

EPILOGUE

Following the signing of the Oregon Bill on August 14, 1848, General Joseph Lane, who had distinguished himself in the Mexican War, was appointed governor of the new territory. Joe Meek was made United States Marshal. Lane accompanied Meek on his return trip to Oregon. The two took the southern route through Santa Fe on their way to San Francisco and thence went by sea to Portland. They arrived at Oregon City on March 2, 1849. The next day Governor Lane in an official proclamation declared that the Territorial Government of Oregon was then established and that "the laws of the United States extended over and were declared to be in force in said territory."¹

THE APPREHENSION OF FIVE OF THE ALLEGED MURDERERS

The defeat of the Indians in the skirmish with the Volunteers, which took place on the Umatilla on February 24 and 25, 1848, convinced such chiefs as Stickus, Camaspelo, and even Young Chief, that it was folly to fight the Americans. Thereafter they refused to join with Tiloukaikt and other hostile-minded Cayuses in any armed clash with the Americans except, perhaps, when trying to protect their herds of

cattle and horses. Following the safe passage of the 1848 Oregon immigration through the Cayuse country, the last of the Volunteers at Fort Waters left for their homes in the Willamette Valley. For more than a year after their departure, nothing was done by American authorities to apprehend the alleged murderers. The mission site lay abandoned until about 1853, when three stockmen made it their headquarters. They left in the fall of 1855, shortly before the second Cayuse war began.²

Although Governor Lane realized that one of his first official obligations was to capture those guilty of the Whitman massacre, he knew that he would have to wait until a contingent of United States troops had arrived in Oregon. The first military unit to go to Oregon over the Oregon Trail was a regiment of Mounted Riflemen.³ This regiment, which had taken part in the Mexican War, left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on May 10, 1849. It consisted of about six hundred men, thirty-one officers, and a few women and children. The long caravan, including seven hundred horses, twelve hundred mules, and 175 wagons, made its way westward slowly. Two military posts were established en route—one at Fort Laramie and the other near old Fort Hall. Thus was fulfilled one of the recommendations that Whitman had made in his proposed Oregon bill of 1843.

With the arrival of the government troops at Oregon City in October, Governor Lane was prepared to use force to secure the cooperation of the friendly elements in the Cayuse and neighboring tribes in apprehending the alleged murderers. No doubt the passage of the Mounted Riflemen through their country in the fall of 1849 gave the Cayuses impressive evidence of the military might which could be used against them. Another factor which weakened any spirit of resistance to the Americans that may have existed among certain elements with the Cayuse tribe, was the tragic loss of life during the measles epidemic which continued into the spring of 1848. According to Archbishop F. N. Blanchet of Oregon City: "197 of them had succumbed to the epidemic."⁴ When Indian Agent Anson Dart visited the Walla Walla country in June 1851, he learned that the Cayuses, including women and children, then numbered only 126.⁵

During the two years following the Whitman massacre, the once proud Cayuse nation lost the prestige it once enjoyed among the tribes of the upper Columbia River country. Not only were they reduced in

numbers, they also suffered a loss of much of their wealth. Hundreds of their horses and cattle had been taken by the Volunteers. Many including especially Tiloukaikt and his band, had been obliged to leave their farms. Having been persuaded by Dr. Whitman to turn to agriculture, they had by the fall of 1847 become dependent on their farms for much of their food. Thus when obliged to flee to avoid capture during the first part of the Cayuse War, they were ill prepared to find sustenance elsewhere. Their ill fortune was further aggravated by the reluctance of the Hudson's Bay Company, under pressure from American authorities, to sell guns and ammunition to the Cayuses, especially to the hostiles. This was a serious blow, for arms were needed for hunting as well as for defense.

After being convinced that it was to their best interest to cooperate with American authorities in apprehending the alleged murderers, Young Chief with sixty Cayuses, Timothy with twenty Nez Perces, and a Walla Walla chief with five of his men, joined forces in December 1849 to capture Tiloukaikt and others whom the American authorities wanted. When Tiloukaikt and his men heard of what was being contemplated, they fled with their families, and such livestock as they had, into the Blue Mountains.

Two letters from McBean to Lane,⁶ dated January 6 and February 7, 1850, give a summary of what took place. When Tiloukaikt and his band realized that the attacking party was approaching, they barricaded themselves the best they could in the deep snow which then covered the higher elevations of the Blue Mountains. The cold was intense and the attackers and the attacked alike were poorly clad and ill provisioned for the confrontation.

At the beginning of the skirmish, Young Chief and his party succeeded in capturing all of the livestock belonging to Tiloukaikt and his band. McBean, in the first of his letters stated that: "two principal Murderers, Tomsucky & Shumkain⁷ were shot" in the first day of the fighting. Only one of the assailants was wounded, which may indicate that Tiloukaikt and his men lacked both guns and ammunition. Four of the alleged murderers were taken prisoners: Waie-cat, Kia-ma-sump-kin, Clokamas, and Frank Escaloom.⁸ After besieging Tiloukaikt and his band for two days, the attackers withdrew taking with them, at Tiloukaikt's request, the women and children. Young Chief took the prisoners

to his camp but, for lack of a proper place to keep them in confinement, they soon escaped and rejoined Tiloukaikt.

For a few more weeks, Tiloukaikt and his band remained free but their situation became increasingly desperate with the passing of time. They found it necessary to come down from the mountains. McBean, in his letter of February 7th, wrote: "The Murderers, whom we supposed to be far [away], are near the Cayuse Camp—starvation prevented them making their escape & forced some of them to surrender themselves to the Young Chief. I had a visit from him recently & he told me that he fully expects to decoy the whole of them into his camp for the purpose of giving them up to be punished." McBean strongly recommended to Lane that "no time should be lost" in sending soldiers into the Cayuse country to apprehend the murderers before they should try to flee again. Lane replied by saying that if the Cayuse tribe did not give up the guilty parties by June, he would "make war on them."⁹ Faced with this ultimatum, Young Chief agreed to deliver the accused to Lane at The Dalles during the first part of May.

The grim hand of necessity had been laid on Tiloukaikt. Faced with the threat of war on the whole Cayuse tribe by an overwhelming superior military force, which would have resulted in the suffering of many innocent people; after two years of wandering and having already lost ten of his band including his two sons and Tamsucky;¹⁰ robbed of most if not all of his cattle and horses; driven from his fields and faced with starvation; being short on guns and ammunition; and finally learning that Young Chief was in favor of delivering him and some of his associates over to the Americans, Tiloukaikt had no alternative but to surrender.

Young Chief demanded that the following four go with Tiloukaikt: Tomahas, Clokamas, Ish-ish-kais-kais (Frank Escaloom), and Kia-ma-sump-kin. It is not known why some others, such as Waie-cat who had been listed by McBean as having taken part in the massacre, were not included. The very fact that Young Chief surrendered these five was used at the time of their trial as evidence of their guilt.

The five were given some vague promise of immunity from punishment by Young Chief who told them that they were being asked to go to the Willamette Valley to tell what they knew about the massacre. This may have been open deception on the part of Young Chief or possibly

a ruse on the part of the Americans. Tiloukaikt said: "When I left my people, the Young Chief told me to come down and talk with the big white chief, and tell him who it was that did kill Dr. Whitman and others." Kia-ma-sump-kin explained his presence: "Our chief told me to come down and tell all about it... I was sent by my chief to declare who the guilty persons were, the white chief would then shake hands with me; the Young Chief would come after me, we would have a good heart." Clokamas said: "Our chief told us to come down and tell who the murderers were." And Tomahas echoed the same sentiment: "Our chief told us to come and see the White chief and tell him all about it. The white chief would then tell us all what was right and what was wrong, and learn us [how] to live when we returned home."¹¹

This vague promise of immunity, the fear of American reprisals, and the realities of their starving condition provide sufficient explanation for the voluntary surrender of the five accused Cayuses to the American authorities. When Tiloukaikt as later asked why he allowed himself to be taken prisoner, he is reported to have replied: "Did not your missionaries tell us that Christ died to save his people? So die we, to save our people."¹²

The five prisoners were escorted to The Dalles by Young Chief and many warriors of the Cayuse tribe.¹³ There Governor Lane met them during the first week of May and then took the five men to Oregon city and turned them over to the care of Joe Meek who, as United States marshal, was responsible for their incarceration. Since a number of Cayuses also went to Oregon City, the authorities were apprehensive of an attempt being made to rescue the prisoners. The five were shackled and put in a building on Rock Island, also known as Abernethy Island, in the Willamette River just above the falls, and guarded by twenty soldiers from the regiment of Mounted Riflemen.

THE TRIAL OF THE FIVE CAYUSES

The dispatch with which the United States District Court, seated at Oregon City, Clackamas County, Oregon Territory, conducted the trial of the five accused Cayuses stands out in sharp contrast to the slower pace of present-day procedures. Only fifteen days elapsed between May 9, when the grand jury met, and the 24th, when the death sentence by hanging was pronounced.

The presiding judge was O. C. Pratt and the district attorney, Amory Holbrook.¹⁴ Evidently the court made every effort to conduct a fair and impartial trial. Three able men were appointed to serve as defence counsels: Territorial Secretary K. Pritchett, Major Robert B. Reynolds, and Captain Thomas Claiburne. Contemporary records do not indicate whether any of the three had any legal training. The Cayuse tribe offered to give fifty horses as a retainer fee to the defense counsels, but whether they were actually given is not known. Lane in a letter dated November 29, 1879, stated that Pritchett was paid \$500 by the United States Government for his services.¹⁵

The grand jury met on May 9 and heard testimony from several of the survivors of the massacre, who were unanimous in identifying all five of the accused as being at Waiilatpu at the time of the tragedy. On May 15, the grand jury summoned eight Cayuses to appear before them including Stickus, Young Chief, and Camaspelo. On May 21, an indictment for murder was issued against each of the five prisoners. The trial began on Wednesday morning, May 22. Twenty-two prospective jurors were challenged and excused in an effort on the part of the defense to exclude all older Oregon citizens and any who might have felt embittered against the Indians. From two to three hundred spectators crowded into the courtroom each day to listen to the proceedings.

Witnesses for the prosecution included the three girls—Eliza Spalding, Catherine and Elizabeth Sager—and several adults such as Mrs. Eliza Hall, Mrs. Lorinda Bewley Chapman, Josiah Osborn, and W. D. Canfield. More than sixty years later, Eliza Spalding (then Mrs. A. J. Warren), looking back on her experiences as a witness at the trial, said: “It was trying on the nerves, and I think I was nearly as frightened in the courtroom as I was while held prisoner. The lawyers asked such questions about the massacre and the Indians looked so threatening that altogether it was a most unpleasant experience.”¹⁶

The defense counsels argued that at the time of the massacre, the laws of the United States had not been extended over the area occupied by the Cayuse tribe. In reply, the court ruled that by an Act of Congress of 1844, all the territory west of the Mississippi River was “embraced within and declared to be Indian Territory; and as such, subject to the laws regulating intercourse with the Indians.” The defense then asked for a change of venue because the five accused felt that the attitude of

the residents of Oregon City was so hostile they could not receive a fair and impartial trial in that city. In the petition drawn up for this purpose, each of the five, being illiterate, made an "X" mark opposite his name written at the end of the document. The petition was denied by the court.

