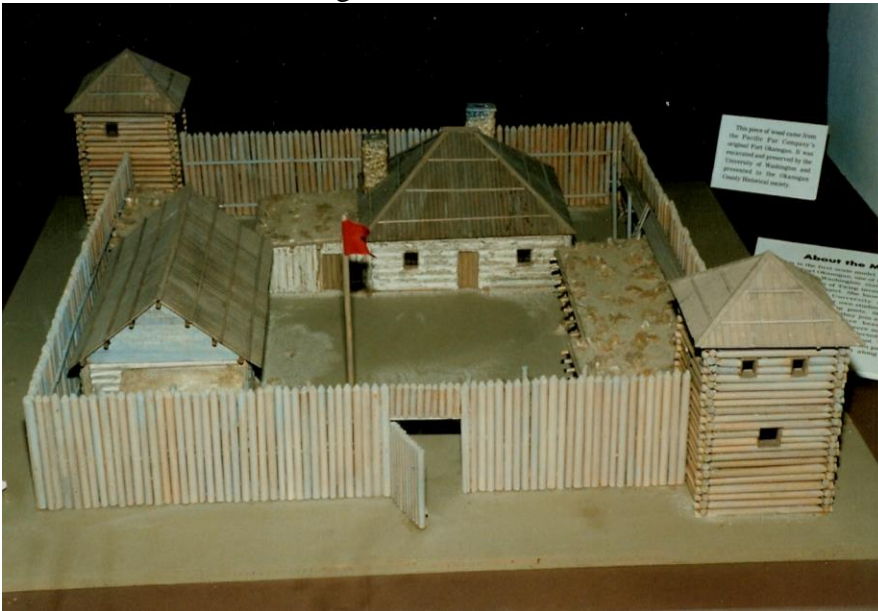


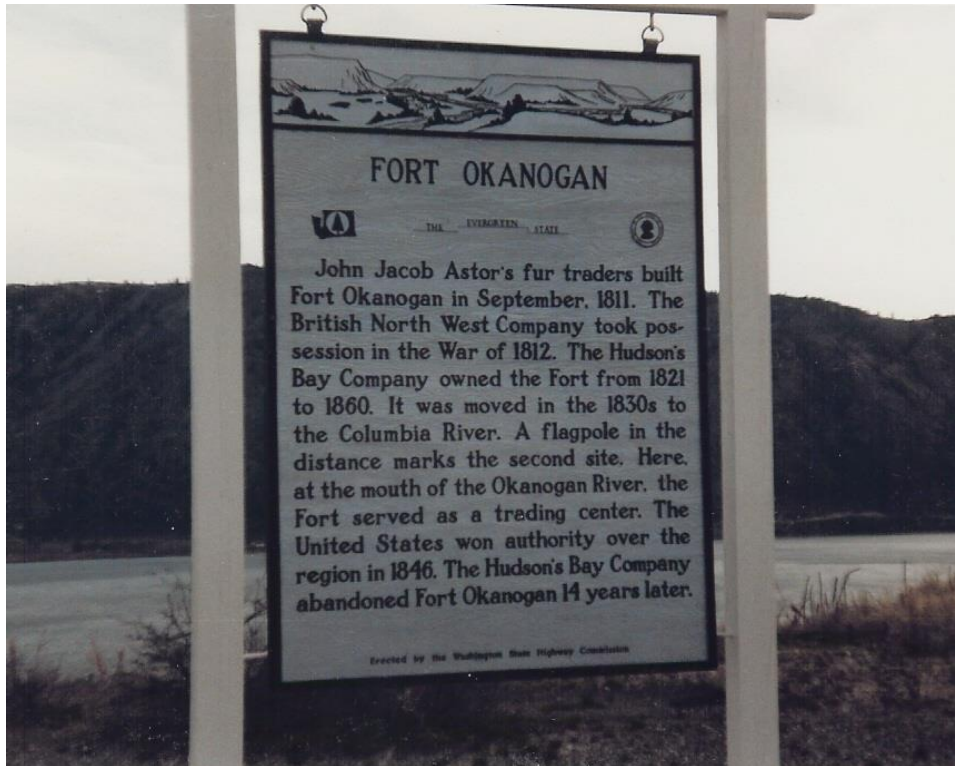
Francis Ermatinger Part 2



This model of Fort Okanogan is at the Wells Dam Exhibit, I took these in the 1980s.



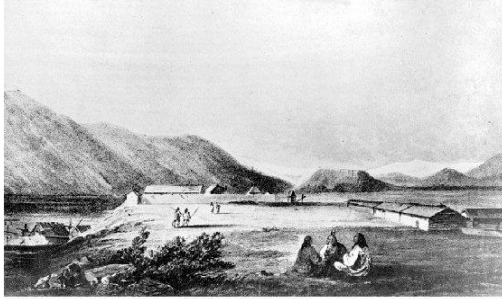
A model of Fort Okanogan displayed at the Okanogan County Museum in Okanogan, Washington. I took this photograph in the 1980's. The sign on the upper right is resting on a piece of wood and it says: "This piece of wood came from the Pacific Fur Company's original Fort Okanogan. It was excavated and preserved by the University of Washington and presented to the Okanogan County Historical Society."



I took this picture along the highway near Brewster, Washington



When I took this picture I was standing on the high bank that was the location of the original Fort Okanogan. This peninsula was created by the junction of the Okanogan River on the left and the Columbia River to the right and in back of the land, the Fort Okanogan that Francis knew was located on this land.

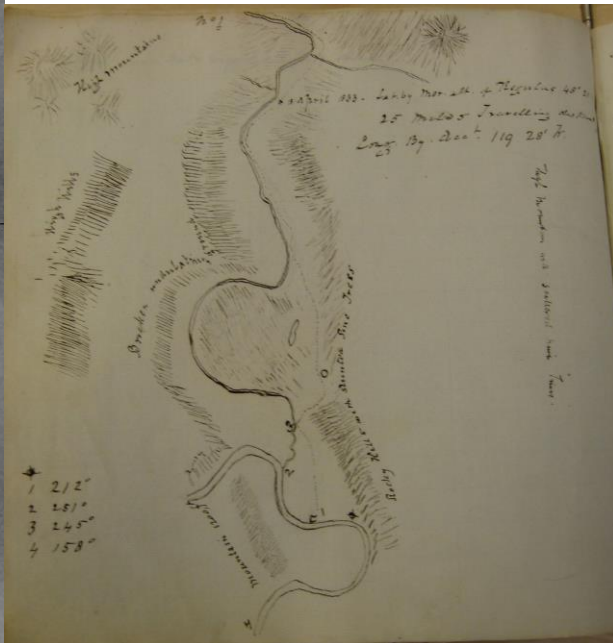
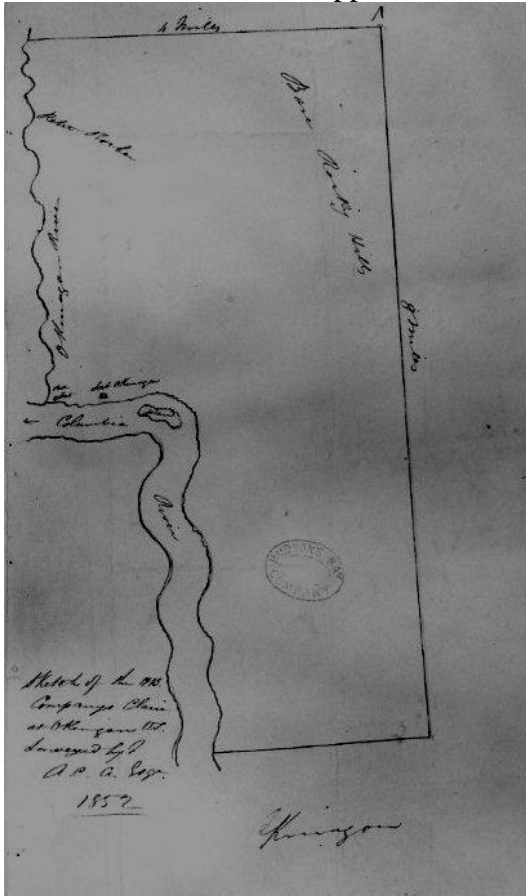


Title: Fort Okanagan.

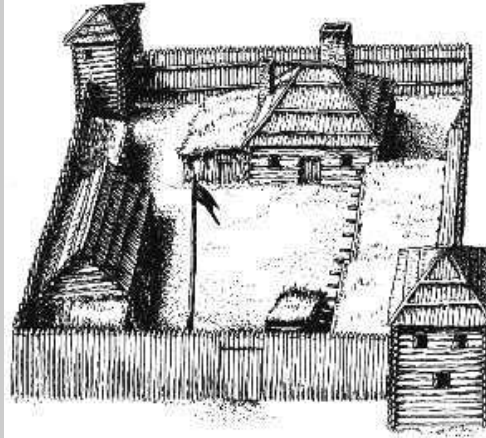
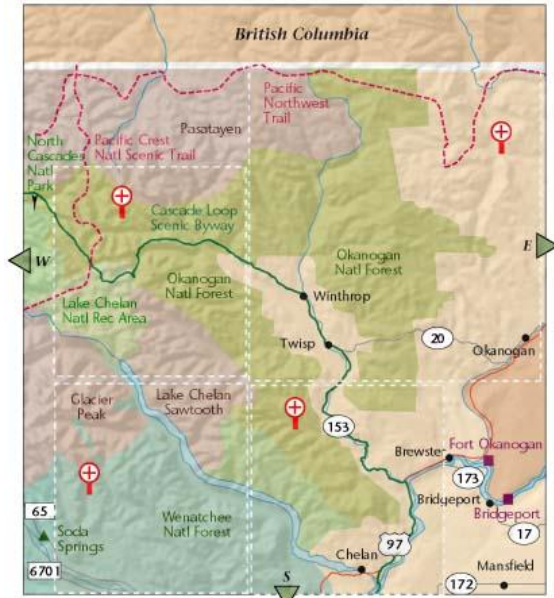


FORT OKANAGAN

Nancy Anderson sent me this picture of Fort Okanagan (on the left). The scene is looking south towards Brewster. It is by Asahel Curtis who did this lithograph of a John Mix Stanley drawing in about 1854. Image from U.S. War Dept.'s Reports of explorations and surveys to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1860, v. 12, pt.1, pl.37



From Nancy Anderson



“Fort Okanogan was the first American outpost in what is now the state of Washington. Established in 1811 by representatives of John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company, the “fort” was a modest affair, initially consisting of only one small building at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers. The Canadian North West Company acquired it in 1814, expanded it, and later sold it to the British Hudson’s Bay Company. The British replaced the complex with a second one, built about a mile away, in the 1830s.”

“The Astorians chose a site on the Okanogan River, near its confluence with the Columbia, and quickly built a small outpost, starting with one house made of driftwood. They grandiosely named it Fort Okanogan. What the structure lacked in material comforts it made up in location. It was strategically situated in the middle of a well-established Indian trail that led from present day Oregon north to the Fraser River in Canada, with easy access to two important waterways. Streams in the area were thick with beaver, the pelts of which were highly valued in the fashion centers of Europe, China, and the United States.” “The site selected was a good one. Located on sand spit at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia rivers, it was in the middle of a long established Indian trail that led from Oregon northward to Fraser River system in Canada. Canadian traders were well aware of the benefits of such a route. No doubt the Americans sought to tap some of the Canadian trade by establishing Fort Okanogan. The party dispersed and one man, Alexander Ross, spent the winter trading with the Indians. He kept a small store of trade goods in a cellar beneath the house. Trading was good; for trade merchandise amounting to about \$160.00 he received pelts valued at over \$10,000.”

<http://www.ghosttownsusa.com/bttales14.htm>

In October, 1813 the Astorians sold out to the North West Company. “The Nor’Westers took possession of Fort Okanogan in April 1814 and immediately began expanding it. By 1816, the outpost resembled an actual fort. A 15-foot-high stockade enclosed half-a-dozen

structures, including a four-room headquarters building with a dining hall, two large houses for traders and trappers, a storehouse, and a blacksmith shop. The stockade was equipped with two blockhouses, with loopholes for muskets on the upper levels and light cannon on the lower floor.

The Canadians continued to face fierce competition from the British after they bought out the Americans. Over the years, the trade wars weakened both the North West Company and the rival Hudson's Bay Company. In 1821, the two merged. Hudson's Bay took over all the Canadian company's operations in the Northwest, including Fort Okanogan, and the fort changed hands once again."

