those of any other, except perhaps those of Senator Linn of Missouri. I say *perhaps*, because I am in doubt as to which of these two men did more in effect for Oregon." ¹¹³

And now to return to the first paragraph of the first chapter of this book:

No seer could possibly have foretold a connection between a missionary meeting held in a small one-room country church at Wheeler, New York, on a raw November evening in 1834 and the action taken by Congress in August 1848 when Old Oregon became a territory of the United States. The fact that these two events were related is clearly evident from contemporary historical documents. The one who tied them together during that span of fourteen years was Dr. Marcus Whitman and this is the story of what happened.

CHAPTER 23 FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, p. 129.
- ² Spalding, *Senate Document*, p. 40, quoting from a sworn statement made by Hinman April 9, 1849.
- ³ Hinman, in his sworn statement, stated that Douglas edited McBean's letter when he made a copy for Abernethy. The revised letter together with accompanying correspondence was published in the *Oregon Spectator*, Dec. 10, 1847,
- ⁴ Italics are the author's.
- ⁵ HBC Arch., B/5/21.
- ⁶ From an article about Perrin B. Whitman, *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, Dec. 26, 1895; reprinted in *Washington Historian*, II (1901):3:138 ff.
- ⁷ Spalding, *Senate Document*, p. 38.
- ⁸ *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):3:36.
- ⁹ See ante, fn. 6.
- ¹⁰ Chapter Twenty-One, "The Methodist give Waskopum to the American Board. Since Dr. Whitman had not completed payment for the property, the Methodists retained title. See article by Mrs. R. S. Shackelford, "The Methodist Mission Claim to the Dalles Town Site," *O.H.Q.*, XVI (1915):24 ff. Dr. Whitman had promised to give Perrin the western half of the Waskopum site.
- ¹¹ See fn. 8
- ¹² Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon*, II:233 ff., gives the text of McBean's letter to the Walla Walla *Statesman*, March 12, 1866, in which McBean claimed that Bushman arrived at Waiilatpu on Tuesday, November 30, when he was able to prevent the massacre of the women and children. None of the survivors' accounts support this claim.
- ¹³ Pringle scrapbook, Coll. W.
- ¹⁴ Pringle ms., p. 40.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ¹⁷ Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians*, p. 257.
- ¹⁸ Information regarding Lorinda Bewley's experiences, in addition to that contained in the Pringle and Saunders mss., is found in a ms. by J. Elkanah Walker (son of Elkanah and Mary Walker) entitled "Esther Among the Cayuses," Coll. O., and an article, "Lorinda and Five Crows," *Portland Oregonian*, Sunday, May 23, 1948.
- ¹⁹ Spalding, *Senate Document*, pp. 26 & 34.
- ²⁰ Clarke, *Pioneer Days*, II:540, quoting Catherine Sager. Also, Pringle ms., p. 41.
- ²¹ Spalding, *Senate Document*, p. 35.
- ²² Portland, *Oregonian*, May 23, 1948.
- ²³ The conduct of the Indians towards the women of the Oregon Mission was exemplary compared to that of white men toward Indian women.
- ²⁴ Pringle ms., p. 42.

- ²⁵ Spalding, *Senate Document*, p. 35. Other references to Lorinda's experiences with Five Crows are taken from this source, with the exceptions noted.
- ²⁶ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 497. This deposition, although given on the same day as that found in Spalding's *Senate Document*, differs in several particulars. Italics are in the original.
- ²⁷ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 498.
- ²⁸ In like manner, Brouillet in his *House Document* glosses over the account of Lorinda's experiences at the St. Anne Mission, condensing it to four lines.
- ²⁹ Saunders ms., p. 16.
- ³⁰ Pringle ms., pp. 42-3.
- ³¹ Saunders ms., pp. 15-8.
- ³² Pringle ms., p. 43.
- ³³ Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, pp. 156-7. The reprint of this book, brought out by Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Washington, 1969, contains in its introduction by Dr. Thomas E. Jessett a fictionalized account of this supposed love affair. See also Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 151.
- ³⁴ Pringle ms., p. 48.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ³⁶ Cannon, *Waiilatpu*, p. 139, gives the incredible story that it was Stanfield who suggested placing the little boy between him and Mrs. Hays when they were in bed together.
- ³⁷ Pringle ms., p. 51.
- ³⁸ *Oregon Spectator*, January 20, 1848, reprinted in works by Brouillet, Victor, and Marshall.
- ³⁹ Brouillet, *House Document*, p. 48.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:701 gives the *Oregon Spectator* for January 20, 1848, as the source of this quotation but an examination of this issue failed to find it.
- ⁴¹ Brouillet, *House Document*, p. 43. Other references to Brouillet in this section have been taken from this work.
- ⁴² See index of this volume for references to The Hat and Elijah Hedding.
- ⁴³ See sections dealing with confrontations with Tiloukaikt in Chapter Sixteen, and "Grounds for Uneasiness among the Indians," Chapter Twenty. No reference to any promise of payment for land allegedly made by Samuel Parker has been found in any of the writings of the Whitmans or Brouillet. Tiloukaikt in the fall of 1841 demanded pay for the use of the land, not for its occupancy by the mission.
- ⁴⁴ Published in the *Oregon Spectator*, January 20, 1848. If one or more of the chiefs had been unable to write their names, they could have signed by using the X sign beside their names which were inscribed by someone else.
- ⁴⁵ Circumstantial evidence in Brouillet's account of the meeting held on that December 20 indicates that the messenger arrived at St. Anne's Mission after the meeting with the chiefs had closed. However, Bishop Blanchet's journal states that the messenger arrived at 4:30 that morning. The entry for that day in the Bishop's journal appears to have been written some time later.
- ⁴⁶ Walker ms., "Esther Among the Cayuses," Coll. O., states: "Five Crows refused to come, and said that Esther [i.e., Lorinda] wished to remain with him; but one of the priests... told Mr. Ogden that she did nothing but cry day and night."