Finally, the defense sought to lessen the degree of guilt by showing that Whitman had been warned repeatedly of the danger he faced by remaining at Waiilatpu because of the practice of the Cayuses to kill their own medicine men when one of their patients died. Both Dr. McLoughlin and Spalding were summoned to testify that such warnings had been given. Stickus also testified that he had told Dr. Whitman "to be careful for the bad Indians would kill him." The court refused to admit the relevance of such testimony.

Since the records of the trial, now on file in the Oregon State Archives at Salem, do not give a verbatim report of the testimony of the individual witnesses for the prosecution, we are unable to determine the specific crime with which each of the accused was charged. After only two days of hearings, the case went to the jury.

The judge, in his charge to the jury, stated that the Cayuse nation, which had voluntarily surrendered the five prisoners, knew best "who were the perpetrators of the massacre." After deliberating for only one hour and fifteen minutes on Friday afternoon, May 24, the jury returned a verdict of guilty against each of the five. The judge then sentenced the five to be hanged at 2:00 p.m. on Monday, June 8, 1850. Although Judge Pratt did not quote from the code of laws which Indian Agent Elijah White induced the Nez Perces and Cayuses to accept in 1842, the sentence he pronounced reflects Article I of that code: "Whoever wilfully takes life shall be hung." Eliza Spalding remembered that the five prisoners, when informed of the sentence, "grew very much excited... and said that they wouldn't mind being shot, but to die by the rope was to die as a dog and not as a man."

GUILTY OR INNOCENT

As soon as the trial was over, a division of opinion arose among the residents of Oregon City regarding the guilt or innocence of each of the condemned Indians. Evidently the majority approved the sentence. Their opinion was strengthened by a news item which appeared

in the May 30 issue of the *Oregon Spectator* under the heading “Cayuses Have Confessed.” The reporter wrote: “We are informed that Telokite now admits that he did strike Dr. Whitman with his hatchet, as testified by Mrs. Hall,¹⁷—Tomahas, or The Murderer, admits that he shot Dr. Whitman. Isiasheluckas [Ish-ish-kais-kais or Frank Escaloom] confesses to have shot Mrs. Whitman,—and Clokamas, the smallest one of the five, admits that he assisted in dispatching young [Francis] Sager. But Kiamasumkin says he was present but did not participate in the massacre.”

Prior to this newspaper report which contained the alleged confessions of four of the five prisoners, several in the Oregon City community were convinced that all five were innocent and that the real culprits were among the ten Cayuses who had already been killed. Among these ten were Tamsucky and the two sons of Tiloukaikt, Edward and Clark. Among those who held these views was Territorial Secretary K. Pritchett, who had been one of the three defense counsels.

Following the trial, Governor Lane was called to southern Oregon and northern California to settle some difficulties with the Rogue River Indians. During his absence from Oregon City, Pritchett as Territorial Secretary, became Acting Governor. Taking advantage of this situation, some people, who believed in the innocence of the five condemned men, circulated a petition which called upon the Acting Governor to grant a reprieve and free them. Although Pritchett was eager to do this, he was fearful of possible legal complications, especially if Lane were still in Oregon at the time set for the execution. So nothing was done.¹⁸

Among those who believed in the innocence of the five condemned Indians were Sergeant Henry R. Crawford and Corporal Robert D. Mahon of the Mounted Riflemen Regiment who were a part of the detachment of soldiers set to guard the prisoners. From their close associations with the five Cayuses during their confinement on the island, the two soldiers found themselves in full agreement with the petition that had been presented to Acting Governor Pritchett. It also seems evident that Crawford and Mahon, who may have been Roman Catholics, wanted to correct some calumnious statements that Spalding had published in the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, which claimed that the massacre “had been committed at the instigation of the priests.”¹⁹

The two soldiers interviewed the five Cayuses on Sunday, June 2,

and again at 11:80 a.m. on Monday shortly before they were taken to the gallows. From the notes taken at these interviews, a paper was written entitled "Important declaration made June 2d and 3d, 1850" which the two men signed.²⁰ The manuscript copy contains about 1,200 words on two legal-size pages, with five paragraphs, one for each of the condemned men. Each claimed that he was innocent of murder. Tiloukaikt placed the blame for the deaths of the Whitmans and others at Waiilatpu on the ten members of his band who were already dead, implicating Tamsucky especially. Tiloukaikt said: "I am innocent of the crime of which I am charged; those who committed it are dead, some killed, some died. There were ten, two were my sons... Tamsucky, before the massacre, came to my lodge. He told me they were going to hold a council to kill Dr. Whitman. I told them not to do so, that it was bad... I had told Tamsucky over and over, to let them alone. My talk was nothing. I shut my mouth... The Priest tells me I must die tomorrow. I know not for what. They tell me that I have made a confession to the Marshall²¹ that I struck Dr. Whitman. It is false. I never did such a thing. He was my friend, how could I kill my friend: You ask me if the priest did not encourage the people to kill Dr. Whitman? I answer, no, no." During the interview with Crawford and Mahon late Monday morning, Tiloukaikt said: "I am innocent but my heart is weak since I have been in chains, but since I must die, I forgive them all."

Kia-ma-sump-kin stated: "I was up the river at the time of the massacre, and did not arrive until the next day... I was not present at the murder nor was I any way concerned with it. I am innocent—it hurts me to talk about dying for nothing... I never made any declaration to any one that I was guilty." Kia-ma-sump-kin admitted that he was at Waiilatpu after the first day of the massacre, but added: "There were plenty of Indians all about." He argued that if his guilt were based solely on being at Waiilatpu at the time of the killings, then all who were there were equally guilty.

Clokamas said: "I was there at the time. I lived there, but I had no hand in the murder. I saw them when they were killed, but did not touch or strike any one. I looked on. There were plenty of Indians... There were ten... they are killed. They say I am guilty, but it is not so. I am innocent... I must die by being hung by the neck... I have no reason to die for nothing... I never confessed to the Marshall that I was guilty, or

to any other person. I am innocent. The priest did not tell us to do what the Indians have done.”

The shortest statement came from Ish-ish-kais-kais who said: “I say the same as the others. The murderers are killed, some by the whites, some by the Cayuses... They were ten in number... The priest did not tell us to do this.” Tomahas said: “I did not know that I came here to die... My heart cries my brother [i.e., Tamsucky] was guilty, but he is dead. I am innocent. I know I am going to die for things I am not guilty of, but I forgive them. I love all men now. My hope, the Priest tells me, is in Christ.”

The most telling argument in support of Kia-ma-sump-kin’s claim of innocence is the fact that not one of the nineteen extant eyewitness accounts of the massacre and the subsequent captivity mentioned him as having taken part in the killing of any one of the victims. Nor was he so accused at the Oregon City trial according to the extant records. He was not listed as one of the culprits in McBean’s letter to the Hudson’s Bay Company of November 30, 1847. However, when the Americans advertised rewards for the apprehension of thirteen of the alleged murderers, “Quia-ma-shou-skin” was included in the list.²² Also, McBean in his letter to Lane of January 6, 1850, claimed that Kia-ma-sump-kin was the one who “shot Dr. Whitman’s lady.” Such reports, evidently received from Indian sources, may have been the reason why Governor Lane insisted that Kia-ma-sump-kin be one of the five to be surrendered at The Dalles in May 1850. In the opinion of the author of this book, Kia-ma-sump-kin was innocent.

The evidence against the other four who were found guilty is much more convincing. The first to accuse Tiloukaikt and Tomahas of being ringleaders in the massacre was William McBean, who listed them with others in his letter of November 30, 1847. With but few exceptions, this initial list of suspected culprits proved to be accurate. In the list of thirteen Cayuses for whom the Oregon Volunteers offered rewards, in addition to that of Kia-ma-sump-kin, occur the names of Tiloukaikt Tomahas, and Frank Escaloom. Clokamas does not appear in this list except, possibly, under a different Indian name.

Two years after the massacre, McBean was able to compile a more detailed list of the alleged murderers which he gave in his letter of January 6, 1850, to Governor Lane. During this interval, McBean had been

able to secure further information regarding the culprits from such Cayuse chiefs as Stickus, Camaspelo, and Young Chief.

In this letter to Lane, McBean claimed that Tiloukaikt had killed Judge Saunders; Tomahas had murdered Dr. Whitman; Clokamas “had given his assistance in killing the sick” [i.e., Bewley and Sales]; and Ish-ish-kais-kais had killed “some of Doctor’s household.” Confirmation of each of these accusations has been found in the eyewitness accounts of the massacre, references to which have been given. The evidence presented during the Oregon City trial was such as to make inevitable the verdict rendered against these four. In the opinion of the author, these four were guilty as charged. Their protestations of innocence were the cries of desperation when faced with the imminence of death by hanging. Catherine Sager, in her reminiscences, stated: “Old Teloukite was a man who intended to do right, as far as he knew... The other four were as bad men as ever lived. I knew them well for three years. If ever men deserved to hang, they did.”²³

BAPTISM AND EXECUTION

According to the *Catholic Sentinel* of April 20, 1872: “The sentence condemning the prisoners to lose their lives was no sooner pronounced against them, than they immediately thought of saving their souls by looking to a minister to prepare them for death.” Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet, a brother of Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet, who founded St. Anne Mission on the Umatilla River, responded. Of this he wrote: “The archbishop went to see them without delay, and continued to go twice a day to teach them and prepare them for baptism and death.”²⁴ Spalding also called on the condemned men, who refused to see him.

“On the eve of their death,” wrote Blanchet, “the old chief Kilo Kite and his four companions made a declaration of innocence.” After the execution, duplicate copies were made of the document and a copy given to the Archbishop.²⁵ Although the latter, in his account of administering the sacraments of baptism and confirmation to the five, made no comment as to whether he believed their protestations of innocence, it seems evident that he considered them spiritually prepared for the sacraments.

At nine o’clock on Monday morning, June, the day of the execution,

Archbishop Blanchet and Father F. Veyret conducted low mass for the Indians in their private quarters. After the mass, the archbishop baptized each of the five, giving to each a Bible name. Tiloukaikt was named Andrew; Tomahas, Peter; Ish-ish-kais-kais, John; Clokamas, Paul; and Kia-ma-sump-kin, James.²⁶ After the baptism, the five were confirmed and thus became members of the Roman Catholic Church.