"The original site was abandoned in the early 1830s and a larger fort built on the Columbia about a mile away. The landing area at the first location, on the Okanogan, was too shallow and the banks too steep to accommodate the increased traffic in furs. In winter, the steep climb up to the fort was often muddy, making it difficult to handle heavy goods. Dust and mosquitoes made life miserable in the summer. The new location offered a good beach with a gentle incline to the fort."

"In 1846, the settlement of a decades-old boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States put Fort Okanogan firmly within American territory for the first time. The Hudson's Bay Company received permission to continue commercial enterprises at the fort. However, the company gradually phased out operations because of the declining volume of trade, abandoning the site altogether in 1860. The fort, stripped of everything of value, was left to the elements." http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=7522essay 7522, essay 7522
"Indians and miners passing across the bar used it as a temporary camp. Gradual decay eliminated all signs of the posts, once important establishments in a complex and highly developed trading system." "Sometime between 1831 and 1837 the post was abandoned and rebuilt on the Columbia River about a mile away. There were several reasons for the move. The landing site on the Okanogan was too shallow and banks too steep. During the summer, dust and mosquitoes made life miserable and in the winter, the dust turned to mud that made the handling of heavy goods difficult. At the Columbia location, there was a good beach with a gentle ascent to the land and it was a natural ferry."

<http://www.ghosttownsusa.com/bttales14.htm>

"The site of the fort was flooded in 1967 by the reservoir Lake Pateros due to the construction of Wells Dam." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Okanogan

Francis Ermatinger was in charge of Fort Kamloops when HBC Governor George Simpson, stopped there on his second western tour in 1828. His old friend Archibald McDonald was with Simpson's brigade, as he was going back home to the Columbia from attending the Northern Council, "For McDonald, the arrival at Kamloops was something of a homecoming. Although his family was no longer there, Court Apatte and his Indian friends were lined up with Frank Ermatinger and others from the fort to greet him when the governor's cavalcade rode in, flag flying, pipes playing and the usual

volley of shots, marking the occasion.” They stayed two days mostly waiting to see the chief, Nkwala (Nicolas, or “Walking Grizzly Bear”), the head chief of the Okanagans and the Kamloops band of Shuswaps, but he never showed. Nicolas as the Hudson Bay men called him is reported to have had 15 to 17 wives and over 50 children. “Exile in the Wilderness – The Biography of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald 1790-1853,” Jean Murray Cole, University of Washington Press, Seattle/London, 1979, page 139. Nicola’s granddaughter would later marry William Peone (Pion).

Francis was in charge of Fort Kamloops from 1828 to 1830, and was one of the few men in charge of that place that was not of Scottish descent. “Until 1842, Fort Kamloops was situated on the northeast corner of the confluence of the North and South Thompson Rivers. The main brigade trail to New Caledonia until that time continued along the east side of the North Thompson River to what was known as the Teaverse (the site of Little Fort today 1980s) where the horses swam the river and the brigade turned west, climbing the Thompson/Fraser divide. The trail passed along Lac Des Roches, Bridge Lake, Bridge Creek and Horse Lake to the present 100 Mile House (on the Cariboo Highway), approximately the route of the new Highway 24 today (1980s). This route was used annually between 1826 and 1842.” “The Fur Traders of Kamloops”, Ken Favrholt, curator and archivist of Kamloops Museum and Archives, December 11, 1986, page 3, and “Fur Trade Through British Columbia,” p 7, Ken Favrholt, Kamloops Museum and Archives curator and archivist. From 100 Mile House the brigade went on to Fort Alexandria on the upper Fraser River and by bateaux to Fort St. James (the main depot for the New Caledonia District), a total of about 500 miles from Fort Okanogan, from the coast it was about 1,200 miles.

According to Alexander Ross, Kamloops comes from the Indian word “Cumcloups” meaning “meeting of the waters.” Other versions are: “Kamloops” is the anglicised version of the Shuswap word “Tk'emlups”, meaning 'meeting of the waters'. Shuswap is still actively spoken in the area by members of the Kamloops Indian Band. Another possible origin of the name comes from the French “Camp des loups” meaning 'Camp of Wolves', likely spoken by fur traders. Kamloops. [BC Geographical Names Information System.
http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/bcgn-bin/bcg10?name=3006](http://archive.ilmb.gov.bc.ca/bcgn-bin/bcg10?name=3006).

One story perhaps connected with this version of the name concerns an attack by a pack of wolves, much built up in story to one huge white wolf, or a pack of wolves and other animals, traveling overland from the Nicola country being repelled by a single shot by John Tod, then Chief Trader, with his musket - at a distance of some 200 yd (180 m). The shot caused the admiration of native witnesses and is said to have given the Chief Trader a great degree of respect locally, preventing the fort from attack. *Fur and Gold: Stories, Tales and Legends of British Columbia*, John Pearson, undated S.K. Press Holdings, undated., White Rock, B.C.

A son was born to Francis and Cleo on August 23, 1828 at Fort Kamloops. Francis named him Lawrence. About this time Francis’ love life was in trouble, he wrote to Edward on December 4, 1827, some months earlier, “with respect to My Girl, I have as yet had very little cause to complain. She has, it is true, in one or two instances, while I was absent not been well used and some quarrels took place in the family; last spring Mr. McDonald’s cook made advances at her of which she complained but no notice was taken of it, until I arrived at Okanogan, when I gave the fellow a good thrashing. Since then a more pointed neglect has been the less sensible of it. (Lois McDonald in *Fur Trade Letters* says, “Cleo had shown resentment at Francis for thrashing the cook she had accused of making improper advances,” fn. 20 page 85). While I

was at Frasers River last August, she was ill used in the family, and an Indian actually scaled the pickets, in the night, and entered my room and would likely have gained his end, had not another prevented him. This was known, but nothing said to him upon the subject and when I came here he was cautioned to keep out of my way, which he has done, but killed six horses to pay for the advice. However, after all I have said, I declare I feel no love for her, by the Lord! No!! Nor do I at present mean to become attached to any one in the country. They are all alike faulty in some shape or other, and to turn away one upon vague suspicion and take another, perhaps worse, would be folly indeed. Besides it will require some resolution while I remain about Kamloops. Nor am I, I confess, anxious to do so. She answers my purpose well and so long as I can keep her clear of a family, or her conduct is not more palpable than it has, with every effort, been proved to me, we may remain together. But upon the first appearance of either, a separation shall, I promise, take place.”

Francis was sick of Kamloops and wrote, “The Indians are desperate, and I shall not be surprised if something serious takes place. They will one and all will be happy to see the present conductor turn his back upon them.” McDonald,p88. The Indians in this area were a Salish tribe, Shuswap (Secwepemc).

Ethnologists would call them the Shuswap, the Lillooet, the Thompson and the Coast Salish. They prefer to call themselves by their own names, the Secwepemc, the St'at'imc, the Nlaka'pamux and the Sto:lo, although within each of these linguistic and cultural groupings, subunits have their own local names. http://www.fraserviewcedar.com/v2_media_simon_fraser_4.html Simon Fraser came upon them in 1806 and called them “Askettihs” and said they were “dressed in their coats of mail,” or at least Rev. A. G. Morice thought he meant the Lillooet.

Simpson noted, “.....that there were but four men at Kamloops besides Clerks Ermatinger and [Thomas] Dears, and six men gone to the Fraser for salmon.” One of the jobs done at Fort Kamloops was to preserve salmon for the trade. Archibald McDonald was the one who initiated this business, and by trial and err he had the salmon pickled (kippered), dried and salted. Pickled salmon was made by the Hudson's Bay Company up to 1932 when quick-freezing ended its value. He had kegs and barrels made at the fort, which at first were poorly made and the first shipments had leaked out all the vinegar and the salmon was not good. McDonald was eventually able to ship out thousands of the salmon products by HBC ships. Salmon was a main staple and a good source of protein in the diet of the HBC employees of both high and low rank. Coho (Silver), Sockeye (Red) and Chinook (King) salmon were processed as pickled, dried, or salted products and shipped to ports in England and Hawaii. The other salmon of the Pacific were the Chum (Dog) and Pink (Humpback). The Chinook, or King salmon were the largest averaging from 10 to 15 pounds but can get much larger even up to 100 pounds but this is very rare. Francis got so he hated dried salmon at times. But it was a food item that as Chief Factor William Connolly wrote in the New Caledonia District Journal in 1826 “we cannot subsist without.” At Fort Langley in the men were served 4 lbs. of dried salmon with as much potatoes as they could make use of, and every second day three pieces of dried salmon (that is a whole salmon). At Christmas in 1840 Peter Skene Ogden and his

men had a meal of turnips and dried salmon with a “glass of the staff of life” (water). He thanked God that they had the salmon to eat! It took 12,000 dried salmon to feed the HBC employees of the Thompson River District in 1826 according to Archibald McDonald. In the coming years the local Indians would starve to death because of poor salmon runs. Salmon was a fur trade staple in the Pacific North West as far back as Simon Fraser’s and John Stuart’s time in 1804-06.



Chinook salmon

sockeye salmon

Salmon images courtesy of Office of Seafood and Office of Regulatory Affairs, Food and Drug Administration.

“The Indian tribes of the Northwest look upon salmon with great reverence and have special rituals and legends for the yearly salmon run. They look upon the salmon as life, as the salmon has nourished them physically and spiritually since the days when people first came to this region. They would migrate to the Columbia River each year during the spring and fall spawning season, when the salmon hurled themselves upstream from the Pacific Ocean to lay their eggs. During that time, the Columbia River was so thick with the countless salmon that the Indians simply speared or clubbed them to death from their canoes or from the river banks. What the Indians didn't eat fresh, they would air-dry [wind dry] in the river winds to create jerky.” “Salmon - The Story and History of Pacific Salmon” by Linda Stradley, 2004; <http://whatscookingamerica.net/salmon.htm>

“The traditional methods of harvesting [salmon by the Indians] usually involved using spears at night with the aid of pitchwood torches either from the shore or from canoes. As the lower Adams River was not suitable for pitlamping, the band built a fish weir at the mouth of the river. They only took as many salmon as they could prepare for drying in one day, and the speared fish were kept in pools until needed. They dried the fish by hanging the fillets on sticks over a small red alder or red willow fire, which was used primarily to keep the flies away as the fish dried by air more than by smoke or heat.”

“It’s Salmon Time Again” by Jim Cooperman, Aim High Salmon Arm A Discussion Forum for Shuswap Ideas That Matter, <http://salmonarm.wordpress.com/2010/08/31/its-salmon-time-again-by-jim-cooperman/>

Dried Salmon was a main trading item of the Shuswap people and there are records that show the fur traders being sent to the Upper Lake on the Thompson River and returning with up to 1200 salmon. The Secwepemc people provided the Fort with not only salmon but with furs, deer, fowl and other seasonal food as well as fire wood. (Mitchell, pp8-9).

<http://www.littleshuswaplake.com/history.html>

“The residents of Fort Kamloops soon learned that Kamloops Lake was the home of a race of silvery trout. For many years the fish they caught did not even have a formal name. Tribes of Indians trapped and speared the Kamloops trout on their spawning beds and dried them on crude wooden racks for food, just as they did with the salmon and steelhead in their season. It was at peak abundance when white men arrived in the interior a little more than 180 years ago.

History of the Kamloops Trout, excerpts from *Kamloops an Angler’s Study of the Kamloops Trout*, chapter 1, Steve Raymond. <http://www.kamloopsguide.com/Pages/aTrout.html> 1993-2003.

Cedar shakes were also made at Kamloops. Although beaver was still the made item it was sometimes scarce.

Ranald McDonald's "step-mother, Jane Klyne McDonald, was a most admirable character and seems to have truly loved and cared for her little, half-breed stepson as well as, if not better than, her own children." Ranald McDonald, the son of Archibald McDonald and a renowned traveler, spent a couple of years at Fort Kamloops, while Francis was in charge of that post. "Here at Kamloops the little boy met and remembered Francis Ermatinger. Writing of him in later years, Ranald McDonald says: "He would sometimes give me a cake ... then a great rarity, for our allowance of flour was two sacks brought from London by way of Cape Horn, then transported to the Interior ... tea and sugar in like proportions ... I must not forget, to us children, that great luxury ... a few cakes of gingerbread, and how Mr. Ermatinger would say, "I won't tell." My foster mother would miss them and I was sure to be blamed." "Ranald McDonald's Narrative", William S. Lewis & Naojiro Murakami, Eastern Washington Historical Society/Inland American Printing Co., 1923, p24:



Ranald MacDonald

("A note on Ranald MacDonald: (3 February 1824 – August 24, 1894) was the first man to teach the English language in Japan, including educating Einosuke Moriyama, one of the chief interpreters to handle the negotiations between Commodore Perry and the Tokugawa Shogunate. MacDonald was born at Fort Astoria, in the Pacific Northwest of North America. The area was then known as the Columbia District or Oregon Country, disputed territory dominated by the British Hudson's Bay Company and the American Pacific Fur Company. MacDonald's father was Archibald McDonald, a Scottish Hudson's Bay Company fur trader, and his mother was Raven (also known as Princess Sunday), a Chinook Indian, daughter of Chief Comcomly, a leader of Chinook people from the Cascade Mountains and Cape Disappointment. This mixed heritage made MacDonald a Metis, a person who straddles two cultures.