- ⁴⁷ A copy of Ogden's speech to the Cayuses appeared in the *Oregon Spectator*, January 20, 1848, together with the correspondence that Ogden had with Spalding.
- ⁴⁸ HBC Arch., D/5/21. See also Drury, "Whitman Material in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives," *P.N.Q.*, XXXIII (1942), 59 ff.
- ⁴⁹ Brouillet, *House Document*, p. 47. Brouillet's list of ransom items differs somewhat from that given in *Oregon Spectator*, January 20, 1848. Twisted strands of tobacco were measured, thus the reference to "fathoms of tobacco."
- ⁵⁰ Pringle ms., p. 46.
- ⁵¹ *W.C.Q.*, II (Dec. 1898):4:32.
- ⁵² Saunders ms., p. 18.
- ⁵³ Spalding, *Senate Document*, p. 36.
- ⁵⁴ Loridan called the Indian "Big Belly." Walker ms., "Esther Among the Cayuses" identifies him as Camaspelo. Contemporary references to him indicate that he was friendly to the white people.
- ⁵⁵ Gray, *Oregon*, p. 549, quoting Lee's letter of December 26, 1847. This corrects the statement in Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians*, p. 264, that Lee had "an advance group of some fifty volunteers" with him when he arrived at The Dalles.
- ⁵⁶ Brouillet, *House Document*, p. 48.
- ⁵⁷ See Drury, Spalding and Smith, pp. 539 ff., for list of inventory items which Spalding compiled under date of October 2, 1849. Although Spalding mentioned two spinning wheels, sheep shears, and a loom, he neglected to mention sheep. This was either an oversight or possibly the sheep were driven later to The Dalles and turned over to Perrin Whitman.
- ⁵⁸ For an account of Spalding's later life with the Nez Percés, see Drury, *Spalding*, and his *A Tepee in His Front Yard*.
- ⁵⁹ Pringle ms., p. 48.
- ⁶⁰ HBC Arch., D/21. Also *P.N.Q.*, XXXIII (1942):60.
- ⁶¹ Spalding ms., Coll. W. Published in part in the *Missionary Herald*, 1851, p. 248.
- ⁶² *Oregon Spectator*, January 20, 1848; Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:696.
- ⁶³ Delaney, *A Survivor's Recollections*, p. 26.
- ⁶⁴ Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, p. 120; Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:696.
- ⁶⁵ Pringle ms., p. 49.
- ⁶⁶ Lockley, *Oregon Trail Blazers*, p. 342.
- ⁶⁷ According to a letter written by Mrs. Cushing Eells, March 28, 1851, now in Coll. W., Spalding was convinced that his wife's death was caused by the strain and exposure suffered during the days following the Whitman massacre. In 1853 Spalding married Rachel Smith, a sister of Mrs. J. S. Griffin. The Griffins were one of the independent missionary couples who went out to Oregon in 1839.
- ⁶⁸ Spalding, in the inventory he prepared of property lost or abandoned at Waiilatpu, included the following: "Expenses for Board & Physician for Mary Ann till her death. \$33.00." Richardson, *The Whitman Mission*, p. 155.
- ⁶⁹ Nathan Kimball's "Recollections" verify the story of the theft of his father's watch and that it was found in the culprit's possession at Oregon City, and then returned to Mrs. Kimball. *T.O.P.A.*, 1903, p. 193. J. Q. A. Young says the watch belonged to

Mrs. Hays. His memory of the incident was probably at fault. *Clark County History*, Vancouver, Washington, V (1964), p. 30.

⁷⁰ Pringle ms., p. 50.

⁷¹ HBC Arch., B/223/c.

⁷² Delaney, *A Survivor's Recollections*, p. 26.

⁷³ The present location of Dr. McLoughlin's portrait, if still extant, is unknown. The Barclay portrait is in the Barclay House, Oregon City, and the Lovejoy picture is in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.

⁷⁴ *Portraits of North American Indians Deposited with the Smithsonian Institution*, 1852, Washington, D.C. A copy is in Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵ *Catalogue of Pictures in Stanley & Dickerman's North American Indian Portrait Gallery*, Cincinnati, 1846 [sic]. The date is an evident anachronism. A copy of this catalogue is in the New York City Public Library.