The gallows had been constructed on the east bank of the Willamette River near the island where the five had been held prisoners and two or three blocks to the southwest of Dr. McLoughlin's house, which then stood on Main Street.²⁷ The two priests accompanied the doomed men to the scaffold where Joe Meek, as United States marshal, was waiting. The priests ascended to the scaffold platform with their converts.

According to an article in the *Catholic Sentinel* signed "An Observer" [possibly Father Veyret]: "Words of consolation and encouragement were addressed to them by the Archbishop, who recited the prayer for the dying. When their hands were about to be bound, the old chief, Tilokite, refused to submit with great energy; but at the sight of the image of our crucified Saviour, he instantly submitted to the humiliation and kept profoundly silent."

Hundreds of curious people thronged Oregon City that day to witness the gruesome event. The Cayuses, however, who had attended the trial, had fled the city upon learning the fate pronounced on the five, "struck with consternation and fear, and with hearts full of grief."²⁸ Possibly Young Chief and the others who had cooperated with him in apprehending and surrendering the five to the Americans never anticipated such a humiliating and terrible end.

Promptly at 2:00 p.m., Meek cut a rope with his tomahawk. Five trapdoors dropped open; five bodies jerked from the ends of taut ropes; and the souls of Andrew, Peter, John, Paul, and James entered the next world. About a half hour later, after being pronounced dead, the five bodies were cut down and taken to the edge of modern-day Kelly Field, about one mile distant on the north edge of Oregon City. The place where the bodies were buried is believed to have been on what is now market road No. 20, about one-half mile east of Abernethy Bridge on Oregon State highway, No. 160. No marker was placed to indicate the location of the grave.²⁹

The *Oregon Spectator* for June 27, 1850, carried the following news-story under the caption: "Execution of the Cayuse Indians."

The five Indians, whose trial and condemnation we recorded in our last paper, were hung on the 3rd inst., according to the sentence of the court. The execution was witnessed by a large concourse of people. The chief (Telokite) pled earnestly to be shot, as hanging, in his view, was not only an ignominious fate, but not in exact accordance with the true principle of retributive justice. Hanging, however, was the requirement of the law, and hang they did. Some of them died almost without a struggle, others seemed to suffer more, and one showed signs of life after hanging fourteen minutes. They were attended on the scaffold by the Arch Bishop of the Catholic Church, who administered to them the rites and consolations of that church appropriate to such occasions. This closes another act in the sad and horrible tragedy.

A FINANCIAL REVIEW

No biography of the Whitmans would be complete without a review of the financial problems involved in the founding and the support of the Oregon Mission of the American Board. Many of the personality difficulties which arose within the Mission stemmed from the straitened condition of the Board's treasury.

A good example is seen in Parker's refusal to hire a man to help with the packing when he and Whitman made their exploring trip to the Rockies in the summer of 1835. The sharpest letter Whitman ever wrote to the Board was that of May 10, 1839, when he answered the charges that Parker had made regarding what Parker thought were the excessive costs of the Oregon Mission.

Another example is found in Gray's determination to save money for the Board by buying only two 8 x 10 tents for the four newly-wedded couples to use on their westward trek in 1838 rather than four smaller tents. Smith reminded Secretary Greene that he had been assured before leaving his home that he and his bride would have their own tent.

The American Board was always facing financial problems throughout the eleven-year period, 1836-47, of its Oregon Mission.

For one thing, foreign missions, which then included work with the American Indians since they spoke non-English languages, was still comparatively new in American Protestantism. Although the American Board was founded in 1810, its promotional techniques within its chief supporting denominations, the Congregational and the Presbyterian, were still weak by the time its Oregon Mission was established. Giving was largely on an individual basis; however, by the 1830s, many churches were contributing to the Board, and the women's missionary societies within local churches, such as "Female Cent Society," "Female Benevolence Society," and "Female Missionary Association," were increasing in number. To promote its missionary projects, the Board relied heavily on its field agents, some of whom served voluntarily or on a part-time salaried basis, and in its official publication, the *Missionary Herald*.

An examination of the list of givers, which was published monthly in the *Herald*, shows that during the years 1834–48, most of the donations were for sums under \$100.00; many were less than \$10.00; and even gifts of fifty cents were acknowledged. The Board had no endowment and was the recipient of only a few bequests.

During 1811, the first full year after its founding, the Board reported receipts of less than \$1,000.00. During the twenty year period, ending in 1831, more than \$101,000.00 had been received. In 1836, when the Whitman-Spalding party went to Oregon, receipts had risen to \$176,232.15, but expenditures were \$210,407.54. The accumulated deficit then amounted to more than \$38,000.00. During 1837, the deficit increased by another \$2,500.00 even though the receipts rose to over \$252,000.00. By that time the Board had 360 missionaries under appointment in what is now continental United States and in foreign lands. Its most flourishing mission was that in the Hawaiian Islands. A financial depression, felt throughout the nation in 1837, alarmed the Board. Notices were sent to all its missionaries warning them that the Board would have to reduce its allocations. The whole Oregon Mission was limited to an annual expenditure of only \$1,000.00.³⁰ This suggested limitation, however, was never actually enforced.

The total cost of the Oregon Mission to the American Board from the time Samuel Parker went to St. Louis in 1834 to the payment of the last drafts drawn on the Board by the surviving members of the Mission in 1851 was \$38,833.39 [Appendix 2]. This sum can be divided into three

parts. First came the cost of the exploring tours, the travel expenses of the two mission parties sent out in 1836 and 1838, and the initial cost of establishing the three stations at Waiilatpu, Lapwai, and Tshimakain.

The total expenditures for the founding years, 1834–38 inclusive, came to \$10,686.27, or nearly one-fourth of the total for the eleven-year period. The missionaries were supposed to be self-supporting as far as possible; hence the initial costs included the purchase of farm and home equipment, and livestock. The cost of goods delivered in Oregon, after making the long voyage around South America, was about double the original price. This was true of items shipped by the Board and also of goods purchased directly from the Hudson's Bay Company's store at Vancouver.

The second category of expenses covered the period 1839–48 inclusive, when the Board spent \$22,099.38 to support no fewer than eight adults, and sometimes thirteen, in three, and for a short time in four, different stations. This means an average annual cost of about \$2,200.00. During the ten years, 1837–47, inclusive, seventeen children were born to Mission families. Although the Board made no provision for hired help to relieve the missionaries of some menial tasks, occasionally they incurred such expenses and charged them to the Board.

The third category of expenses covered the years 1849–51 inclusive, when the Board was closing its Oregon Mission and resettling the surviving families in the Willamette Valley. The expenditure for these years amounted to \$6,047.64.

The financial reports of the Board did not always include the value of gifts sent direct to Oregon by churches or individual donors. The missionaries often mentioned in their letters the receipt of missionary barrels which would contain clothing, books, and incidental items. We know that some of Whitman's relatives and the church at Rushville sent plows to the Oregon Mission, and there is evidence that Whitman spent some of his personal funds for such items. Such gifts as molasses, sugar, and money came from the Hawaiian converts of the American Board's Mission in Hawaii.

If the financial reports of the Board suggest that it was parsimonious in its support of its Oregon Mission, the fault was in its policy of trying to do too much with too little. The zeal of the Board to evangelize the world led it to undertake more projects than it could adequately support.

Among the Board's contributors were many who gave sacrificially even though their gifts were small. But those who gave the most were the missionaries themselves who, through these years under review, not only served without a salary but also without the promise of furloughs, educational benefits for their children, or retirement allowances.

The basic weakness of the Board's policy to encourage its missionaries in Oregon to make their work as self-supporting as possible was that too much time and energy had to be spent on secular activities. Whitman and his three ordained associates were so occupied with their fanning responsibilities that they were unable to make the best use of their specialized training for their main objective of Christianizing the natives. Under such circumstances, we marvel that the Whitmans and the Spaldings were able to do as much as they did for the material, educational, and spiritual benefit of the Indians.

THE WAILLATPU INVENTORY

The inventory which Spalding compiled in 1849 of property lost, stolen, or destroyed at Waiilatpu because of the massacre is of more historical significance than merely being a catalog of such items.³¹ The facts revealed in this document pay tribute to Whitman's business ability. He was not only the doctor for the Mission and a lay preacher for the Indians, he was also a good administrator and a hard worker. H. K. W. Perkins, in his letter to Jane Prentiss of October 19, 1849, stressed this point by writing: "He was always at work" [Appendix 6]. Beginning in the spring of 1837 with limited equipment, and at first with untrained assistants, Whitman had succeeded by the fall of 1847 in bringing thirty acres under cultivation, all fenced and part of it ditched for irrigation. Spalding, in his Waiilatpu inventory, valued this at \$413.90 which represented the cost of labor in splitting rails for fences and in digging ditches. Clearing the land of the head-high, tough ryegrass, which gave the station its name, "Waiilatpu," must have been a laborious task. Spalding also listed an orchard with "75 apple trees, a few bearing," and a nursery of "apple & peach trees tame currents, hops, locusts (trees)," all valued at \$280.00.

The inventory tells much about Whitman's agricultural activities. His equipment included: "1 Harrow, 1 Cultivator, 1 Threshing Machine, 1 Corn Sheller, 1 Fanning Mill, and 2 large Prairie Plows," with a total value of \$205.00. The threshing machine, corn sheller,

and fanning mill were the supplies that Whitman got at The Dalles in September 1847. Until he got these machines, all of his wheat had to be flailed and then winnowed by hand. Spalding also listed twenty-three cast plows value at \$24.00 each and forty-two plows without the wooden parts at \$18.00 each. These plows were on hand to be traded or sold to the Indians. Included in the inventory were four wagons, one priced at \$100.00; twelve ox yokes; 1 set of harness; and a variety of farm tools such as axes, hand sickles, hoes, spades, saws, and saddles. The blacksmith shop equipment included 1,000 pounds of iron and 300 pounds of nails. Spalding listed a "coal house" in connection with the blacksmith shop. The question arises: where did Whitman get coal? It may be that this came from a place near Lapwai where Spalding had discovered an outcropping of low grade lignite.³² Or it may be that the reference was to charcoal which might have been locally made.

The list of Whitman's livestock with their values follows:

100 Milch Cows at \$16 each	\$ 1600.00	2 Broke Horses at \$30	60.00
80 young cattle at \$5 each	400.00	6 Unbroke at \$12	72.00
11 Yoke of oxen at \$50	550.00	30 mares & Colts at \$12	360.00
80 Calves at \$4 each	320.00	80 Sheep at \$3	240.00
8 beef cattle at \$20	160.00	12 Bucks Southdown	
8 broke Horses	160.00	imported	60.00

The total of 290 head of cattle (a yoke of oxen representing two head), valued at \$3,030.00, represents a remarkable increase over the small beginning of five or seven cows which Whitman had kept out of the small herd which he and Spalding had driven across the country in 1836. In addition to the natural increase of his herd during eleven years, Whitman had received some cattle by trading horses and supplies with the Oregon immigrants while they were passing through the Cayuse country. The Waiilatpu inventory listed forty-six head of horses, at least ten of which were broken to harness, valued at \$652.00, and ninety-two sheep at \$300.00.