As a child, he met three shipwrecked Japanese sailors, including Otokichi. MacDonald's Indian relatives told him that their ancestors had come from Asia and the boy developed a fascination with Japan, theorizing that it might be the home of his distant relatives.

He was educated at the Red River Academy in the newly established Red River Colony, part of British North America, which became Manitoba, Canada. He secured a job as a bank clerk, following the wishes of his father. A restless man, he soon quit his bank job and decided that he would visit Japan. Despite knowing the strict isolationist Japanese policy of the time, which meant death or imprisonment for foreigners who set foot on Japanese soil, he signed on as a sailor on the whaling ship *Plymouth* in 1845. In 1848, he convinced the captain of the *Plymouth* to set him to sea on a small boat off the coast of Hokkaido. On July 1, he came ashore on the island of Rishiri where he pretended he had been shipwrecked. He was caught by Ainu people, who remitted him to the Daimyo of Matsumae clan. He was then sent to Nagasaki, the only port allowed to conduct limited trade with the Dutch.

Since more and more American and British ships had been approaching Japanese waters, and nobody in Japan spoke English with any sort of fluency, fourteen men were sent to study English under him. These men were samurai, who had previously learned Dutch and

had been attempting to learn English for some time from secondhand sources, such as Dutch merchants who spoke a little of the language. The brightest of these men, a sort of language genius, was Einosuke Moriyama.

MacDonald stayed in confinement, at Daihian, a branch temple of the Sōfukuji in Nagasaki, for 10 months, during which he also studied Japanese, before being taken aboard a passing American warship. In April 1849, in Nagasaki, MacDonald was remitted together with fifteen other shipwrecks to captain James Glynn on the American warship USS Preble which had been sent to rescue stranded sailors. Glynn later urged that a treaty should be signed with Japan, "if not peaceably, then by force".

Upon his return to North America, MacDonald made a written declaration to the US Congress, explaining that the Japanese society was well policed, and the Japanese people well behaved and of the highest standard. He continued his career as a sailor.

After travelling widely, MacDonald returned to Lower Canada (now Quebec) and, in 1858, went to the new colony of British Columbia where he set up a packing business in the Fraser River gold fields and later in the Cariboo, in 1864. He also participated in the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition.

Although his students had been instrumental in the negotiations to open Japan with Commodore Perry and Lord Elgin, he found no real recognition of his achievements. His notes of the Japanese adventure were not published until 1923, 29 years after his death. He died a poor man in Washington State in 1894, while visiting his niece. His last words were reportedly "Sayonara, my dear, sayonara..."

MacDonald rests today in the *Ranald McDonald Cemetery*, Ferry County, Washington. Ranald McDonald's Grave is 18 miles northwest of Curlew Lake State Park on Mid Way Road and is a satellite of Osoyoos Lake State Park. The grave bears the following inscription:

RANALD MacDONALD 1824-1894
SON OF PRINCESS RAVEN AND ARCHIBALD MacDONALD
HIS WAS A LIFE OF ADVENTURE SAILING THE SEVEN SEAS
WANDERING IN FAR COUNTRIES BUT RETURNING AT LAST TO REST IN HIS HOMELAND. SAYONARA-
FAREWELL
ASTORIA EUROPE JAPAN THE CARIBOO AUSTRALIA FT COLVILLE

There are memorials to Ranald MacDonald in Rishiri and in Nagasaki, as well as in his birthplace, where Fort Astoria used to stand in Astoria, Oregon)." Wikipedia

Malcolm McLeod was at Fort Kamloops and said, "I remember the old compact and well-palisaded fort and the stockade a little distance off, large enough for three or four hundred horses, for the horse brigade for transport of 'goods in' and return of 'goods out' for the district and New Caledonia generally numbered 250 horses."

At Kamloops Francis besides trading and sending men out to trade for furs and salmon, took care of these horses.

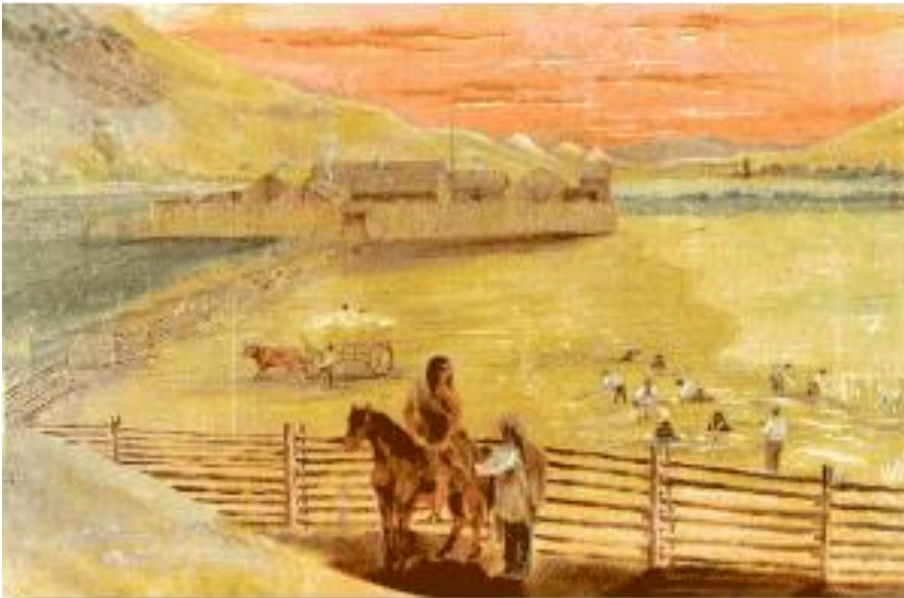
"The Interior Salish people of the Thompson-Okanagan obtained horses from their neighbours to the south in about the middle of the eighteenth century. The coming of the horse significantly changed the culture of the native people by providing them with an animal that could carry humans and supplies and that could be used for food during times of scarcity. The native people of the Thompson-Okanagan found that the bunchgrass ranges provided excellent forage for horses. Nonetheless the Nlaka'pamux (Thompson Indians) do not appear to have developed extensive herds of horses, probably because the occasional severe winter killed off large numbers of horses and the shortage of provisions required using the horses for food.

The natives also found a ready market for horses with the Hudson's Bay Company which, from 1826 on, used a large number of horses annually to pack trade goods from Fort Okanagan on the Columbia River up through the Okanagan Valley and on to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser. There the horses would exchange their packs of trade goods for

bales of furs from the north and begin the return trip to Fort Okanagan where the furs would be loaded on boats to head down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver. In the 1820s and 1830s, the trail proceeded through the Okanagan valley north from Kamloops up the east bank of the North Thompson River to Little Fort and then across to the Fraser River near present-day 100 Mile House. When Fort Kamloops was moved to the west side of the Thompson in 1841, the trail from the Fort went by Copper Creek and Red Lake, along Criss Creek and crossed the Bonaparte River just above Loon Lake where it headed north to Green Lake and on to the Fraser.

As many as 300 horses were used by the fur brigades. These horses were wintered in the area of Fort Kamloops where the bunch grass was plentiful and where adequate protection could be provided by Fort personnel. First of all, the Paul Creek area northeast of Fort Kamloops was used as the main grazing grounds and later, when the Fort was moved across the Thompson, the Tranquille Creek and Lac du Bois meadows were used. To these extensive herds of horses were added a limited number of beef and dairy cattle with the intention of making Fort Kamloops and other inland posts more self-supporting. These cattle flourished on the bunchgrass ranges as long as the winters were relatively mild but the occasional harsh winter was very hard on cattle as they did not possess the same ability as horses to paw through a crust of snow to the dried grasses underneath.”

BUNCHGRASS ECOSYSTEMS AND THE EARLY CATTLE INDUSTRY IN THE THOMPSON-OKANAGAN
<http://www.livinglandscapes.bc.ca/thomp-ok/article-LL/pre-history-beef.html>



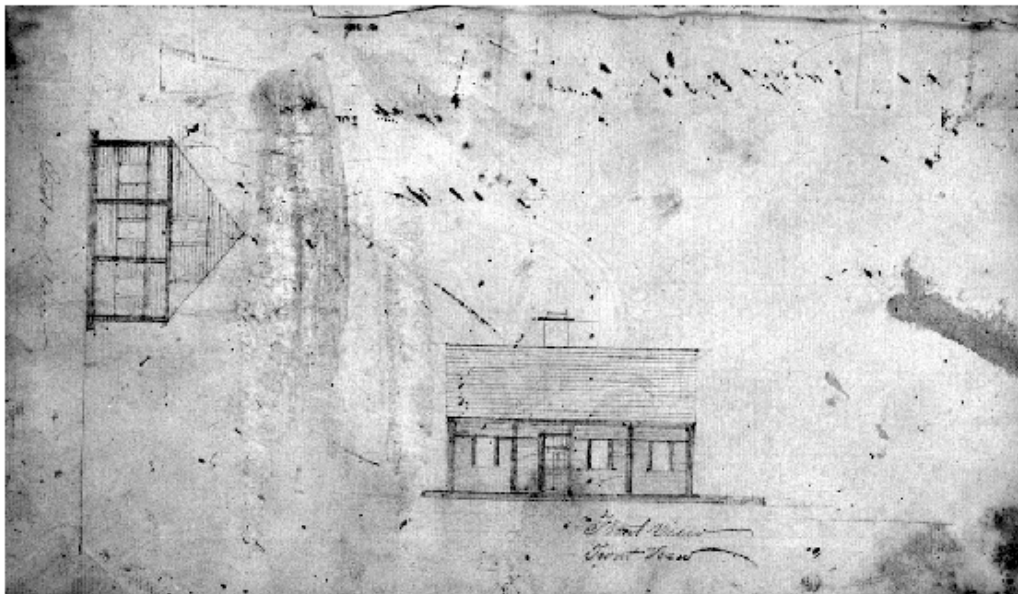
Fort Kamloops In this picture it looks like they are harvesting the hay crop.



Bunch grass near Nighthawk, Washington, I took this in 1992.



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 Web: www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca Email: access@www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca
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Title: Sketch of Fort Kamloops, BC; copied from "Fort Kamloops ...

Sketch of Fort Kamloops, BC; copied from "Fort Kamloops Journal" kept by John Tod, 31 August 1841 to 19 December 1843; BC Archives A/B/20/K12 - 1841-43.