⁷⁶ Waie-cat may have been the only one of the fourteen Cayuse conspirators who escaped being apprehended or being killed during the Cayuse War. Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, p. 208), mention Waie-cat as one of the Cayuse Chiefs who took part in the Yakima War of 1855.

⁷⁷ There is some variation in the spelling of the names of Shu-ma-hic-cie and Waie-cat on the Stanley portraits and in the catalogues mentioned in fn. 74 & 75.

⁷⁸ Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, p. 152.

⁷⁹ *Oregon Spectator*, December 27, 1847.

⁸⁰ Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:703 ff.

⁸¹ *Robert Newell's Memoranda*, edited by Dorothy O. Johanson, Champoeq Press, 1959, pp. 109 ff.

⁸² Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 175, and J. E. Walker ms., "Esther Among the Cayuses," Coll. O. A variation in the account of this incident is found in an article by Judge C. E. Wolverton in *T.O.P.A.*, 1898, p. 68: "The mad chieftain derisively taunted the American leader: 'I can swallow all your bullets.' Whereupon McKay replied: 'I will give you one too high to swallow,' and straightway shot Grey Eagle in the forehead."

⁸³ Victor, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁸⁴ Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁸⁵ Pringle scrapbook, Coll. W. Several museums in the Pacific Northwest have locks of Narcissa's hair, including Coll. O.

⁸⁶ Original Meek letter is at the Whitman Mission National Historic Site.

⁸⁷ Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁸⁸ Victor, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff. Generous rewards were offered for the capture of Tiloukaikt, Tamsucky, Tomahas, Joe Lewis, and Edward. Lesser rewards were offered for the capture of others.

⁸⁹ Portland, *Catholic Sentinel*, July-August, 1872, p. 7.

⁹⁰ From interview with Perrin Whitman, *Portland Oregonian*, December 1, 1897.

⁹¹ *Frontier*, XI (November 1903), fn. p. 16, from article by Paul C. Phillips and W. S. Lewis, "The Oregon Mission as shown in the Walker Letters, 1839-1851."

- ⁹² Royal R. Arnold, *Indian Wars of Idaho*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1932, p. 101.
- ⁹³ Report of Anson Dart, 1851, Records of Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁹⁴ From clipping giving an interview with Perrin Whitman, *Spokesman Review*, probably July 16, 1893. Clipping in Coll. S.W.S.H.S.
- ⁹⁵ See section, "Artist Stanley's Narrow Escape," Chapter Twenty-Two.
- ⁹⁶ Drury, *F.W.W.*, II:326.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, II:335, fn. 19.
- ⁹⁸ The mission site at Tshimakain is now in private hands. A copious spring still flows back of the farmhouse where the Walker home once stood. A very old lilac bush and some rail fences (the latter across the road from the present farmhouse), which may date back to the mission period, are on the premises.
- ⁹⁹ Drury, *Walker*, pp. 270 ff. published Walker's translation of these four chapters for the first time. David C. Wynecoop, *Children of the Sun*, Wellpinit, Washington, 1969, p. 69, reprinted Chapter Two.
- ¹⁰⁰ Drury, *Walker*, p. 219. J. E. Walker, ms., Coll. Wn.
- ¹⁰¹ Drury, *Walker*, pp. 222 ff., gives a brief review of the experiences of the Walker and Eells families in the Willamette Valley. Mary Walker died on Dec. 5, 1897, being in her eighty-seventh year. She was the last person to die of the six couples who once belonged to the Oregon Mission.
- ¹⁰² Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:717, and Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, pp. 180 ff., give the names of those in Meek's party. Several who started dropped out along the way while others joined the group.
- ¹⁰³ Spalding's letters to Greene, in Coll. A., bear the postmark of St. Joseph, Mo., but without a date. Both letters were published in Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, pp. 300 ff.
- ¹⁰⁴ *St. Louis Republican*, May 18, 1848.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ The full-page article about Meek, which first appeared in the *St. Louis Republican*, was reprinted in the *Boston Cultivator* (exact date unknown as the clipping in Coll. W. is undated, probably the first part of June). The *Weston, Missouri, Herald*, May 19, 1848, also carried the story, as did the *Columbia, Missouri, Statesman*, of the same date.
- ¹⁰⁷ Original Greene letter in files of the Old Indian Bureau, National Archives.
- ¹⁰⁸ Prattsburg, N.Y., *News*, Jan. 27, 1898.
- ¹⁰⁹ Original in Coll. W. Published in *T.O.P.A.*, 1893, p. 93 ff.
- ¹¹⁰ Caulkins ms., Coll. Wn.
- ¹¹¹ The original Whitman family Bible is in Coll. W. A picture of the page with the reference to the death of Marcus is in Drury, *Whitman*, p. 412.
- ¹¹² The Sunday, Oct. 30, 1966, issue of the *Los Angeles Times* carried an article by Dan Thrapp about my researches and writings. This came to the attention of Warren Prentiss, a great-nephew of Narcissa Whitman, who resides at Palos Verdes Peninsula, Calif. Among family items he had was this original letter of Joe Meek to his grandfather, Jonas C. Prentiss. See ante, fn. 86.
- ¹¹³ *W.C.Q.*, II (1898):1:32.