According to Anson Dart's report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1851, Perrin Whitman returned to Waiilatpu sometime following the compilation of the Waiilatpu inventory and was able to recover some of the sheep that Whitman and Spalding

had owned. These he drove to the Willamette Valley. None of the Indians seemed to appreciate the value of sheep. Although some Whitman letters contain references to hogs and poultry at Waiilatpu, none were listed in this inventory. This was undoubtedly an oversight on Spalding's part. When the Oregon Volunteers were at Waiilatpu in March 1848, Newell noted in his journal that they killed "a fat swine."³³

Spalding also listed the following: "300 Bush[els] wheat [\$]300.00; 60 Bush corn... 75.00; 250 Bush potatoes 125.00; 20 Bush Onions... 60.00." He made no mention of peas, but Whitman had some because the Volunteers found a supply at the mission site when they arrived in March.³⁴ Spalding also neglected to mention other vegetables such as squash, turnips, beans, etc., which were no doubt a part of Whitman's annual harvest. Included in the inventory were the following items, some of which had been imported from the Hawaiian Islands: "8 bush salt... 24.00; 4 sacks sugar (120) lbs 20 cts... 24.00; 1 Keg molasses... 12.00." The mention of a "Cheese Press" in the inventory, valued at \$48.00, indicates that the Whitmans were able to add cheese to their tables. The animals which could have been butchered and these stores of grain and vegetables would have provided sufficient food for all seventy-five people who were expecting to spend the winter of 1847-48 at Waiilatpu.

In the list of buildings, Spalding mentioned the sawmill in the Blue Mountains as being "well made, quick stroke, heavy dam across a furious stream, Bull [i.e., large] Wheel... \$4,000.00" and the adjacent log cabin valued at \$100.00. In the list of buildings at Waiilatpu, he mentioned: "1 Flour Mill (without mill house), Stones good size and quality... heavy dam & large pond with race... 2,000.00."

The main T-shaped house was described in considerable detail, room by room, with references to number of doors, windows, chimneys, cupboards, and type of wall and roof construction. This detailed inventory will be of inestimable value should it ever be possible to build a replica of the house at some future time. Spalding estimated the total cost at \$1,834.91, which would have included such items as hardware, paint, window shashes, etc. and perhaps labor.

Other buildings listed in the inventory include a blacksmith shop, a "Corn & wheat house," an "Out kitchen with Store room above 20 x 24," and a "Wood house, 20 x 12, not finished." Strange to say, Spalding made

no mention of the emigrant house which was large enough to accommodate thirty people at the time of the massacre.

Anson Dart, in his report of October 1851 to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., stated that many of the values that Spalding gave in his Waiilatpu inventory were “very much too high.”³⁵ Dart claimed that the gristmill was “a very small affair... and would not have cost in the States three hundred Dollars.” He also felt that the value placed on the sawmill was “equally too high.” It is possible that Dart, who was a relative newcomer to Oregon when he wrote his report, did not give sufficient consideration to Oregon’s inflated prices. On the other hand, Spalding’s failure to list some property such as the emigrant house, offsets to some extent Dart’s accusation of inflated prices.

GLIMPSES INTO THE WHITMAN HOME

The Waiilatpu inventory not only bears tribute to Whitman’s ability as a good business man, it also throws much light on the nature of the home life of the Whitman family. Although the inventory that Spalding prepared for the Waiilatpu station is less detailed than that for Lapwai, enough information is given to indicate that the Whitman home was furnished with only the barest necessities. Under the heading of “Furniture” are the following items with values indicated:

2 settees \$18, 2 settees \$8	26.00	1 Table, 6 legs	20.00
2 settees \$12, with 2 cushions	36.00	1 Table 4 legs	18.00
2 Rocking Chairs	10.00	1 Table end with drawers	6.00
12 Common chairs	18.00	2 Stands with drawers	6.00
2 bed steads with cords	18.00	2 stands wash	6.50
5 bed steads	15.00	2 Clothes Press	24.00
3 feather beds	60.00	2 Clocks	17.00
7 straw ticks	14.00	2 Looking Glass	5.50

All the furniture was homemade. A rocking chair was a special luxury as is suggested by the following entry in Elkanah Walker’s diary for April 8, 1841: “We now have one chair, the first that we ever had. It is a rocking chair & it is really good to get into it.”³⁶ The beds had no mattresses or springs, hence a feather bed was doubly appreciated.

Narcissa had been able to get enough feathers, probably from wildfowl, while at Fort Vancouver in the fall of 1836, to make her first feather bed. The fact that Spalding valued these at \$20.00 each indicates their scarcity. The straw ticks, which were poor substitutes for feather beds, were sometimes filled with corn husks instead of wheat straw. Possibly the two cushions were also filled with feathers.

Under the heading: "Bedding for at least 20 persons," Spalding itemized: "30 quilts, blankets & comfortables... 150.00; 12 sheets Wool & Linen... 36.00; 40 sheets Cotton... 42.00; 16 Pillows... 16.00." Since the Whitman household, after 1843, usually numbered fourteen or more, the supply was barely sufficient for their needs, especially in cold winter weather. All washing of clothes was by hand in tubs. Spalding listed two washtubs at \$2.00 each. Although he included soap and "2 sad irons" [i.e., solid flat-irons] in his Lapwai inventory, Spalding failed to list such items at Waiilatpu.

A prized possession of the Whitmans was a cookstove worth \$45.00. They also had two "Box Stoves" or heating stoves, \$68.00; two spinning wheels and attachments, \$20.00; 200 pounds of wool, \$100.00; a grindstone, \$12.00; and an assortment of "Table Furniture including Tin, hardware [sic] & Crockery" at \$18.00. Spalding listed a loom at Lapwai, but none at Waiilatpu. The schoolroom contained a blackboard, and also writing desks and benches which must have been crude because they were listed at only \$6.00. Also in the schoolroom were "Mitchels Map of the U.S.A... 15.00; Tracy's Map of the World... 3.00." As has been stated, Catherine Sager remembered that one of the Cayuse Indians used one of the maps as a saddle blanket. The inventory also included mention of several large kettles, two pairs of andirons, one bellows, several trunks or chests, and a library worth \$100.00.

Whitman's medical library, listed separately from the family collection, was valued at \$80.00. His medicines were valued at \$189.00. A "Full & Complete" case of surgical instruments was listed at \$100.00, with an imperfect set, \$15.00, and a "Pocket case with medical bags," \$20.00. Spalding also mentioned a museum cabinet which contained geological specimens, shells, and Indian curiosities, valued at \$50.00; and a shipment of goods which had but recently arrived from Boston and had not been distributed, \$1,500.00.

Dr. Whitman's clothing included a "superfine" coat worth \$45.00, and a "silk velvet vest... 8.00." Whitman may have brought these items with him from the East when he returned in 1843. All other articles of clothing belonging to him were valued at \$325.00. Mrs. Whitman's clothing was listed at \$200.00 and that of the Sager children and Perrin, \$280.00. The fact that Spalding included in the Waiilatpu inventory two brass locks priced at \$4.00 each and six cheaper locks at \$1.00 each, as well as the mention that certain doors were equipped with bolts, shows that the Whitmans had found it prudent to keep some of their storerooms and private quarters locked.

Spalding included in his Lapwai inventory a number of items not given in that for Waiilatpu such as candles, soap, a churn, cowbells, and even a lamp and a lantern. Where Spalding was able to get oil for the last two items is not known. It is reasonable to believe that Whitman also had such articles. Neither of the two inventories mentioned guns, although Spalding listed one-half keg of powder at Lapwai. The Waiilatpu inventory did not include mention of the personal belongings of any of the immigrants. No doubt many of their possessions had to be abandoned. What happened, we wonder, to the violin that Andrew Rodgers played to Narcissa's great enjoyment?³⁷ Were there no pictures for the walls, curtains for the windows, or rugs for the floors?

According to Spalding's figures, the Waiilatpu inventory, including the value of \$7,000.00 placed on the two mills and the "40,000 feet of sawed lumber," totaled \$22,221.26. The details given in this inventory regarding the plain furnishings of their home, their modest wardrobes, and their simple fare illuminate the primitive conditions under which the Whitmans lived. The claims that the American Board made to the United States Government for property lost or destroyed at Waiilatpu and Lapwai, based on Spalding's inventories, were never honored. The Methodists were more fortunate in their claim for compensation for their mission site at The Dalles which the government had taken for a military post. Since the American Board had never completed payment for the site, the Methodist title remained valid. In June 1860 Congress authorized the payment of \$20,000.00 to the Methodists for the property, which included title to 353 acres.

MONUMENTS, MEMORIALS, AND ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCES

The fame of the Whitmans has grown with the passing of the years. It can now be stated without fear of contradiction that no Protestant missionaries in the history of the United States have been honored by so many monuments and memorials as Marcus and Narcissa Whitman.

WHITMAN COLLEGE

The best known of all monuments erected to perpetuate the Whitman memory is Whitman College at Walla Walla, Washington. After his return from his eastern journey in the fall of 1843, Whitman dreamed of seeing a college established in the vicinity of Waiilatpu which he believed would be the center of a thriving American settlement. In his letter of May 31, 1844, addressed to the Rev. A. B. Smith then serving in the Hawaiian Islands under the American Board, Whitman wrote: "Could I have staid home longer, I should have tried to have raised the means of establishing some Academies & Colleges, but I trust to influence others to do so." In his letter of October 25 of that year to Secretary Greene, Whitman wrote: "This is a place most advantageous for the commencement of what may soon be an Academy & College, both on account of its fine & healthy climate & of its eligible situation."

In Whitman's last letter to the Board, dated October 18, 1847, he begged it to do what it could to promote the emigration of a colony of Christian laymen and ministers who would settle in the interior of Oregon. Whitman was hoping that such a colony would make its homes in the vicinity of Waiilatpu. Regarding the possible migration of ministers to Oregon, he wrote: "One or more ought to be with the intent to found a College." The proximity of two Catholic missions to Waiilatpu caused Whitman to reconsider the location of his proposed college. Having begun negotiations for acquiring the former Methodist property at The Dalles, Whitman in his last letter to Greene favored that as a possible location. He wrote: "I know of no place so eligible as at the Dalls close by our station. Here a salubrious climate & near proximity to market & the main settlement will be secured."

When the Cayuse chiefs met with Bishop Blanchet at St. Anne's Mission on December 20, 1847, to discuss peace proposals which could

be submitted to the American authorities, they asked for the cessation of immigrant travel through their country. However, the Whitman massacre, instead of discouraging the coming of the Americans, actually promoted the opening of the upper Columbia River country for settlement. This must have been to the Indians a disturbing reversal of their expectations.