Governor George Simpson had finally decided it was necessary to build additional trading posts along the Pacific coast. One of which was to be located in New Caledonia. Dr. McLoughlin sent Chief Trader James McMillan north to build that post in July, 1827;

he took with him the clerks Donald Manson, Francois Annance, and George Barnston and 20 voyageurs. They traveled up to the Fraser River where the post was to be located. Construction on the buildings was done by November 26, 1827. The first post of the Fort was cut on August 1, 1827. On August 13, the first bastion of the fort—deemed to be the priority as a consequence of rumours of a pending massacre by Indians—was completed. “The new fort measured 41 meters by 36.6 meters and was solidly enclosed by a palisade 4.6 meters high. Buildings in the new complex included the Big House, where the officers were quartered; a building with three compartments to house other ranks; a spacious store; one "good" house; and a smaller house with two rooms and a kitchen. Two bastions equipped with artillery completed the new fort.” “A Brief History of Fort Langley”, <http://mypage.uniserve.ca/~gborden/fl-hist.htm>

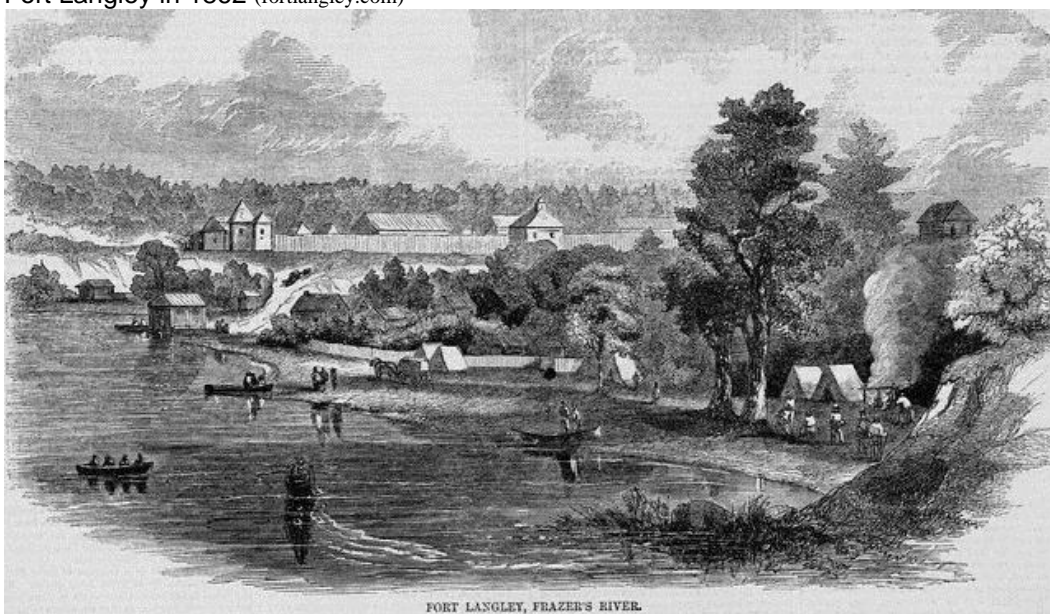
The post was dedicated to the HBC the next day by a bottle of liquor being broken on the flagstaff. The fort was christened Langley. By 1830, Fort Langley had become a major export port for salted salmon in cedar barrels, as well as cedar lumber and shingles to the Hawaiian Islands.

“In the weeks and months immediately following the erection of the Fort, McMillan watched as the horses perished in the wilderness conditions, noted a minor earthquake, and described the scene around the Fort once as "dull and monotonous." However, on Christmas Eve, 1827, a surprise visit was paid by HBC Chief Trader Alexander Mackenzie from Fort Vancouver. His party having been pinned in by ice at the mouth of the Fraser River, and apparently robbed and threatened by the Musqueam, Mackenzie dispatched a sympathetic Kwantlen to convey a distress message to McMillan at Fort Langley. Upon receiving the message, McMillan sent an armed party to recover Mackenzie who was later greeted at the fort by a beaming McMillan. Following a celebratory holiday fueled by liquor recently delivered to the Fort, McMillan opted to return to Fort Vancouver with Mackenzie and show off Fort Langley's haul of 1,200 furs. However, stranded at Point Roberts in stormy weather for 10 days, McMillan returned to Fort Langley with the furs, while Mackenzie and his group continued onto Fort Vancouver. Rumour soon reached McMillan that Mackenzie's party had been massacred on the shores of Puget Sound en route back to the Columbia River, which later proved true. In October 1828, McMillan was transferred out of Fort Langley by Sir George Simpson. It is unclear whether he requested the transfer or was assigned elsewhere. He was replaced by Archibald McDonald.” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_McMillan_\(fur_trader\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_McMillan_(fur_trader))

That December Alexander McKenzie, his wife and four men, Antoine Pierrault, Francois Xavier Tarrhonga (Tarihonga), and the guides Chartier and Baptiste Boisseau, arrived at Fort Langley from headquarters. It was the first tidings from the outside world in six months, as well as a congratulatory message from Dr. McLoughlin. McKenzie's crew stayed over at Fort Langley to celebrate Christmas and the New Year. They celebrated in a grand fashion, becoming royally drunk.



Fort Langley in 1862 (fortlangley.com)



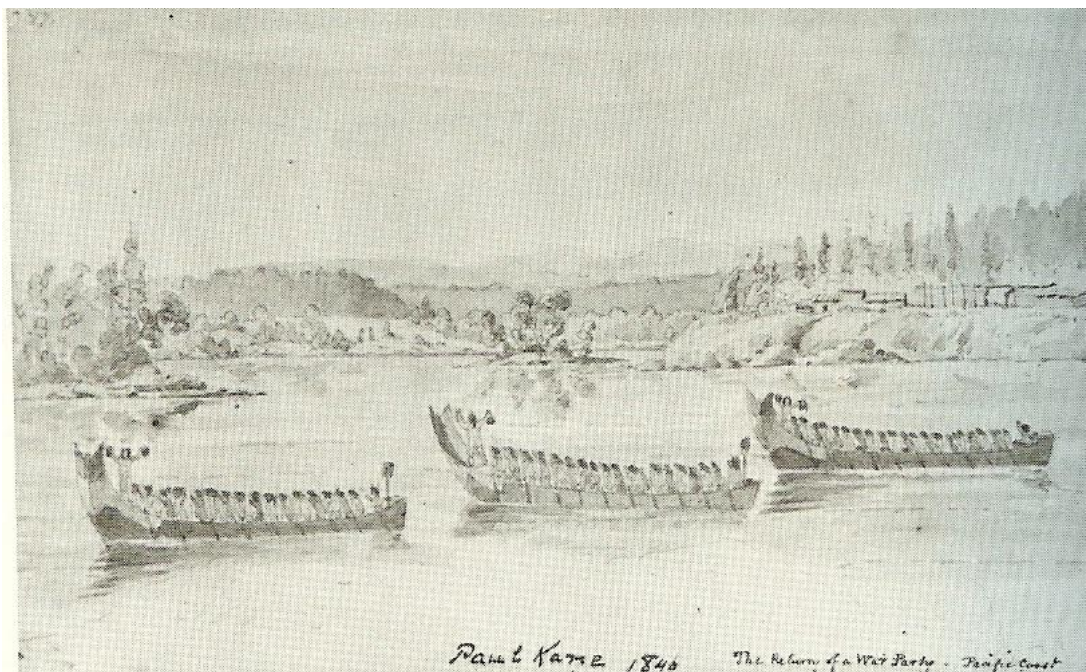
Fort Langley (corbisimages.com)



W. H. Bartlett *Working a Canoe up a Rapid*, c. 1842 National Archives of Canada (C2390)
<http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>



Fort Langley (source not given)



Fort Langley painting by Paul Kane

McKenzie's party left Fort Langley on January 13, 1828 and on the return trip it was ambushed near Puget Sound and all murdered except Mrs. McKenzie, "The Princess of Wales" who was a daughter of the Chinook chief, Comcomly. The culprits were a group of Lumni Island Clallams (S'Klallams or Klallams), or ("Nuxskayem", which meant strong people). Rumor was that the corpses were even eaten, and certainly some element of ritual dancing and celebration was present. The Clallams had been friendly to McKenzie on the upward journey and he had trusted them on his way home. Mrs. McKenzie was taken back to the Clallam village as a captive. It is "funny" that the Klallams of today have very little to say about these murders and the Hudson Bay Company expedition and don't mention it on their website.

"The Clallams inhabited northern Olympic Peninsula. Clallam County, whose northern edge is the shoreline of the Olympic Peninsula, is named after the S'Klallam. Like their neighbors, the S'Klallam relied heavily upon the rich Northwest waters to harvest salmon and other finned species, as well as shellfish. The Elwha River was a customary waterway for subsistence, but also for inter-village get-togethers. They moved to upriver villages as they followed the seasons. Families also trekked over the Olympic Mountains to gather plants and berries, and hunt for large game. The S'Klallam venerated the mountains, which they held to be sacred. The early explorers were unwitting carriers of smallpox, measles, influenza and tuberculosis, to which the indigenous people had no immunity. Entire villages withered in a massive social dislocation as waves of epidemics swept through." <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h1567.html>

The Clallams did not learn much from the incident, they still had their old ways in September of 1868 when they ambushed a party of Tsimshian Indians returning from hop picking in British Columbia, slaughtering them all, and except a pregnant woman

they stabbed 20 times. She played dead while they stripped her of her bracelets and rings. She later crawled to a lighthouse and received care and protection from the lighthouse keeper and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. William Blake.

Upon hearing the news of the murders [of McKenzie and his party], Dr. McLoughlin decided that quick punishment would have to be administered if the Company expected to travel safely through that country in the future. He received offers from some of the local chiefs to take it upon themselves to punish the Clallams. This he refused since Indian wars among themselves wasn't profitable or easy to control for the Hudson's Bay Company. Instead, McLoughlin organized a war party of Fort Vancouver's personnel. Francis Ermatinger, having come down to the Fort from his own invitation, now found himself and his men enlisted in the army. The war party was under Alexander Roderick McLeod, and besides Francis included Thomas Dears, James Murray Yale and 59 engages, which included Michel LaFramboise, Andre Chalifoux, Joseph Gervais and a Desportes. Aemilius Simpson captain of the schooner *Cadboro*, was ordered to sail around to Puget Sound and support the party from Admiralty Inlet. They left Fort Vancouver on June 17, 1828 for Clallam territory. Francis would write, "McLoughlin appears delicate in requesting anyone to go lest an unwillingness should be shown." The men weren't openly asked to go but were expected to go as volunteers. (McDonald, p96)

Chief Trader McLeod and Captain Simpson joined forces at Puget Sound, where they reorganized in a solid unit. From here they moved inland to flush out and destroy any Clallams that they met. Earlier, on his way to meet Simpson, McLeod's crew had attacked some Clallam lodges and killed on sight a number of Indians. Francis participated in the killings. The combined McLeod/Simpson party came across another village, where McLeod demanded that the Clallam murderers be turned over to them. All he got was open defiance. A fight broke out and before it was over 25 Clallams lay dead on the ground. Since some of the villagers were no doubt innocent of any crime the action was criticized as a massacre. When the smoke cleared McLeod's men searched for Mrs. McKenzie until they found her, and she was rescued. The village was burned to the ground.

Years later, Edward Ermatinger's son, Judge Charles Oakes Ermatinger, wrote, "It would be unjust to charge Dr. McLoughlin with responsibility for the entire proceedings of this merciless expedition. What his instructions to McLeod were, that gentleman kept pretty much to himself. Unfortunately the latter showed vacillation and timidity at moments when firmness and promptness were required, disputed and quarreled with Captain Simpson on board his own vessel, assumed too much authority at one time, too little at another, with the respect that indiscriminate slaughter and destruction of property seems to have taken place of just and merited punishment."

In his journal, which he intended to be private, Francis wrote brashly about the leadership of Alexander R. McLeod. McLeod's leadership he considered to be indecisive. William Todd wrote on July 15, 1829 from York Factory to Edward Ermatinger: "An expedition against the Clalhins as Frank told me he had sent you're a Journal which I have no doubt is a masterpiece of the kind and to which I refer you for particulars. It was a failure the

effects of which has been since severely felt. Frank was talking high on the business without respect to persons, you know his way.”

His words came to the knowledge of Governor George Simpson, who demanded an explanation from Dr. McLoughlin about Francis’ accusations against McLeod. McLoughlin did his best to shield Francis, mostly because he agreed with him. McLoughlin finally asked Francis for two copies of his journal, Francis sent one but ignored sending the other. Forcing the Doctor to write, “if you think you cannot give a copy of your journal it is necessary for you to go to York Factory.” As Francis did not want to go east and face Governor Simpson, he made another copy of the journal and sent it to headquarters. Governor Simpson had believed that Chief Trader A. R. McLeod had acted in the right manner, and that he was a good man, one of the few that did.

Eva Emery Dye, the Oregon historian, discovered hidden away in Victoria, the journal of Frank Ermatinger, a member of the expedition sent to punish the Indians. It throws light on the manner in which the company met and punished violations of its rules. It also gives a history of this, the first of old Oregon's Indian wars. Francis Ermatinger’s *Journal of the Clallam Expedition* is reprinted in the Washington Historical Society Quarterly, volume 1 number 2 by Eva Lucinda Emery Dye, and also in *The Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger 1818-1853*, by Lois H. McDonald, pages 97-114.

Thompson’s River 5th March 1829

“My Dear Edward,

I have almost spent as much time in determining upon the manner I shall detail our little news to you, as it would require to write at all. Sometimes I fancied a journal would be best, at other times a mere letter, and now propose to adopt the latter method, trusting that any deficiency of mine will be amply made up by your other correspondents in the Columbia.

After I left you last spring I immediately started from Okanagan with Mr. Dears (Thomas Dears) for this place, hence he proceeded on to New Caledonia, and I remained stationary without anything material taking place, but with tolerable success in trade until Mr. Connolly and he came out on the 18th of May with a set of men like walking skeletons. The only news from that quarter was “Mr. Douglas immediately after his return from Alexandria was married to Miss Connolly” the young Lady promised to Mr. Yale. We left this [Thompson’s River] the day following, and after remaining three days in their company, I took the lead to Okanagan, where I arrived upon the 24th and found our Friend Work had been there before me two days. Mr. Connolly did not reach us until the 27th so that we had time to talk over our little news Tete a Tete. He [Work] handed me your letter from Colville, in answer to which I have only to observe that it is necessary to make the best of a bad bargain. I find Mr. McGillivray did not act the part I expected of him. Your dressing case Mr. Kittson (William Kittson) took a fancy to, and I did not see it. It is true he offered payment, however Work advised me to take no notice of the amount, adding “who knows, Frank, but you will get a good horse.” He was right, an exchange has since been made between us, a racer for one of mine. Mr. Connolly appeared much against my going to Vancouver with the brigade, but when I asked his

advise he evaded it, and off I started with the rest upon the 28th. We reached Walla Walla the day following; but here we were detained some time owing to a most melancholy accident, a boat which had always been left behind was given to L'Etang, at the spirit rapid (Priest's Rapid, Washington), and we all left him. At night after we had some time landed, he was seen coming down in a small canoe. The boat, from the weakness of the men, had struck and three men were drowned, Plassie, Gros Prine, and Felis Laurant. Mr. Dears and I were sent back to the rapid for the surviving men and the cargo. Upon 2nd June we left Walla Walla- not too well pleased with our host. You know the man and upon this occasion he out-blackened Black (Samuel Black). We were often wind-bound and only reached Vancouver upon the 7th. Here we found the Vessel, Eagle, with Capt. Greaves (John Costellow Grave), unloaded. Manson was off, and we found Barnstone, who with the other gentlemen you left there formed, the establishment. Yales hand (?) well and he, as he said, off Duty, "To upbraid me with my paltry L100! L100! Lord how my feelings were hurt."

Upon the 8th I was handed our letters from home, and received the several packages to our address, in the primest order. I fancy our father, altho' he has referred me to you for information, never intended that I see the whole of the letter. At the time I was not too pleased with you for what you must have written home. But perhaps I was a fool and I may, possibly, as he says, remain one to the end of the chapter. I cannot help it, but trust my want of respect for you will not be numbered amongst my follies. However, I have no inclination to devote this sheet of paper to the subject, yet confess myself not too well pleased when I call it to mind. The Cadboro's cargo completed, Dr. and Mr. Birnie ordered on board, also four or five Owhyhees (Hawaiians), as marines. I was placed in the general stores, after Birnie, and commenced their new system of business. No blotter kept but all done by notes - that is, every man who could write made his own entry upon a small piece of paper which fell to Barnstone's duty to register. It often happened that a man would get an order for bread, Rum and Molasses at a time when I had none of the former. Well sir, he would say, it's too bad, give me something else instead, for it is marked - nor could I convince him otherwise. In this manner we were harassed day after day and I dread the consequences, for mistakes were unavoidable. My pockets were of no use and often full. I had one for Bills paid, another dishonored, Due &c.&c., and when I found myself loaded away I posted to Barnstone to disburden.

A general invitation was given to the Cadboro on the 12th, and Messrs. Connolly, Tod. Work and I posted off with the Captain. It was not his intention, at first to have got under way, but some one observing that it was Thursday night, "then," said he, "Tomorrow will not do, I must break ground, and we have no time to lose." The bottles were finished double quick, and we became fit for anything, except indeed dropping the river in a vessel. "Sinclair (Thomas Sinclair), fire a salute." Off went the cannons. Yet this would not do. We were still getting the further off. "Man the boat". "I--(me?) Greaves will board you," and away we went from one ship to the other. We reached the side just as the Fort Guns went off and the Cadboro just as the Eagle took the turn. All very good, but my triumph was to be short. The various wines were too strong, and I became a complete wreck, however it brought me to my senses by the time "Capt. Simpson's boat" was called for in a voice like thunder by the mate. The watch whose name was Cain,

answered, "It is called, Sir." "Call Capt. Simpson's crew," was repeated. "Dam, and B-my eyes, is not once calling enough?" Is that the way you speak to me, Sir?" said the mate. "Yes," said Cain, it is"; my name is Cain, and Cain will cain you yet before he gets you to London." The distance was too far. He could not wait, but gave him a rip on the nose, which made the clout spout and as freely as he had himself before poured it in at the mouth. Doctor Tod who wished the whole affair to be left to him to settle, asked, "What do you mean by striking your mate, you scoundrel?" and accompanied the question with a blow that sent poor Cain reeling, but his hat unfortunately fell off in the motion. "Who, by Jesus, knocked my friend Tod's hat off?" bawls out Work, and he challenged the best man on board to turn out, and dam'd all the rest. In the mean time, Capt. Simpson gave his youths a drubbing for getting drunk, and not being able to attend his orders, while Mr. Connolly, busy as the best, was for dressing half a dozen at a time. The whole of the seamen were against us, and the row general, but nothing "but your jaw, that one thing pointing to the mate, I put your bloody head in chancery," squaring in the face of Capt. Simpson - &c.&c.&c., was ultimately the consequence and we reached home, at no little risk of the Lake before the fact, just about day break. "But how did I manage, Frank?" asked Doctor Tod, "to knock that fellow down three times without touching him?"

The next thing to be noted is a sort of wishy-washy dance on the 14th that was got under way, at the request of the Ladies in Mr. McLeod's house. However, take my word for it, no one got drunk, yet we had wine, about two whole glasses each. I had the honor to hand out young Miss (McLeod) . How comes it that a report is generally believed that she was intended for your wife? Be this as it may, it is said she dropt a tear upon your departure.

I leave a blank here of 29 days. The Governor has requested me to draw up a journal of the time, which is now completed. However I do not mean to give up without some pressing. Mr. Dears is kind enough to knock you off a copy which I suppose to send, as conveying my opinion better than I can in a letter. Suffice it here to say that Mr. McLeod acted a part I would not have expected from the most cowardly man in the country, as you will collect from my notes. They are bulky, but you have (?) no postage I expect for this year.....

Lois Halliday McDonald writes:

"A break in this letter is made at this point in order to include the journal which Ermatinger had written at Governor Simpson's request, but now was loath to deliver. The fame of the journal spread far and wide, for Francis let some of his follow clerks read it. Though William Todd, the surgeon at Fort Vancouver in 1827 and 1828, had not read it, he wrote Edward from York while on the 1829 Express that the journal was "a masterpiece of its kind," and described some of the events leading up to the its writing. News had reached Fort Vancouver in June of 1828 that Alexander McKenzie, a clerk, and four men, had been murdered; and a native woman, wife of one of the murdered men, had been taken captive by the Clallum Indians on Hood's Canal near Puget Sound. The party had been returning from Fort Langley on the Fraser River. Upon hearing the news, McLoughlin decided that quick punishment would have to be administered if the Company expected to travel safely through the country in the future. He received an

offer from several of the local chiefs to take it upon themselves to punish the Clallums. This McLoughlin refused, since Indian wars were not profitable to the HBC or easy to control once started. Intrad, the doctor organized a war party from his own men about the fort at the time. Francis Ermatinger, having come down to the Fort on his own invitation, now found himself enlisted in the army. Alexander Roderick McLeod was put in command of an overland party made up of himself, Francis Ermatinger, Thomas Dears, James Yale (all clerks) and fifty-nine laborers. Aemelius Simpson, in the schooner Cadboro, was ordered to sail around to the Sound and support the party from Admiralty Inlet.

This journal was part of the letter sent by Francis to Edward. It was separated from the letter and was probably the copy which Eva Emery Dye borrowed from R. E. Gosnell, Premier of British Columbia, as source material for her book, *McDonald of Oregon*. (Lois H. McDonald writes in her footnotes that no copy of the book was ever found, in a letter I (Chalk) informed her that the Wenatchee Public Library had two copies of it). Judge C.O. Ermatinger in all likelihood made a gift of it to the Archives of British Columbia. Miss Dye made the journal available for publication in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (1907). It was not annotated and contained several errors in transcription. (I have a copy of this, and the 1907 publication is the first time I saw the journal).

“Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition fitted out under the command of Alex. R. McLeod, Esquire, Chief Trader at Fort Vancouver on the 17th of June, 1828”, by Francis Ermatinger, Clerk.

Friday, 13th, 1828 – Since the unfortunate murder of Mr. Alex. McKenzie and the four men under his charge, by the tribe called the Clallums in Puget Sound, on their way back with an express from Fort Langley, in January last, it appears to have been a decided impression of all that an expedition to their quarter would be most necessary, if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example ... to deter others from similar attempts in the future. But since the arrival of the islanders (this should be inlanders as it refers to the brigade in which Francis, Connolly and Dears arrived at Fort Vancouver on June 7, 1828).) at Vancouver 7th inst., every little arrangement has been kept so close from us, although the vessel Cadboro got under weigh yesterday. I believe for the purpose of a cooperation, we one and all began to doubt whether we were to be sent off or not, and should absolutely have despaired, had it not been armorers were kept busily employed stocking rifles, repairing pistols, etc. etc., which we saw bore no connection with the trade. However, this morning affairs appeared more determined and a muster was made of all the effective men upon the ground, both free and hired, and they were told by Chief Factor McLoughlin, of the necessity of going off in search of the murderous tribe, and if possible, to make a salutary example of them, that the honour of the whites was at stake, and that if we did not succeed in the undertaking it would be dangerous to be seen by the natives any distance from the Fort hereafter. All the men assented, or rather none appeared unwilling, but [Andre] Challifoux, who happened to make a remark mal a propos, and was immediately turned out of the hall and his services refused. This answered well, as it led the other men to think that volunteers only were

wanted and all were ashamed to keep back. Those who from ill health or other causes were omitted in the muster expressed themselves much disappointed. No gentleman was this day named, but it was evident that Messrs. McLeod and [Thomas] Dears were aware of their appointment having so frequently tried the effects of their rifles together.

Sunday, 15th. – This evening we were talking amongst ourselves of the appointments for the expedition, and guessing who was likely to be upon it; Mr. Dears was of the party, and told Mr. Yale and I we might, he thought, prepare to follow it.

Monday, 16th. – The most of the day Messrs. McLeod and Dears equipping the men with their arms and a little ammunition, each to try with them. The party will, independent of the vessel which [is] extra-manned for the occasion, consist of upwards of sixty men, headed by Mr. A.R. McLeod and Mr. Dears. Mr. Yale and I upon the hint we got yesterday are prepared to follow as no further notice had been given us, except, indeed, my being told to take my watch with me. In fact, Mr. McLoughlin appears delicate in requesting anyone to go, least an unwillingness should be shown.

In the evening the men received a regale [drink or toast] and the Iroquois went through a war dance, in character, before the Hall Door.

Tuesday, 17th. – At 4 o'clock all Mr. McLeod's arrangements were completed and the Vancouver Local Militia put in motion. In passing the Fort the men discharged their pieces and a salute of Cannon was returned upon our embarking, but the Captain of the Eagle, either taken up on short notice, or what is more probably being short of powder, instead of a round of Guns gave us three of Cheers. At 5 o'clock p.m. we made a start in five Boats, and went off in tolerable style, but a small distance down the River we was obliged to put on shore to Gum [gum the leaks of the canoes with pine gum], where we encamped for the night.

Chalifoux, since his disgrace has solicited every one of us, in our turns, to intercede with Mr. McLoughlin for him and was this day by influence, I believe, of Mr. Connolly, added to our number.

Wednesday, 18th. – We were upon the water this morning at half past three, were more than two hours ashore for breakfast, reached the mouth of the Cowlitz River at noon and encamped for the night at 5 o'clock when we all turned out to a target and were at complete counters. It was rifles against guns and guns against rifles ... If we continued on at this rate, thought I, we may, like the Bow Tell Train bands, so far improve as to be enabled to discharge our pieces without blinking.

Thursday, 19th. – We commenced our march at half past four ... and reached the Cowlitz Portage at half past two. We here saw a solitary native, from whom, I believe, (for I cannot speak positively, as we are seldom advised with, altho' I was requested by Mr. McLeod to keep notes of the Voyage I am never told what is going on, but collect what little information I possess how and when I can), that a few horses can be hired a small distance from this, that the Clallums have divided, those who wish to stand neutral having

separated from those who wish to resist, and that we may possibly find and punish them with much less trouble or danger than was at one time anticipated.