Following the Cayuse War and the hanging of the five condemned Indians at Oregon City in June 1850, settlers began drifting into the Walla Walla Valley to take up land. Settlement of the interior of Old Oregon was temporarily slowed during the early 1850s by continued Indian unrest. Old Fort Walla Walla was abandoned in 1855 and the name transferred to a new site about six miles east of Waiilatpu where Colonel George Wright established a military post. Here the present city of Walla Walla arose. Washington Territory was created in 1853; Oregon became a State in 1859 with the present boundaries.

Although Whitman seems to have been the first to dream of establishing an academy or college in the vicinity of Waiilatpu, Cushing Eells was the one who made the dream come true. Hearing of the influx of settlers in the Walla Walla Valley, Eells decided in 1859 to lay claim to 640 acres of land which included the Whitman mission site in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of others. Dreaming of the possibility of establishing an academy [or seminary, which was the term commonly used in that generation for such an institution] at Waiilatpu to be named after his martyred friend, Marcus Whitman, Eells applied to the Legislature of Washington Territory for a charter. This was granted on December 20, 1859, when Whitman Seminary became a legal reality even though it had no buildings or students at that time.

At first Eells planned to build his seminary on the mission site at Waiilatpu. In order to secure title to the land as a homestead, he had to make some material improvements and fulfill certain residential requirements. A log cabin was erected in the summer of 1860 at Waiilatpu and Eells moved his family there two years later.

With nearby Walla Walla growing rapidly, Eells saw the wisdom of establishing his seminary in that place. After much effort and personal sacrifice, he succeeded in raising enough money to erect a building on a site in Walla Walla which is now a part of the campus of Whitman College. The Seminary, which began as a private elementary school, opened its doors to

classes in 1866. Later a secondary course of study was made available and, after a few years, the school was known as Whitman Academy.

After sixteen difficult years, being always faced with the problem of finances, the Academy came under the sponsorship of the Congregational Education Society in 1882. The name was then changed to Whitman College with the former academy being continued until 1912 as a part of the college. The first classes in Whitman College began on September 4, 1882, which would have been Whitman's eightieth birthday, had he lived that long. A women's dormitory erected in 1925 was called Narcissa Prentiss Hall. Today Whitman College ranks as one of the best private colleges in the United States. Its library and archives contain a prime collection of source materials—letters, diaries, and other memorabilia—dealing with the Whitmans and the whole Oregon Mission of the American Board.

THE WHITMAN MONUMENT AT WAILLATPU

A second monument erected to honor the Whitmans is a granite shaft which crowns the hill at Wailatpu. This is eighteen feet high, two feet square at its base, and tapers to the top. The shaft stands on a pedestal about nine feet high with the name Whitman carved on one side. The idea for the erection of such a monument at Wailatpu originated with W. H. Gray. During the last years of his life, while living in Portland, Oregon, Gray zealously solicited funds for this project and succeeded in raising about \$800.00 before he died on February 16, 1893. For several years nothing was done to complete the project. Then the Whitman Monument Association was formed in March 1897, largely by residents of Walla Walla, to fulfill Gray's dream. The approach of the semicentennial of the massacre in November of that year injected a feeling of urgency into the project. The Monument Association soon secured title to eight acres which included the original mission cemetery, with the great grave containing the remains of the victims of the massacre, and the hill, over one hundred feet high, which rises near it.³⁸ Plans were made not only for the erection of the granite shaft but also for the placing of a memorial slab of Vermont marble over the great grave. The total cost of land and memorial stones came to about \$2,500.00.

Under the joint sponsorship of the Monument Association and Whitman College, elaborate plans were made for the semicentennial

observance of the massacre on Monday and Tuesday, November 29 and 30, 1897. The monument and the memorial slab for the grave were to have been dedicated, but unfortunately the stones did not arrive in time. Nevertheless, the ceremonies were held as planned. The opening event was a public meeting in the Opera House of Walla Walla on Monday evening; it was “packed with the greatest crowd ever gathered under one roof in that City.”³⁹

Only eight of the seventeen survivors who were then alive were able to attend.⁴⁰ They were the three older Sager sisters—Catherine, Elizabeth, and Matilda; the three Kimball sisters—Susan, Sarah, and Mina; and Nancy Osborn, all of whom were married; and Byron S. Kimball. Perrin Whitman, who was ill at the time in his home in Lewiston, Idaho, sent greetings by his grandson, Marcus Whitman Barnett. Only one of the original band of thirteen missionaries of the Oregon Mission of the American Board was still alive, Mrs. Elkanah Walker. She passed away at her home in Forest Grove, Oregon, on December 4, 1897, just a few days after the semicentennial was observed.⁴¹

A large crowd made a pilgrimage to Waiilatpu on Tuesday morning by train. Among those who took part in the ceremonies either at the Opera House or at the grave were the Rev. Samuel Greene⁴² of Seattle, a son of Secretary David Greene, and the Rev. L. H. Hallock, D.D., undoubtedly a descendant of the Rev. Moses Hallock under whom Whitman had studied as a boy in the school at Plainfield, Massachusetts. Catherine Sager Pringle also spoke at the services held at Waiilatpu. According to one report, her “short speech... moved many to tears.”⁴³

After the granite and marble stones arrived, the remains of the victims were placed in a large metal casket and reburied on January 29, 1898, in the same place where they had been laid by the Oregon Volunteers in March 1848.⁴⁴ Over this was placed the polished marble slab, which measured 11' x 5½' x 4", and on which were inscribed the names of the fourteen who had lost their lives during the massacre. Several years later, the bodies of William and Mary Gray, which had been buried at Astoria, Oregon, were exhumed and brought to Waiilatpu where they were reburied near the great grave. Appropriate memorial services were held there on November 1, 1916. A tall monument was erected over the Gray grave and the site enclosed with an iron fence.

THE MYSTERY OF THE SKULLS

When the remains of the massacre victims were exhumed on October 22, 1897, only five skulls and a few bones were found under the overturned wagon box which had been placed there by the Oregon Volunteers in March 1848. The skull of Dr. Whitman was easily identified by the gold filling in a "posterior molar tooth on the left side." Since there was only one woman's skull among the five, this was identified as being that of Narcissa. The amazing fact was then discovered that both skulls had been sawed in two, probably by one of Dr. Whitman's surgical saws. A contemporary newspaper account stated: "The skull [of Dr. Whitman] had been mutilated by being cut in two, the cut commencing at the nasal bones and extending back to the seat of the back wound. Marks of the saw are well defined on each side of the saw incision, where the instrument evidently slipped in the hands of the operator. The skull had not been separated by this cut, which seems to have been made for some other definite purpose than of opening the skull. The sawing was done unskillfully, probably when the body was lying on the ground face upward."⁴⁵

Among those who examined the severed skulls was Matilda Sager Delaney who wrote: "A man's skull showed two tomahawk cuts. I asked Dr. Penrose to hold the skull, which was in two parts, together... Both his and Mrs. Whitman's had been cut in two."⁴⁶ Matilda thought that perhaps the mutilation had been done by the Indians, but Catherine, in a letter to Dr. Penrose dated December 14, 1898, wrote: "I wish to inform you that I have found out about the sawing of Dr. Whitman's and his wife's skulls. It was done Monday night, Nov. 29, by Joe Lewis."⁴⁷ Of the various theories advanced to explain the mystery of the severed skulls, this seems to be the most reasonable. We know that the half-breed Joe Lewis harbored deep grudges against both Marcus and Narcissa and that he played a leading role in plotting their deaths. Perhaps he found some sadistic satisfaction in using one of the doctor's own saws in this act of mutilation.

THE WHITMAN-SPALDING CENTENNIAL, 1936

The approach of the centennial of the arrival in Old Oregon of the members of the Whitman-Spalding mission party stimulated a tremendous amount of interest in both church and secular circles. The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., was especially active in promoting centennial

observances. The General Assembly of this denomination held a commemorative service at its annual meeting in Syracuse, New York, in May 1936. Following the Assembly, special exercises were held at Rushville and Prattsburg, New York, on June 4. Hundreds of churches throughout the country also remembered the occasion.⁴⁸

Such communities as Lewiston, Idaho, and Walla Walla, Washington, staged elaborate celebrations which continued in each community over several days. The celebration at Lewiston, emphasizing the Spalding story, was held May 8–10, while that at Walla Walla took place on August 13–16, honoring the Whitmans. The United States Post Office Department issued a special Oregon commemorative stamp although the names of Whitman and Spalding did not appear on it.⁴⁹ The State of Idaho created the Spalding State Park in 1936, which included the old mission site at the first Lapwai. This in 1965 became a part of the Nez Perce National Historical Park.

WHITMAN LITERATURE

Following the death of the Rev. Myron Eells in 1907, the old theory of Whitman riding to Washington to save Oregon for the United States was kept alive largely in ecclesiastical circles by unhistorically-minded authors of Sunday school literature and mission study books. Ministers, more interested in good illustration than in being accurate, repeated the legend. These authors and ministers accepted Nixon's *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon* as their final authority. It took years before the basic conclusions of such scholars as Edward G. Bourne and William I. Marshall were able to penetrate into ecclesiastical circles [Appendix 4]. Whitman lost none of the honor due him by being deprived of these legends. Rather, a new appraisal of his life and work, based upon documented facts, serves to increase his fame.

The observance of the Whitman–Spalding centennial in 1936 inspired an outburst of literary activity on the subject of the Whitmans. Following the publication of the author's *Henry Harmon Spalding* in 1936 and his *Marcus Whitman, M.D.* in 1937, at least eight "historical novels" or "fictionalized biographies" of the Whitmans appeared. In some instances the authors of these books were so adroit in romanticizing history that the reader is often unable to discern where fact ends and fancy begins. Often historical events are distorted and individuals grossly misrepresented for the sake of a plot. By such means

erroneous impressions are again spread abroad.⁵⁰ Some fictionalized biographies, however, can be recommended. Jeanette Eaton's book for girls, *Narcissa Whitman, Pioneer of Oregon* (1941), and Nard Jones' *The Great Command* (1959), have rendered a real service in visualizing Marcus and Narcissa Whitman as living human beings.

Among the tributes paid to the Whitmans are several of a musical nature. A four-act opera, *The Cost of Empire*, sometimes called *Narcissa*, by Mary Carr Moore and her mother Sarah Pratt Carr,⁵¹ was first presented in Spokane, Washington, in 1911, and then in such other cities as Seattle, San Francisco, and Chicago. More than thirty years later, the opera was revived and presented March 16 and 17, 1945, in the Philharmonic Auditorium of Los Angeles, and in several of the larger churches of California. The *Hymnal* of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in its 1933 edition and its many subsequent reprintings, contains a hymn, "Braving the Wilds all Unexplored," which emphasized the pioneer theme. The words were by the late Dr. Robert Freeman, then pastor of the Pasadena Presbyterian Church, and the music by the late Dr. William F. Merrill, then pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City. The tune was called "Marcus Whitman."

In addition to such books and musical items mentioned above, the observance of the Whitman-Spalding centennial in 1936 inspired the writing of many pamphlets, magazine articles, songs, and dramatizations,⁵² all adding to the fame of the Whitmans.

OTHER MEMORIALS

During the observance of the centennial, attention was directed to the old Prentiss house in Prattsburg where Narcissa spent her girlhood. The house was in a dilapidated condition and in danger of being razed. Financed by contributions from interested individuals and church groups, the house was purchased and restored to its original condition.⁵³ It is now a retirement home for a Presbyterian minister and his wife. A room in the United Presbyterian Church in Prattsburg has been named the Narcissa Prentiss Hall.

Among the many features of the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C., is a series of commemorative plaques placed to honor American leaders of the Calvinistic tradition. Among these is one dedicated to Marcus Whitman.

In 1928 two bronze plaques were placed on the grounds of the Prattsburg school, once the Franklin Academy, in memory of Henry Harmon Spalding and Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, both of whom had studied there. New York State Highway No. 53, connecting Kanona with Prattsburg, has been designated by the Highway Department of the State as the Whitman-Spalding Highway with appropriate markers at either end. The road connecting Prattsburg with Naples is called the Narcissa Prentiss Highway, and that between Penn Yan and Rushville, the Marcus Whitman Highway. A change of routing of a road going through Wheeler, New York, where Samuel Parker first interested Whitman in Oregon, requiring the razing of the original building in which Whitman had his medical office in 1832-35. Members of the Geneva Presbytery dismantled the building in May 1959 and moved the salvageable materials to the Presbytery's camp for young people, called Camp Whitman, near Dresden, New York. Lack of funds has delayed the reerection of the building.

A bronze plaque honoring Dr. Whitman is on a boulder near the side of the office building in Wheeler, and another is on a fifteen-ton boulder located in front of the Congregational Church at Rushville. A monument honoring Whitman and Parker, dedicated May 12, 1935, stands before the First Presbyterian Church of Ithaca, New York.

The Marcus Whitman Central School was erected at Rushville in 1971 on a site bordering the cemetery which contains the graves of Whitman's parents. There is a Marcus Whitman Junior High School in Seattle. No doubt there are other schools, especially in the Pacific Northwest, which bear the Whitman name or those of other members of the Oregon Mission.⁵⁴ A Marcus Whitman D.A.R. chapter is in Everett, Washington, a Narcissa Whitman chapter in Yakima, and an Alice (Clarissa) Whitman chapter in Lewiston, Idaho. A Marcus Whitman Historical Society Museum is in Gorham, New York.

The Whitmans have been memorialized many times in stained glass windows in churches and chapels throughout the nation. The oldest known is in the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York, placed there before the Whitman-Saved-Oregon story was discredited. It pictures Whitman standing before President John Tyler and Daniel Webster. An inscription reads: "In grateful recognition of the man who saved Oregon to the nation."

Whitman memorial windows are to be found in St. John's Episcopal Cathedral, Spokane, Washington;⁵⁵ Pasadena Presbyterian Church, Pasadena, California;⁵⁶ Stewart Memorial Chapel, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California;⁵⁷ and in United Presbyterian Churches in Springfield, Illinois, and in Wallingford, Pennsylvania. Rooms or halls named after one or both of the Whitmans are in Presbyterian churches in Pocatello, Idaho, in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, and in Menlo Park, California. The capitol building of the State of Oregon has a large mural depicting the arrival of the Whitman-Spalding party at Fort Vancouver in September 1836 when they were greeted by Dr. John McLoughlin and others at the fort. Most of these memorials have been erected or placed since the observance of the Whitman-Spalding centennial in 1936.

Two large geographical areas bear the Whitman name: the Wallowa-Whitman National Forest in northeastern Oregon, and Whitman County in southeastern Washington. The latter with an area of 2,166 square miles is larger than the State of Delaware and twice as large as Rhode Island. As has been mentioned, there is a Whitman Park at Grand Junction, Colorado, with a monument which draws attention to the fact that Whitman swam the Colorado River at that place in the winter of 1842-43 while on his journey to the East.

Several monuments or road signs are to be found along the route of the old Oregon Trail. Mention has been made of the monument which has been erected at the summit of South Pass in the Rockies to honor Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, who rode through the Pass on July 4, 1836. A road sign at the site of the 1836 Rendezvous proclaims the fact that these two women were the first white women to cross what is now Wyoming and also the first to go over the Oregon Trail. Typical of the markers along the present-day highway which more or less parallels the Oregon Trail is that at Hagerman, Idaho, which carries the following inscription:

COMMEMORATING THE MEMORY OF
MARCUS WHITMAN
PIONEER MISSIONARY WHO IN 1836
BROUGHT THE FIRST WAGON OVER THE TRAPPERS PATH
THAT AFTERWARDS BECAME THE OREGON TRAIL

Perhaps the most unusual memorial to honor the Whitmans was the naming of Liberty ships after each of them during World War II—SS Marcus Whitman, which was torpedoed and sunk on November 9, 1942, and the SS Narcissa Whitman, which was sold for scrap July 28, 1961.⁵⁸ Both the Whitmans and the Spaldings are to be memorialized in the Museum of Westward Expansion planned for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri, when the necessary funds are available.

A striking evidence of the great esteem in which Marcus Whitman was held by those of his generation is the fact that six baby boys were named after him during his lifetime. His sister married Henry F. Wisewell and they became the parents of a son born on May 23, 1838, whom they called Marcus Whitman. A cousin of Whitman's, Abner C. Bates living at Chester, Ohio, named a son after him, born on April 26, 1840. Two boys born in the Old Oregon country were named after Whitman. The first was the half-breed son of Robert Newell, born on April 17, 1840, and the second was the son born to Elkanah and Mary Walker on March 16, 1842. The fifth namesake was Marcus Whitman Saunders born May 8, 1846, at Rushville, and the sixth was a son of one of Narcissa's brothers, Jonas Galusha Prentiss, born sometime late in 1846. After Whitman's death, a number of boys were named after him including a son of Perrin Whitman. At least two members of the Whitman family, in collateral branches, bear the name of Marcus Whitman in this generation. A grandson of Henry Harmon Spalding who was a son of Henry Hart Spalding bears the name of Marcus Whitman Spalding, who, at the time of this writing, lives in Olympia, Washington.

WHITMAN MISSION NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

As the Whitman-Spalding centennial of 1936 drew near, many public-spirited citizens of Walla Walla initiated efforts to acquire more land at the mission site and to persuade the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior to make it a National Monument. In 1936 the Whitman Centennial Corporation secured title to 37½ acres, which included the site of the original mission buildings, and which adjoined the eight acres the Whitman Monument Association had secured in 1897. Before the National Park Service could accept the land, certain legal technicalities had to be cleared as the title was clouded;⁵⁹ this took three years. Finally on January 20, 1940, the two

tracts consisting of about forty-five acres were donated to the Government and the Whitman National Monument was officially established. In 1961 the Park Service secured another forty-three acres, bringing the total to ninety-eight acres, and the name was changed to the Whitman Mission National Historical Site.

A Visitor's Center, containing administration offices, museum space and a lecture hall, was dedicated on June 6, 1964. Trained archaeologists have conducted extensive excavations of the various building sites and many artifacts have been discovered. The foundations of the main buildings have been outlined with bands of cement; an apple orchard has been planted near where the original trees stood; the mill pond and some of the irrigation ditches have been restored; and a self-guiding trail to the principle points of interest has been laid out. Clumps of ryegrass are still growing on the site. The improved facilities have been attracting an ever increasing number of visitors; over 105,000 were expected in 1972.

THE WHITMAN STATUES

Marcus Whitman has been twice honored by statues erected in his memory. The first, sculptured by Alexander S. Calder, shows Whitman in frontier dress standing by a wheel. It is said that Calder used Perrin Whitman, who resembled his uncle, as a model. The nine-foot terracotta statue, together with twelve others, was set on a ledge of the facade of Witherspoon Building in Philadelphia. This building, dedicated on October 24, 1896, houses the headquarters of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. When the Presbyterian Historical Society moved into its new building at 425 Lombard Street, Philadelphia, six statues which had adorned the Witherspoon Building, including the Whitman statue, were moved in 1961 to the new site and placed at ground level. The Whitman statue is to the right of the main entrance.

The second Whitman statue is in Statuary Hall of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. By law each state is permitted to place the statues of two of its most distinguished sons or daughters in this Hall. By 1950 all but seven states had at least one statue there; among the states not represented was Washington. The Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Washington at their annual convention in 1948 adopted the project of placing a statue of Marcus Whitman in our nation's hall of fame. Since

no composite statue was permitted in the Hall, no plans could be made to include Narcissa in this memorial. Mrs. Goldie Rehberg of Walla Walla was made chairman of the committee commissioned to achieve the goal. The first step necessary was to obtain the approval of the State Legislature in the selection of Marcus Whitman. Senate Bill No. 32 was introduced in the 1948–49 session. It not only designated Whitman to receive this honor but also provided an appropriation to cover all necessary costs. Opposition developed from some unidentified people who remembered the old Whitman-Saved-Oregon legends. A postcard, signed only by the “Good Government League” and sent to all of the 145 legislators, bore the following message:

Senate Bill No. 32 is Bad — Very Bad!

Its authors and sponsors may be well meaning, but uninformed. The Marcus Whitman legend is 90% fictitious. It is one of our historical fables like William Tell, Romulus and Remus, Robin Hood, Washington’s prayer at Valley Forge, and his cherry tree.

Did Whitman’s trip save Oregon? It DID NOT! Should he have a monument? If he should, there are hundreds of other citizens of Washington more entitled to be thus honored. Don’t vote a memorial which will make Washington State the laughing stock of the nation.

As a result of the opposition, the sponsors of the bill decided that it would be wise not to ask for an appropriation to cover the cost of the statue but to raise this by popular subscription. Thus amended, the Bill passed the Legislature by an almost unanimous vote and the Governor signed it on March 10, 1949. Subsequently the Marcus Whitman Foundation was organized and incorporated, with headquarters at Walla Walla. A campaign was launched for the necessary funds and after several years’ efforts, over \$27,000.00 was raised, one-third of which came from sources in Whitman County. Thousands of schoolchildren, church groups, civic clubs, and individuals contributed. “During the years I worked on the project,” wrote Mrs. Rehberg to the author, “it seemed like an endless and thankless job, and many times I was on the verge of giving up. Then to my thinking would come thoughts of the courage the Whitmans had, and I would go on with more determination.”⁶⁰

The Foundation selected Dr. Avard Fairbanks, a sculptor of national reputation, then Dean of the School of Fine Arts of the University of Utah, to make a bronze statue of Dr. Whitman. Fairbanks sought to portray Whitman as being an alert, professional-looking man, full of energy and vitality. Whitman is represented as wearing a buckskin suit with a beaver-skin hat, thus stressing the fact that he was a frontiersman. Under his right arm is a large Bible, reminiscent of the story of the four Nez Perces who journeyed to St. Louis in 1831 looking for missionaries and the white man's Bible. In his left hand, Whitman clutches a pair of saddlebags. These were copied from those which Whitman had used when practising medicine at Wheeler, New York, before leaving with Parker on their exploring tour of 1835.⁶¹ In the back of Whitman's statue, rising to his waist, is a representation of the ryegrass from which his mission station, Waiilatpu, got its name.