Our commander says little to us upon ordinary occasions. However, when we spoke relative to the news of the day, he begged us not to put implicit belief in all we heard and ventured to add: "God bless you gentlemen. The ties of consanguinity are so strongly cemented amongst the natives that our attack must be clandestinely made." We looked at each other.

Friday, 20th. – At eight o'clock this morning the interpreter [Michel] Laframboise was sent off to Indian Lodges to hire what horses we could collect, and Mr. Dears without orders accompanied him. At ten they returned with a few Natives, who had four, and after some trouble and bargaining they were hired for the Trip, and in course of the day some more were added to the number, which with two here belonging to the company made fourteen that we have to commence the march with. Two and a half [beaver] skins, I am told, is the stipulated price for the voyage to and fro, and some altercation from a wish to obtain five skins for each horse, which the natives say was the price they had from Mr. [James] McMillan for the trip merely across, and again they wished to obtain Blankets and ammunition in payment. However, Mr. McLeod would not give either, and threatens that if they were not contented with Strouds (heavy blue corded fabric worth 3 skins a yard), etc. he would send back his provision to the Fort and feed his men upon horsesflesh whenever he found any.

In the evening the men were sent to make a few Pack Saddles ... Several of the men went off hunting ...

Old Towlitz, alias Lord St. Vincent, was amongst our visitors today and is to be added to the party, as assistant interpreter.

Saturday, 21st. – We this morning commenced operations by hauling up our Boats and putting them *en cache*. ... Our march this day looked more like that of gipsies than a force collected for the purpose we are ... We hired a few more horses today, of which there appears to be no want on our road, but the fault of their not having been found before appears to be rather on our own operations than otherwise, as the Indians are very anxious to lend them and that, too, at what I think a very moderate remuneration. Had a man been sent off from the Fort a day before, everything could have been ready at the Portage by our arrival

Sunday, 22nd. – Our horses were loaded and we [were] off at half past four, and at eight we stopped for breakfast, but like our order of yesterday it was nine before the last of our men arrived. Mr. Yale and I were hired a horse each ... We resumed our route at twelve and encamped at five o'clock.

This night a watch was commenced to consist of four men and a gentleman for four hours each watch, and in crying "All's Well," which they were ordered to do, at intervals, a loud laugh was heard in the Camp for which the men received a good scolding. The

cause was this: They had solicited and obtained permission to trade a fat young horse for supper which they were just cooking when the sentinel cried his "All's Well," and the cook elated with his extra good cheer before him answered "in the kettle." This set the camp a-laughing and called down a severe reprimand from Mr. McLeod, who after repeating the word laugh almost twenty times threatened them as many, the next time they did so they should lose their wages. One more incorrigible than the rest sneaked behind and said in a half whisper, that the devil might take him if, when he lost his wages, he would be at the trouble to go in search of them. We now laugh in our turn but with less noise. A letter was received from Mr. McMillan addressed to Mr. McLoughlin dated the 10th of May. It had been forwarded by an Indian Chief (Schunawa), who was killed upon his road thence. But the letter had been taken the greatest care of, and was forwarded from Tribe to Tribe until this morning when it fell into the hands of Mr. Dears. Mr. McLeod opened it and merely told us the date ... In the most pointed manner, he immediately turned to Laframboise and Deputy, who was by him, and detailed the contents. This is not the only instance, in which great contempt has been shown us, or our opinions slighted. It might be thought, that the dander or the cause of our jaunt would be sufficiently galling to our feelings without adding any more weight by a forbidding and repulsive conduct on the part of our leader. We may think without vanity that our conversation and confidence are equal to those whom he thinks so worthy of both.

Monday, 23rd. – We ... arrived at the end of the Portage at half past one. We here found a canoe of the Company's left by Mr. [Donald] Manson and hired two more from the natives

La Penzer [probably Joseph LaPierre], who has, since we left the Fort, been in a most depressed state, tonight when told it was his watch confessed himself too much afraid to stand it. Arguments or threats were of no avail. "*Je ne suis pas capable, Monsieur,*" was always the answer, and he was ultimately given up as incurable. I had taken the greater interest to persuade him to do something to divert his mind, being a Thompson River man and the more ashamed of him upon that account, but could not succeed. Sleep alone he sought and to it I left him.

Tuesday, 24th. – At seven o'clock this morning Laframboise and a party of men were sent off in two small Canoes, to trade or borrow some of the larger kind, and [Pierre] Le'Etang, our guide, with another party went overland, on horseback, to meet them at an appointed place ...

This afternoon two Indians arrived from Cheenook [Chinook Point] with a letter from the Cadboro, Capt. Simpson, dated as late as the 20th, so that we have now a consolation for our lost time, for, had we got on as we ought our chance of seeing her in the Sound would have been small. All I fear is that this confounded note will be made an excuse for more tardy movements ... I pass over further notice of our practice of firing ... 800 shots at least, an average of ten per man, were fired today to the danger of those who found it necessary to go a few yards from the camp. Mr. Dears has the stores in charge, and intimated that the stock would not stand out, if we continue on at such a rate.

Wednesday, 25th. – At five o'clock p.m. Laframboise and Le 'Etang returned in eight canoes, including the two they took off, but four men short, whom they left as it appeared to me in rather a curious manner with the natives, looking for another canoe. They had very little trouble in obtaining six, and could possibly, so the guide says, have got a few more. Would not a great deal of time have been saved by our going where the canoes are instead of remaining inactive here? The news is that the Clallums expect us and have collected at their farthest village, that they have formed many plans to ward off our balls, wetting their blankets is the most approved amongst them, and the natives of this quarter wish to accompany us in order to revenge the death of four of their Tribe, whom they have killed.

Thursday, 26th. – This morning the four men left behind yesterday, after some misery, returned to the Camp with a good large Canoe, and Laframboise with eight men, was sent off again. At five o'clock he returned with four more canoes. Heavy rains throughout the day.

For want of other amusement, during the rain, Mr. Work's Chart of Puget Sound was produced and something like a plan, for the first time was laid open, which were merely this: "When we see the murderers," said Mr. McLeod, "we must endeavor to come to a parley, and obtain the woman." (Who, by the by, I had scarcely ever heard mentioned before today, that was taken by them when our people were killed.) "After we have her in our possession – "What then?" said I. "Why then to them *pell mell*." Messrs. Yale, Dears and I at once admitted it to be a most laudable wish to set the poor woman at liberty, which we thought could always be done at the price of a few Blankets and without so many men coming so far, but to make it the primitive object of our expedition, we never understood, nor could we ... ever agree to it. The business was then wound up with a short account of the influence her father had amongst his tribe to do mischief to the whites, upon whose account her liberty was at any consideration to be obtained by us.

Friday, 27th. ... It would not require much to induce Mr. McLeod to turn back, if a tolerable excuse could be made. Laframboise who ostensibly is the commander, certainly merits praise in getting us thus far, and while he humors Mr. McLeod, by giving everything the most favorable construction it will bear, he endeavors to get the business on *doucement*

At two o'clock p.m. we got under way in eleven Canoes of different sizes, and proceeded on for three hours and a half, when we encamped It was with great difficulty that [Francois] La'Ecuyer was induced to embark. He said he would have no objections to remain and take care of the Horses, if a couple of men were left to take care of him.

Deputy and Gervaise were added to the officer's watch and our time altered from four to two hours, and a resolve proclaimed that any gent found sleeping during the day time should be Cobbed !!!! Yes, that's the word. [Lois McDonald writes, "The exclamation points are Ermatinger's. Being beaten on the buttocks was apparently an unusual punishment for HBC men."]

Saturday, 28th We continued on in a fine, calm weather until six o'clock when we encamped. Just below where we stopped for the night, we saw a few of the Puy-ye-lips [Puyallups, a coast Salish tribe] Tribe, but they were so much frightened ... that they paddled off, and it was with great exertion that our canoe could approach them and come to a parley. Our guide told Mr. Yale and I, as a great secret ... that the Clallums had withstood some liberal offers for the woman in order to restore her and that they wish to compromise the murder of our men.

Sunday, 29th. – We were upon the water at five this morning, stopped three hours for breakfast, and encamped ... between two small villages of the Soquarmis [Snoqualmi]. Several small canoes of these fellows came to our encampment, but did not debark, and one of them having a Powder Horn upon him belonging to one of our deceased men, little ceremony was used by Laframboise in dispossessing him of it. We received little or no information, but they offer[ed] themselves to us as auxiliaries, and were told, I believe, that we fought our own battles. However, the chief received a present and was told that he might embark with us, alone. They had heard the Vessel's Guns. Just before we encamped the Interpreter went off to one of the villages, and some of the men followed in order, I suppose, to trade themselves a few shellfish. Mr. Dears wished from curiosity to go too, and asked Mr. McLeod, "May I go, Sir?" "Go if you choose," was the answer, rather sharply. "I beg your pardon, Sir," said Dears, "but really I did not hear you." "Do as you like," was repeated. "No, Sir, it is not as I like, if you want me here I will remain." "I do not want you there, nor do I not want you here," was the reply from Mr. McLeod, in a most sulky manner. Dears, near choked with irritation and muttered as he turned to Mr. Yale and me. "Damme, it is too bad."

Monday, 30th. – We left our encampment at four o'clock this morning .. At one o'clock we saw two small Canoes of the same Tribe, and the one Mr. Yale and I were in gave them Chase. They debarked upon a point and hid themselves amongst the Woods, but upon the old Indian who was with us calling to them, they made their appearance. We learnt from them, that a few Clallums, are at a small distance, upon a portage over which we have to cross ... The Iroquois, Owhees, and Cheenook slaves [Indians bound to service with the Chinooks] painted themselves ready for battle. But all the ceremony must be rendered a burlesque by our men, at least, one or two of them discharging their pieces and behold; we to mend the matter, send off rockets !!! Really one would think it was purposely done to warn the natives.

We heard the Vessel's guns just about Dark. [The ship Cadboro]

July, Tuesday, 1st. – At one o'clock this morning we embarked, and took with us one of the natives we saw yesterday noon, for what purpose we did not know. He was in our canoe with the Clallum interpreter. Our crew consisted of one young Canadian (Canada did Encan), one half breed (Canote) [Umpheville], two Iroquois (Little Michel and Louis Frize), two Owhees (Tourawhyheene and Cawinai) and two Cheenook slaves (Antoine and Nastee), Mr. Yale and I passengers. With Mr. McLeod was Laframboise and with Deaes, Old Towlitz .. We continued on slowly with the greatest caution more than two

hours; occasionally, however, stopping for consultations amongst the Interpreters, (which were kept entirely secret from us, repeated to Mr. McLeod, in French while we were near, lest I presume, we should understand) as we thought, to a portage, but all at once we found our canoe alone, and the Indians changed their places to immediately behind Mr. Yale and I, and appear to solicit us to advance by signs, occasionally holding up seven of their fingers and uttering the word Clallums. I thought they wished to debark and told Michel the foreman so, who no sooner put the canoe ashore than out they got, and with them Yale and five of the crew, and were instantly making along the shore. When I saw this, I also left the canoe and ordered the Canadian to remain with it, while with the other two I ran after the rest. We overtook them just as they were in sight of two Indian Lodges ... to one of which the Indians without pointed and said, "Clallums." It was the furthest off and far the smallest of the two. Mr. Yale and I got upon a large fallen tree, close alongside of it, behind which I proposed we should get and fire, if we found ourselves outnumbered or worsted. The Indians were evidently asleep when we arrived, the day was just breaking, but upon hearing the noise we made, awoke, and a man put his head out of the Lodge, and upon seeing us (however he could not, I think, distinctly distinguish who we were) gave a most piteous sigh. *Tirer Dessus* was called out [that is "fire on them"] and four or five shots were immediately off. I saw two men, I thought, fall, but whether dead I could not say. The rest took to the edge of the woods, but some of our men were there before them and the firing became general. Eight or ten shots were discharged in rapid succession, I remain stationary and saw that Mr. Dears, Laframboise, Le 'Etang, and a few of the men had joined the party from the Canoes behind. The confusion was great and we were apprehensive that the men would kill each other by shooting in opposite directions. From the natives, there was now no danger. As those in the other Lodges remained quiet. In vain did we call out to the men to spare the women; take care of yourselves. They continued on in the same order until they thought the whole of the inmates were killed. In fact, one half could not understand us when we did call. Two families, I believe, were killed, three men, two or three women, a boy and a girl ... Mr. McLeod surrounded by the remains of the party, joined us.

"Well, really, Gentlemen," said he, "what is the meaning of all this confusion?" "Why, Sir," answered I, with some warmth, for I was piqued by such equivocating conduct, "It proceeds from you not letting us know, that we were so near Clallums, we were led to understand that they were upon a portage, and here we find our canoe alone and amongst them before we are aware of it. If," added I, "Mr. McLeod, you will only let us know your plans, you have young men with you ready at any risk to execute them for you." "My Dear Sir," replied he, "I do not doubt it, but how can I form plans?" I know no more what is going on than yourselves!!" Mr. Dears now observed that we ought to know the arrangements, as a few of the men appeared to be aware of them, and if we could get any information it is from them. This touched Mr. McLeod, and he told Dears that it was not the first time, he had heard this same remark from him, and that he should answer for it hereafter. "Really Mr. McLeod," said I, "this is not a time or before these men, for altercations amongst ourselves. If we have done wrong ----" "I do not say you have done wrong, it is all well as it has happened." After a few more casual observations, preparations were made to continue en route.

We found a large canoe, said by the Indians to be the one in which the murderers followed Mr. McKenzie, able to contain 20 Men; it appeared too new, This we took and embarked, without once enquiring who was in the other Lodge I thought it more than probable that they were Clallums also, and betrayed the other Lodge to save themselves ... The head of one of the families killed is said to be the brother-in-law of the principal murderer and the spot of the Camp near where Mr. McKenzie was killed.

Having given a brief account of what I myself a witness to, I shall now note a few observations which passed at the Canoes. Mr. McLeod, I am told, reached our canoe just as the first shots were fired. "There, said he, "is four shots, the four Indians are dead."

When along the road to us he observed, "Here I who ought to have been the first find myself the last."

We got to the portage just after sunrise. The Clallums we expected to find, were off, but their fires still alight. We passed on until we got off Cape Townsend, were [sic] we put ashore for Breakfast and saw the *Cadboro*. All the Indians except the Interpreters left us. Messrs. McLeod and Yale went on board, and we proceeded on for a mile, to a better spot for our Camp. The Gentlemen returned at 4 o'clock. Mr. McLeod in much better spirits from the arrangements of Capt. Simpson, who he told us had nearly succeeded in getting the woman, at least he has Hostages on board [to exchange] for her, said he. In the evening I was sent to tell the Captain that the land Party would be ready to get under way with him tomorrow morning. The men were sent back, who accompanied me, to the camp, but I avail myself of an invitation to remain on board for the night.

Wednesday, 2nd. – This morning the Captain was prepared, but lost part of the Tide waiting for the men from shore. When they joined us, the Vessel got under way and the canoes were towed for a few miles. Anchored off Protection Island and opposite a bay, we saw a village of Clallums. The men encamped upon the island and were watered from the Vessel.

I remained on board until next night and before going ashore I told the Captain that I would propose an attack upon the village off us, to which he said he could soon run us close in, but upon mentioning it to Mr. McLeod, he merely observed, without consideration, that Captain Simpson was aware his object was to proceed on.

Mr. Yale very ill.

Thursday, 3rd. – We again kept close to the vessel and followed with the Tide until we came to New Dungeness where we cast anchor, as near to a large Village of Clallums as the Vessel could be towed. Mr. Dears was sent with the men having water from the vessel, to a sand bank some distance off, to cook, and ordered to return at night. A chief came off to us and received every attention, in order he might, I suppose, return again. He promised to use his influence in restoring the woman and to visit us tomorrow. In the evening before Mr. Dears had returned, a large body of Indians collected, armed, singing and yelping before us. The Captain put the Vessel in a posture of attack, and being

apprehensive of the safety of our men ashore, he would immediately have commenced [firing] upon some large Canoes that were making off in their direction. Two cannons were levelled and every precaution was made, without a dissenting voice, but the seamen had no sooner got the lighted match over the touchhole ready, than Mr. McLeod run to the Captain and said, "Here's a fellow of yours, Captain, wishes to send the whole to Hell." "Not at all, Sir, he will do nothing without orders." Then turning to the man who had the match called out to him to lay it down. Here was a fine chance lost. The Indians went off in triumph, and Mr. Dears after seeing the men well surfeited with pea soup at the expense of the Captain's water returned, and we all slept on board. Much talk, to procure the woman, but not a word of the ostensible cause of our Trip. This Helen of ours, said I, will cause another siege as long as that of Troy.

Friday, 4th. – Everything remained in much the unsettled state as yesterday and bore evident marks of indecision. This led to an altercation between our commander and the Captain, the latter having alluded upon deck, to something that Mr. McLeod had previously told him with respect to his plans. I did not myself hear correctly what it was, the former denied it, but the Captain was positive and said that he could appeal to any gentlemen present, whether it was not so, all were silent as the appeal was not directly made, and Mr. McLeod still persisting that he had not said any such thing, ultimately irritated the Captain, who with some warmth repeated, "You did, Sir, upon my honour, you did and my honour I hold sacred," and then left the deck. Mr. Dears and I were ordered to escort the men to the same bank again, to cook their peas, but returned immediately they had done. They made application to go to the main shore, observing the natives would think they were afraid, however, were not allowed.

The little chief was off again, and a Sinahomis [Snohomish] chief called the Frenchman, with a few of his followers also, visited us, the bringing of the woman still evaded. Much was said about her, to which I paid no attention. Mr. Dears intimated to me that in a conversation he had with Mr. McLeod today, the latter had said that I would presently drive him mad, and told Mr. Dears to beg of me, for God's sake to let him alone. This quite surprised me, as I am not conscious of a single observation having fallen from me that ought to have given the slightest offence. I have certainly said that I wished the business was brought to a point, as by our measures we were giving the Indians too much time to collect if they wished to resist, or to go off if they do not, and upon one occasion I remarked that it was too far to come to see the Cadboro [and not] fire a gun. At another time I told Mr. McLeod that Mr. Connolly would be anxious to be off for the interior. "Let him go," was the reply. "How the deuce can he go, Sir?" said I. "and his men here?" "Well then let him stop." If these casual remarks have tended to distract Mr. McLeod I am sorry that I made them, but it was with no view to do so. Mr. Dears went further, for he proposed to him, so he told Yale and I, to take command and go ashore with the men, if Mr. McLeod felt any reluctance to go himself.

This morning the little chief and another Indian of considerable importance in the village, the former primly dressed in a tinsel laced cloth coat, came off in a small canoe by themselves to the Vessel and were as usual kindly received, but after strutting the deck for some time the Frenchmen's canoe was seen coming alongside, when from some cause

or other they took an abrupt departure. [The chiefs were trying to exchange the woman for two children that Captain Simpson had abducted]. Mr. McLeod called out to them *arreter, arreter, le donc* [Stop at once!], and all was in an uproar, but the Indians seeing the bustle only made the more haste to get away. He then called to the men *Tirer dessus* [Fire at them!"] and guns were immediately presented. *Arreter*, they were lowered. [McLeod had countermanded his order to fire but then said] *Tirer donc* [Fire at once!] and six or seven shots are immediately off, one after the other. The report of the guns brought the Captain upon deck, who had only a few minutes before left it, and asked who had given orders to fire. "It was I," said Mr. McLeod. "Well, Sir, you had no right to do on board this Vessel, I am commander here." "Why did not they stop when I called to them?" was the reply. "Sir," said the Captain, with some warmth, "they were under the protection of the ships, and if you had told me that you wished to detain them I would have made the smallest boy I have do it." In the meantime a canoe of the Iroquois were off to the bodies; the Little Chief they found dead, and he was stript of his clothes and scalped in an instant and the latter, was placed upon a pole. They were then about to commence upon the other, who we perceived was not dead, and at the request of the Captain, they were ordered to desist. He was brought on board, and it was found that a ball had only slightly grazed his skull. The wound was dressed, he received a Blanket, and a guard was placed over him. As the business has begun it is necessary now, said the Captain, to make the most of it, to which purpose the ship was a second time prepared and without further ceremony a cannonading commenced upon the Village, which appeared instantly deserted. "There," said the Captain. "Now is your time, Mr. McLeod, to land and destroy it." *Embarque* was called out in all quarters and the canoes were immediately manned. Mr. Yale (still seriously ill) and I were just getting down the side of the Vessel, when Mr. McLeod put his head over the gunwales and faltered. *Oh nos gens ce ne vaut pas la peine* [Our men have done enough damage], and we ascended again. "Well, then," said the Captain, "all we have done is useless. We ought now to destroy the Village." After some few words, that I did not distinctly hear Mr. McLeod said, "Well, Sir, since you insist upon it" - "No, No, Mr. McLeod, I do not," called out the Captain. However, we embarked and went ashore. When just landing a few hundred yards above the village three cannons were fired upon it and we destroyed the whole. There was about thirty good canoes of which we took four for our return and the rest we broke or Burnt. A large quantity of provisions, train oil, etc. etc., which after the men had helped themselves to what they chose, was with the buildings also set fire to. A musket, Mr. McKenzie's bedcloth, together with a few trifling articles belonging to his Party were found. Upon the whole the damage done to their property is great, and will, I trust, be seriously felt for some time to come, but I could wish we had been allowed to do more to the rascals themselves. In their hurry to decamp when the vessel's guns were fired, they left two small children whom we have on board, until some arrangement can be made. On our return to the Vessel we saw a body of natives a little distance from us, but when it was proposed that we should go and make them retreat Mr. McLeod said the men must have time and no further notice was taken of them during the day, yet they remained stationary, and in the evening a few of them came opposite us and fired two or three shots.

Our commander is evidently pleased with the day's success, and is in the highest spirits. However, little credit is due us for the destruction of the property.

Sunday, 6th. – We remained on board, inactive, and the natives showed themselves upon the point. A negotiation was commenced. The Frenchman acting for us, to exchange the man taken yesterday for the woman so much has been said about. The two children were put on shore this morning, and we saw a native come and carry them off.

At dinner we had an extra glass of wine, and the consequence was an altercation between Mr. McLeod and I, with respect to our measures. He said he had acted upon his orders, and I answered he was wrong to receive such orders, as it was impossible to act upon them without appearing like cowards before our men and the Indians. The fact is, if as stated, the orders must have been given in contradiction to the opening speech made to the men.

Monday, 7th. – This day our heroine was brought on board, and the prisoner set at liberty. The news from the natives that the friends of the seven they made out to have killed upon the first instant had to revenge the cause of their deaths, killed two of the principal murderers of Mr. McKenzie, &c., and that the shot from the Vessel killed eight, that one native is missing, which will, according to their computation, make twenty-five. This, I believe, to be a made-up story amongst themselves, however, as so little has been actually done, it is as well that the report should get to Cheenook and be made the most of.

Tuesday, 8th. – Early this morning the Vessel, in consequence of Mr. McLeod's arranging of last night, got under way, and seen us back to the place [where the Cadboro had picked them up.]. About noon we took an abrupt departure, without having come to any settlement with the natives, either for war or peace, or ever having, to my knowledge, once mentioning to them the object of our coming through the Sound; at least the murder of Mr. McKenzie and his men was never enquired into, nor their names once mentioned. However, we commenced our march, leaving the Captain to shift for himself. At the village where the natives were said to have followed them from we debarked and burnt it. But I here note my candid opinion that, if a single individual had been seen about, even this would not have been done. A promise was made to pass at the Frenchmen's Camp, who had not yet been settled with for the interest he took in our Cartel, yet this was not observed.

Tuesday, 15th. – We reached the Fort this morning, without having met with anything worth observation on our return.”



James Murray Yale



Michel LaFromboise with his wife,
Emelie Picard

Upon the 23rd (July 23, 1828) our arrangement being completed we all left Vancouver for the interior, Messrs. Connolly and Yale, New Caledonia; Mr. Work, Colvile; and Mr. Dears with me for this place. I as soured as when I arrived, and singular example, for not all the arts of the Chenooks (VD) could overcome my resolution. At the Dalls we saw Mr. Ogden who gave us a flourishing account of his returns, say 700 Beavers more than the former year, but had lost a man, Lavelle, and a slave, Baptiste Spokane, killed by the natives. Upon the 31st we reached Walla Walla and here found that another man, Dubois, had been drowned. I forgot to tell you that old Michel died at sea while we were there. On the 1st we were again in motion, Yale, I, and one man, to cross land with a band of horses. But whether the horses were hard to drive, or we ignorant of the way, I know not, certain it is we had misery enough. At one time we were so reduced by thirst that we would have given our lives for a drink. Yale p--- and drank it, which he says saved his life. We reached Okanagan upon the 7th and the boats upon the 9th. Mr. Work left us upon the 10th and Mr. Connolly &c. upon the 13th, but as the most of our men had to assist the former up with his outfit, I remained at Okanagan until their return. Upon the 23rd Cleo added to my cares by giving birth to a boy, Lawrence. I ought to have noted, that Mr. Dears at the Cascades united himself to the late Madame Cox, a circumstance, I fancy, that has given offense to Mr. McLoughlin and may possibly cost him something to satisfy her former husband, if the right to her can be proved amongst them. She is now in a fair way, as also the one he had last year, who since his departure with me, has, if report speaks truth, returned to the Fort, and is wearing blankets, eating Biscuit, Molasses &c. at his cost.