The finished statue, eight feet high, rests upon a block of Washington granite, and then upon a marble pedestal about three feet high and four feet square. On the pedestal is engraved a paraphrased quotation from Whitman's letter of November 5, 1846, to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lyman P. Judson: "My plans require time and distance."⁶² The pedestal also carries the following inscription: "Citizens of the State of Washington express their gratitude to this pioneer and medical missionary." A picture of the statue is included as an illustration in this volume.

The Whitman statue was dedicated on May 22, 1953, while placed temporarily in the rotunda of the Capitol. Mrs. Rehberg and Dr. Fairbanks were present and each spoke briefly. The dedication address was delivered by an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the Honorable William O. Douglas, an alumnus of Whitman College. The Vice-President of the United States, Richard Nixon, was also present and made a few remarks. A unique item in the dedication program was the singing by a soloist of the hymn, "Yes, my native land, I love thee," which had been sung at the wedding of Marcus and Narcissa at Angelica, New York, on February 18, 1836. The descendants of a collateral branch of the Whitman family, a father and a son, each with the name of Marcus Whitman, unveiled the statue.⁶³

How deeply significant are the three symbols used in these two statues: the wheel, the Bible, and the saddlebags. Each refers to a major aspect of Whitman's work in Old Oregon. The wheel suggests the services

he rendered in opening the Old Oregon country; the Bible reminds us that Whitman's primary concern was that of taking Christianity to the Oregon Indians; and the saddlebags symbolize his faithfulness as a doctor in ministering to natives and whites alike. Monuments and memorials such as parks, educational institutions, roadside markers, stained glass windows, rooms or halls in church buildings, murals, and statues are to be found in the following ten states and the District of Columbia: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, and one planned for Missouri. No other Protestant missionary in the history of the United States, whether serving in the homeland or abroad, has been so widely remembered in literature, monuments, and memorials, as Dr. Marcus Whitman.

THE CONTINUING FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF OREGON

The First Presbyterian Church of Oregon was not dissolved by the massacre as has been claimed.⁶⁴ Even though its elder, Dr. Whitman, was killed, and its pastor, the Rev. H. H. Spalding, was obliged to leave his mission station, the Christian faith was sufficiently viable among the Nez Perce and Cayuses to continue without pastoral oversight until Spalding's return to the Nez Percés in the fall of 1871.

None of the twenty-one native members of the church took part in the Waiilatpu tragedy. Although Five Crows, the only Cayuse who had joined the church, did not take part in the massacre, he did play, by white man's standards, a dishonorable role in the abduction of Lorinda Bewley.

By native standards, however, he may well have considered himself to have acted within his rights. Only three members of the church were killed—the two Whitmans and Andrew Rodgers. Judging by the observations of several white men who had contacts with the Cayuses and the Nez Percés during the years 1847–71, many of the members of these two tribes remained faithful in maintaining their daily devotions and in observing Sunday, as they had been taught by their missionaries. Thus the Christian faith was continued.

Spalding returned to the Nez Percés in the fall of 1871 as an appointee of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, he took with him the

original record book of the mission church in which was written the names of his converts.⁶⁵ The Nez Perces welcomed their old missionary with enthusiasm. The fact that he could speak their language was like a magnet, drawing great crowds to him. Old age and gray hair, added to the memory of his eleven-year residence at Lapwai, gave Spalding a prestige with the natives never before so enjoyed.

He found a few of the original members of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon still alive, including Timothy and Jude. Ignoring the rules of Presbyterian polity, he arbitrarily appointed these to be his elders. On November 12, 1871, after being back at Lapwai for less than three weeks, Spalding baptized and received into the church twenty-one men and twenty-three women. No longer was he inhibited as formerly by the caution and restraint of colleagues. He made no effort to give his converts a thorough indoctrination into the teachings of John Calvin. Instead he received all who came who professed repentance and claimed that they believed in Christ.

Heading the list of those baptized on November 12 were Lawyer and Tackensuatis, the latter of whom was christened Samuel. These were the two Nez Perces who had ridden out from the Rendezvous in the Summer of 1836 to meet the incoming Whitman-Spalding party. Following his earlier practice, Spalding bestowed Bible names on his converts at the time of their baptism. With the passing of the years, these Christian names became surnames. Running out of Bible names, Spalding gave some of his converts the family names of friends in New York State; these names also continue among the Nez Perces. Once Spalding gave the names Henry and Eliza Spalding to a couple he baptized.

In the fall of 1872, Spalding rode down into the Cayuse country, no doubt stopping to see the old mission site at Waiilatpu. The Eells couple had sold their holdings the previous June and had moved to Snohomish, Washington. A stranger, Charles Moore, then occupied the land. We can only imagine the memories which surged through his mind, if indeed he visited Waiilatpu, as he rode down the trail that he and Whitman had traveled in late November 1847. On September 27, Spalding with the Methodist minister, the Rev. H. H. Hines, met with some Cayuses at "Wild Horse," a creek which empties into the Umatilla River just above Pendleton. Eight adults and children were baptized there that day. The fact that Wild Horse Creek was near the place where Stickus had his

camp back in 1847 suggests the possibility that these converts were once members or descendants of his band. Evidently by this time, Stickus was dead. After making inquiry as to the fate of Five Crows, Spalding wrote after his name in the record book of the church: "Now dead, 1872."

On March 27, 1873, Spokane Garry wrote to Spalding and invited him to visit Spokane "to baptize his people and marry them according to laws."⁶⁶ Spokane Garry, who had been baptized at the Red River Mission school on June 24, 1827, never gave the missionaries at Tshimakain his sympathetic support in their work.⁶⁷ This failure was a serious obstacle in the endeavors of Walker and Eells to evangelize the Spokanes. Now, twenty-five years after the work at Tshimakain had been abandoned, Garry had a change of attitude. In response to his invitation, Spalding spent the summer of 1873 among the Spokanes and baptized 253 adults and eighty-one children.⁶⁸ Walker and Eells had planted the Christian seed; Spalding had gathered in the harvest.

Spalding claimed in the record book of the church that, during the revival which began with his return to the Nez Perces in the fall of 1871, he had baptized over a thousand Nez Perces, Cayuses, and Spokanes. Some of his critics accused him of baptizing some people twice. The fact that Spalding wrote the baptismal names of his converts in the record book of the Mission Church is evidence that he did not consider it to have been dissolved by the massacre. He was still pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Oregon. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Oregon, held at Lapwai on May 10, 1873, the Nez Perce field was divided into two parishes, one at Kamiah and the other at Lapwai. Later four other Presbyterian churches were organized among the Nez Perces, two among the Spokanes, and one on the Umatilla Reservation for the Cayuses and Walla Wallas.⁶⁹

I BAPTIZE YOU, MARCUS WHITMAN

With Spalding, when he returned to the Nez Perce field in the fall of 1871, was the Rev. Henry T. Cowley who opened a school for the Indians at Kamiah. In the late spring of 1874, Cowley with his family moved to Spokane where he assumed responsibility for the Presbyterian mission work among the Spokane Indians.⁷⁰ His place at Kamiah was taken by the Rev. Samuel N. D. Martin, also an appointee of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Spalding received an injury while cutting wood at his home in Kamiah in November 1873. His health gradually failed during the following months. A few weeks before he was taken to Lapwai in July 1874, where he died on the following August 3, an incident took place about which both Cowley and Martin have given details. A Cayuse chief by the name of Umhawalish and his wife rode some 210 miles from the Umatilla Indian Reservation near present-day Pendleton, Oregon, to Kamiah, arriving there about May 1, in order to be baptized by Spalding. Cowley wrote: "Umhawalish... was one of the early pupils of the Martyr Whitman," and Martin noted: "He is a friend of Dr. Whitman, whose memory he holds in the highest veneration, & also Father [sic] Spalding, who has known him for nearly 40 years."⁷¹

The baptismal service was held in Spalding's home on Monday, May 11. Spalding was so infirm that he had to be held up in bed so that he could apply the baptismal water to the head of the kneeling Cayuse chief. As he did so, he said: "I baptize you Marcus Whitman,⁷² in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." This was Spalding's final tribute to his martyred co-worker.

Those present knew that Spalding intended to give the baptismal name of Narcissa Whitman to the wife of the chief. When she stepped forward to receive the sacrament, Spalding, perhaps overcome with emotion as a flood of memories surged through his mind, found himself unable to proceed with the service. Was he overwhelmed by memories of his love for Narcissa when they attended the same church and school in Prattsburg? And by memories of eleven years of association in the Oregon Mission, some bitter, some sweet, mingled with the remembrance of her tragic death at the time of the massacre?

Being both physically and emotionally exhausted, Spalding directed Cowley and Martin to take the woman into the nearby First Presbyterian Church of Kamiah⁷³ and for one of them to administer the sacrament. The group withdrew from the sick room. In the church one of the ministers baptized the Cayuse woman with the words: "I baptize you Narcissa Whitman."

The death-bed baptism of the Cayuse chief by Spalding to whom he gave the name of Marcus Whitman, and his instruction that the chief's wife be christened Narcissa Whitman was not only the last final tribute

that the veteran missionary paid to the Whitmans, it was also tantamount to throwing out a challenge to the Christian Cayuses to “carry on.”

So it was that another Marcus and another Narcissa Whitman lived among the Cayuses.⁷⁴

CHAPTER 24 FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:780.
- ² *P.N.Q.*, XL (1949):297. Following the departure of the stockmen, the site lay unoccupied until 1859 when Cushing Eells filed a claim for 640 acres which included the mission site. See following section on “Whitman College.”
- ³ See Raymond W. Settle (ed.), *The March of the Mounted Riflemen*, Arthur Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., 1940, for an account of this regiment.
- ⁴ Francis Norbert Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, Portland, 1876, p. 165.
- ⁵ Report of Anson Dart, October 20, 1851. Records of the Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
- ⁶ Records of Oregon Superintendency, Letters Received, 1850, National Archives, Copy in Coll. E.W.S.H.S.
- ⁷ Shumkain is not mentioned by any of the eyewitnesses of the massacre, but this is not strange as the survivors, for the most part, were unacquainted with the names of the Indians involved.
- ⁸ See Chapter Twenty-Two, “The Conspirators Identified.”
- ⁹ Letter from Joseph Lane, Nov. 29, 1879, in Portland *Oregonian*. Undated clipping in Coll. E.W.S.H.S.
- ¹⁰ From “Important Declaration made June 2nd and 3d, 1850,” Coll. O. Published in Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, April 27, 1872.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, p. 249.
- ¹³ Lane letter, see ante, fn. 9.
- ¹⁴ The original records of the trial are in the State Archives, Salem, Oregon. See also *Oregon Spectator*, May 30, 1850, and Portland Sunday *Oregonian*, Sept. 24, 1933. All references to the trial in this section, unless otherwise noted, are from these sources.
- ¹⁵ See ante, fn. 9.
- ¹⁶ Article about Eliza Spalding Warren, “First Woman Born in the West,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, August 1913, p. 40.
- ¹⁷ Catherine Sager later claimed that Mrs. Hall’s testimony was in error. See Chapter Twenty-Two, “The Attack Out-of-doors.” The person who was being attacked by Tiloukaikt, whom Mrs. Hall thought to be Dr. Whitman, was actually Judge Saunders.
- ¹⁸ Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, April 20, 1872.
- ¹⁹ See Appendix 3 for an account of Spalding’s anti-Catholic charges.
- ²⁰ See ante, fn. 10.
- ²¹ A reference to Joe Meek who, evidently, was responsible for the news item which appeared in the *Oregon Spectator* of May 30, 1850.
- ²² Victor, *Early Indian Wars*, p. 212. The rewards offered for the apprehension of Tiloukaikt, Tomahas, Tamsucky, Joe Lewis, and Edward were twice those offered for the other eight, which included Frank Escaloom and “Quiamashouskin” (or Kia-ma-sump-kin).

- ²³ Pringle scrapbook Coll. W.
- ²⁴ Blanchet, *Historical Sketches* (see ante, fn. 4), p. 181, fn. 4.
- ²⁵ See ante, fn. 10.
- ²⁶ Register of the Roman Catholic Church of St. John the Evangelist, Oregon City, p. 11. Information supplied by kindness of Mrs. Harriet D. Munnick of West Linn, Ore.
- ²⁷ Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, April 20, 1872. The McLoughlin house was moved in 1909 up Singer Hill to the park that Dr. McLoughlin had given to Oregon City.
- ²⁸ Portland Sunday *Oregonian*, September 24, 1933, p. 3.
- ²⁹ Information about the probable location of the grave was supplied by Mrs. Munnick.
- ³⁰ See circular from American Board to Spalding, Coll. W.
- ³¹ The inventory was "Sworn to & Subscribed" by Spalding and Perrin Whitman on Sept. 1, 1849. Original in Coll. A. Copy in Richardson, *The Whitman Mission*, p. 149 ff.
- ³² Drury, *Spalding and Smith*, p. 249. The late Carrol E. Brock of Orofino, Idaho, in a letter to me dated May 20, 1970, stated that a lignite outcropping was about two miles east of Old Lapwai near Arrow junction on the north side of the Clearwater River.
- ³³ *Robert Newell's Memoranda*, pp. 111-112.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.* Newell mentions finding a supply of both potatoes and peas at the mission site when the Volunteers arrived.
- ³⁵ Dart's report on mission claims of Oct. 20, 1851. Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1850-55, National Archives.
- ³⁶ Drury, *F.W.W.*, II:210, fn. 26.
- ³⁷ See Chapter Twenty, "Rodgers Studies for the Ministry."
- ³⁸ Richardson, *The Whitman Mission*, gives a good account of the various owners of Waiilatpu following the massacre. Eells sold his claim in 1872. Myron Eells stated in his *Marcus Whitman*, p. 296, that the Monument Association paid \$30.00 an acre for the site. Other reports state that the eight acres were donated by Mr. and Mrs. Sweagle.
- ³⁹ Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 297. See also *W.C.Q.*, I (1897):4 for an account of the semicentennial observances.
- ⁴⁰ The last of the survivors to die was Mrs. Gertrude Hall Denny, who passed away in Portland, Oregon, on August 5, 1933. She was then about 96 years old. Mrs. Denny was the wife of Judge Owen N. Denny, who served in several diplomatic posts in the Orient. While U.S. Consul General at Shanghai, he became interested in the Chinese ring-necked pheasant and in 1882 and 1884 introduced the bird into Washington and Oregon. From there, it has spread over much of the United States.
- ⁴¹ The author had the privilege of knowing Sam Walker, the youngest son of Elkanah and Mary Walker, who with his wife lived in the old Walker home at Forest Grove, Oregon. See Drury, *Walker*, p. 253 ff., for an account of a visit paid on Sam Walker in the summer of 1939 when he turned over an apple box full of books, letters, and other source material pertaining to the Oregon Mission. These are now in Coll. Wn.

- ⁴² Another son of David Greene also became a resident of the State of Washington. He was Robert S. Greene who became Chief Justice of Washington Territory in 1879.
- ⁴³ *W.C.Q.*, I (Dec. 1897):4:30.
- ⁴⁴ Correcting a statement in Drury, *Whitman*, p. 425, that the grave site was changed when the remains were reburied in 1897. Dr. Stephen B. L. Penrose, for many years President of Whitman College and who was active in the semicentennial activities, told me that the reburial was in the same place as that selected by the Oregon Volunteers.
- ⁴⁵ From undated clipping in the Pringle scrapbook, Coll. W.
- ⁴⁶ Delaney, *A Survivor's Recollections*, p. 45.
- ⁴⁷ From copy of original letter supplied by Mrs. H. W. Platz of Seattle, Wash, a granddaughter of Catherine Pringle.
- ⁴⁸ Presbyterian churches observing the centennial were asked to take a collection for the restoration of the Presbyterian (Indian) Church at Spalding, Idaho. Some \$10,000.00 were received for this purpose.
- ⁴⁹ Drury, *Whitman*, p. 427. Those interested in the issuance of this commemorative stamp requested that the names of Whitman and Spalding be on the stamp, but this request was denied.
- ⁵⁰ See Drury, "Marcus Whitman, M.D.," in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXXI (Dec. 1953):205 ff., for a discussion of some of the erroneous impressions of the Whitmans given by fiction writers.
- ⁵¹ Published by the Stuff Printing Concern, Seattle, Wash. (1917). Mary Carr Moore is listed as the author of the libretto for the opera, and her mother, Sarah Pratt Carr, as composer of the music. The words are in a stilted Victorian style. Copy in Coll. W.
- ⁵² *The Balled of Waiilatpu*, with words and music by Borghild Nelson, copyrighted in 1965, is a good example of these songs; and *Waiilatpu* by Wm. Kelley, Adams Publishing Co., Chicago, 1952, is an example of a dramatization.
- ⁵³ The late Dr. Arthur H. Limouze, then a secretary of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions, was largely responsible for the purchase and restoration of the Prentiss home.
- ⁵⁴ A Junior High School at College Place, about three miles east of Waiilatpu, has been called the John Sager School.
- ⁵⁵ Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker are also memorialized by stained glass windows in this cathedral.
- ⁵⁶ The Whitman window in the chapel of this church portrays him carrying a rifle. Being a pacifist by conviction, Whitman is not known ever to have used a gun except to kill an animal for food.
- ⁵⁷ Separate windows in this chapel are dedicated to each of the Whitmans and to each of the Spaldings. Dedication took place in May 1955.
- ⁵⁸ See Drury, "Floating Memorials," *Army and Navy Chaplain*, Jan-Feb., 1946.
- ⁵⁹ A good description of the difficulties involved in clearing the title is in Richardson, *The Whitman Mission*, pp. 138 ff.
- ⁶⁰ From letter to the author, August 21, 1953.
- ⁶¹ Original saddlebags are in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

- ⁶² Whitman was writing to Judson about the latter's acceptance of the Seventh-day Adventist belief in the imminent second coming of Christ which nullified any effort to make plans for the future. Whitman actually wrote: "For to my mind all my work & plans involved time & distance & required confidence in the stability of God's government."
- ⁶³ See *Acceptance of the Statue of Marcus Whitman, 83d Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document, No. 167*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for a full account of the program with text of speeches given. Two with whom Whitman had close associations during those history-making years, 1836–47, have also been honored by statues in the nation's Hall of Fame. They are Jason Lee and John McLoughlin, both selected by the Legislature of the State of Oregon.
- ⁶⁴ For more than thirty years a note was carried in the annual *Minutes of the General Assembly* (Presbyterian) under the listing of the churches of the Presbytery of Walla Walla that the church had been dissolved by the massacre. The wording has been changed to read: "Following the massacre of November 29, 1847 (the Waiilatpu church) merged into the Nez Perce churches."
- ⁶⁵ The original volume is now in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. An account of Spalding's activities in the great revival of 1871-73 is in Drury, *A Tepee in His Front Yard*.
- ⁶⁶ Original letter in Coll. W.
- ⁶⁷ Spokane Garry was a polygamist. This may have been one reason why he did not cooperate with the American Board missionaries. See fn. 45, Chapter One.
- ⁶⁸ Drury, *Spalding*, pp. 409 ff.
- ⁶⁹ Today four Presbyterian churches among the Nez Percés, one among the Spokanes, and one on the Umatilla Reservation remain active. The latter, known as the Tutuilla Church, near present-day Pendleton, Oregon, was organized June 17, 1882, with twenty-six charter members. In 1971 this church reported having forty-two members who represented several tribes on the Umatilla Reservation. Sister M. Florita, for many years associated with the St. Andrews School at Pendleton, in a letter to me dated March 3, 1971, stated that there were then only "17 fullblooded Cayuses, 7... Walla Wallas, and 10... Umatillas" living. The Umatilla Reservation was established in 1855 with the dwindling Cayuse tribe as one of the confederated tribes.
- ⁷⁰ Drury, *A Tepee in His Front Yard*, tells about Cowley's missionary activities with the Nez Percés and Spokanes.
- ⁷¹ See fn. II, Chapter Thirteen. The account of the baptism of Chief Umhawalish, *Minutes of the Synod of Washington*, 1906, p. 301, quotes Martin's account of the event.
- ⁷² The Whitman name was also introduced among the Nez Percés but at a later date. Silas Whitman, a fullblooded Nez Perce, was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1888.
- ⁷³ The building still used by the First Presbyterian (Indian) Church of Kamiah was erected by the U.S. Government in 1873 and is the oldest existing Protestant church building in Idaho.
- ⁷⁴ According to information supplied by the Rev. Robert C. Hall, Pendleton, Oregon, the Cayuse Indians, christened Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, were charter members of the Tutuilla Presbyterian Church. See fn. ante, No. 69. Today visitors to the church's cemetery may see the tombstones of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman.

I think I have now, by God's help, discharged my obligation in writing this large work. Let those who think I have said too little, or those who think I have said too much, forgive me; and let those who think I have said just enough join me in giving thanks to God. Amen.

Last paragraph of Saint Augustine's *City of God*.