Since I began this letter I have been very ill, and have scrawled on, at times. I am still so, and shall conclude for the present, but when I get better will add a few lines. More immediately connected with myself. I believe you have made the heads of the summer transactions, as complete as my memory will serve me - to make them - and as you know the men - you must draw your own conclusions.

On March 10, 1829 the Hudson Bay's Company ship *William and Mary* broke up on Clatsop Point, and all hands were lost, with the cargo washing ashore. This was claimed by the Clatsop Indians. But a report that the 25 man crew and its captain, John Swan were murdered by the Clatsops was carried to Dr. McLoughlin. Fort George's clerk, Donald Manson took four men over to the wreckage to investigate. The Clatsops had found and drank the supply of rum, and drunk they abused Manson and his men. When he demanded the return of HBC goods, he was told that anything that washed ashore was theirs. After firing a few shots into the air to disperse the Indians and breaking a couple casks of rum, Manson returned to Fort George empty handed.

Chief Factor McLoughlin wrote, "...we used every exaction in our power consistent with the caution necessary to guard against our being duped by the Indians and made Instruments of their vengeance; still it was only on the 21st June when the only Indian Chief here, whom we had found correct in the Intelligence he had hitherto brought us, informed us that the day previous he had seen the Chief of the Clatsop Village who told him he and his people had picked up from the wreck twenty one bales of Goods but that all the crew had drowned. We determined on demanding restitution of this property and Mr. Connolly immediately started in a light Boat to overtake Capt. Simpson ... to assist in carrying our plans into Execution. On the morrow Messrs. Black, Harriott, Work, Ermatinger and LaFramboise the Interpreter Started in four boats manned by fifty-four men and accompanied by Mr. Hall First Mate of the *Gandymede* who volunteered his service.

Mr. Connolly sent a message to the Clatsops demanding restitution of the property to which they replied they would restore all they yet had and pay by giving us slaves for what they had appropriated to themselves and requested us not to land, but in coming on to blow the Boats getting injured alongside the Vessel and the People being Crowded on Board, Mr. Connolly sent the Clatsops word he must land with his people but since they promised to give up the property they need be under no apprehension from us. His messenger returned with an old Brush and a scoop and said the Clatsops told him to take this to your chief and tell him that is all he will get of his property. On our people getting into the boats to land, the Indians fired at the vessels ... the vessels returned their fire, but still the Indians continued theirs till our people were nigh the shore when one of the Indians being killed by a shot from us they all fled and took to the woods. Our people burnt their village and all their property. In ransacking the village they found rum in canoes.

(On) 24 June the two vessels (*Cadboro and Vancouver*) returned to Chinook Point, and as our people were preparing to embark in their boats, they discovered two Indians sulking in the woods, and approaching our camp they were immediately pursued, and though they both fired at our people, none were hurt but one of our men overtook them, shot one and killed the other with his knife. Mr. Connolly remained there that night and on the 25th started for this place (Fort Vancouver) which he reached on the 28th after an absence of only seven and a half days." McDonald, pp124-125

At Fort Vancouver he assigned to supervise jobs around the fort; such as gardening, fur clearing and packing, wood cutting and similar chores, as a work foreman.

The original garden at Fort Vancouver covered approximately 6 to 8 acres and was both a vegetable garden and a formal flower garden.” <http://www.fortvan.org/pages/attractions-fort-vancouver-events>

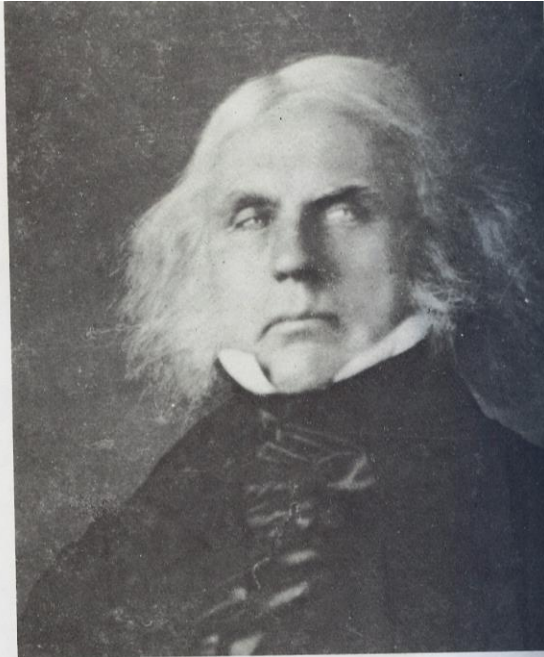
“By the 1830s, with a population of 500 to 700, Fort Vancouver was the most important community on the Pacific Coast. The company developed a robust business in agricultural products including cattle, timber and crops and exported products to the Russian forts in Alaska, and to the Sandwich Islands and England. Fort Vancouver would be the center of the Bay Company’s operations on the Pacific for 24 years. In 1836, Narcissa Whitman, visiting the fort with her husband, Marcus, to purchase supplies before moving inland to their mission on the Walla Walla River, described the fort in her diary for September 12: “We are now in Vancouver, the New York of the Pacific Ocean. . . .What a delightful place this is; what a contrast to the rough, barren sand plains through which we so recently passed. Here we find fruit of every description, apples, peaches, grapes, pears, plums and fig trees in abundance; also cucumbers, melons, beans, peas, beets, cabbage, tomatoes and every kind of vegetables too numerous to mention. Every part is very neat and tastefully arranged, with fine walks, lined on each side with strawberry vines.”

“We were soon conducted by the Doct. [McLoughlin] to his Garden...where we did not expect to meet...such perfection in gardening. About 5 acres laid out in good order, stored with almost every species of vegetables, fruit trees and flowers.” *Henry Spalding, 1836*

Fort Vancouver had the first formal flower garden in the Pacific Northwest. In it were such flowers as lavender, climbing roses, and dahlias. The garden was situated in front of the fort’s Big House and surrounded by a small white picket fence.

Fort Vancouver has an important role in the history of Northwest agriculture as the site of the first large-scale farming and ranching. McLoughlin, imported about 20 head of cattle and determined not to kill any until the herd was large enough to meet all of the demands at the fort. By 1828 the herd had grown to 200, but it was not until 1836, when the permanent herd totaled 700 — McLoughlin supplied cattle to Bay Company forts at Okanagon and Colville, too — that he allowed the first cattle to be killed at Fort Vancouver. By 1838, the herd numbered more than 1,000, spread across locations from the fort to Sauvie Island and the Tualatin Plains to the southwest. The herds also included hogs, horses, and oxen. Sheep were imported from England. The fertile soil along the river also yielded abundant crops. In 1829, just four years after the relocation from Fort George, the Fort Vancouver farm produced 1,500 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of barley and about that many of Indian corn. <http://www.nwcouncil.org/history/fortvancouver.asp>

“What may have been an early recipe for salting beef at Fort Vancouver and it was jotted down by Clerk Edward Ermatinger in a notebook, evidently about 1828 or 1829. The formula was: "To Salt Beef Boil 8 pounds of Salt, 2 pounds of Sugar and 2 ounces of Salt petre, in six gallons of water, skim it; when cold pour it on the Beef." Ermatinger, "Old Memo. Book," n.p.



Little-known copy of a daguerrotype; the date is not certain, but it would have to be after 1839, when the daguerrotype process was developed. Note the severe facial expression and the "stock" (extremely high collar).
Photo from Oregon Historical Society Archives, Portland.

"Royal Family of the Columbia – Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family," Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Ye Galleon Press Fairfield, for the Snake Country expeditions between 1824-1829 Washington, 1978

"Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin – Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832", edited by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Binfords & Mort (for the Oregon Historical Society) Portland, Oregon, 1848, pages 2 & 65-66:

McLoughlin writes from Fort Vancouver on March 11, 1829:

"Mr. Francis Ermatinger [Clerk] [Thompson River]

Dear Sir,

Inclosed is the Account of Sundry supplies for your place, the case of Guns and two Bags of Ball are to be left at Walla Walla.

I am Sir Yours truly John McLoughlin"

Doctor McLoughlin again writes to Francis at Thompson River on December 8, 1829 from Fort Vancouver:

"Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 12th Octr last and I am sorry to learn that your people were unable to penetrate to the Littlewhite (Lillooet) Country but hope by the time this reaches you that you will have been more successful and accomplished this object.

I request you will make out two copies of the Journal you were directed to keep by Mr. A.R. McLeod when on the Clamlam [Clallum] Expedition one copy you will seal and address to Govr Simpson and hand to the Gentlemen in charge by the first opportunity –

It will be necessary that Mr. [Peter W.] Dease proceeds to Alexandria to be there before the people leave that place to go out by the Express and wait the directions of Mr. [William] Connolly in case he is required to New Caledonia for the Summer.

I am Sir Yours Truly John McLoughlin”

Francis writes on March 14, 1829 from Kamloops:

“My Dear Edward,

Your several favours from York Factory &c. came safe to hand. That for the Governor I received from LaCourse upon the 28th Sepr, who with the other men, proceeded the party here to make boat, while Mr. Yale with two canoes descended Frazer’s River, with their baggage and was to meet the rest at the forks of this river. Upon the 4th Octbr the Governor (Sir George Simpson), Mr. [Archibald] McDonald, the Doctor (John McLoughlin) and a few men arrived, and found a good boat, &c., ready for their departure hence. The Gov. remained two days here and appeared much pleased with my arrangements. We had many conversations, which were sometimes about you, and highly flattering, upon one occasion he told me before the rest, that no young gentleman had ever left the country, since he had been in it, who he so much regretted, as you, and, that if at any time you regret the step you have taken you will all ways find a situation open to you in the Company’s service. With respect to myself, he gave me much advise, “too boisterous” “making bargains” &c.&c. and finished with a proposal, that I should shake off my Indian connexion, and unite myself to Miss Peggy Charles, who, he says shall be sent to the Columbia for me. I, it is true, consented but do not think a union will take place, and as the matter is perfectly secret, I trust it will remain so, in case the business should fail. Mr. McDonald, I suspect, took an active part in this arrangement and even hinted to me, that yourself had had something of the kind in view. The question of Frazer’s River communication is now, I fancy, set at rest as impracticable. As soon as the Governor left us, away I posted to Colvile to make arrangements with Mr. Work to forward horses &c. and to detain the boats, so as only to leave Okanagan upon the 6th Novbr. as it was, in consequence of our summer operations, thought more than probably that he [Simpson] would not risk by the route through Puget Sound, but return our way. I found Work with numbers of Indians from all quarters, waiting the Governor’s arrival, and surprised him with my news. He heard the chosen named (note: those who made Chief Trader), without saying much, but from his letters, I think he was disappointed, or rather not pleased with the selection made in preference to him, and begins to form plans for going home, if he meets with further neglect. We remain in the utmost anxiety for the

York boats until the 13th Novbr. When Messrs. Harriott (John Edward Harriott) and [Donald] Ross arrived at Okanagan, the former gentlemen were persuaded to take this route owing to the lateness of the season. Mr. Taylor (Thomas Taylor) remained at the mountain house with his wife. Just after my arrival here with Mr. Harriott, we got letters from the sea, by some men belonging to New Caledonia, and three of ours who had strengthened the Governor's house, intimating that as the boats had not yet arrived it would be, they thought, impossible to forward the materials to finish the accounts, through the winter. Mr. Manson was sent up with them, with orders to proceed, if he did not meet the York people, to Colvile, but to return with them. Yale remained at Langley with Mr. McDonald and is, I dare say glad to get rid of New Caledonia. Altho' he did not like Vancouver, he would willingly have stopped in any other part of the Columbia, after the manner he had been used by Mr. Connolly with respect to his intended wife. We also heard that some time in Sept. Capt. Smith (the famous mountain man, Jedediah Smith of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company), the American trapper, had found his way to Vancouver with three men, the rest of his party having been cut off, say 16 men, upon the head quarters(?) of the Umpagun (Umpqua). And this, singular as it may appear, without one Indian having received the slightest injury. "The Doctor," says Tod in a letter dated Novbr 19th, "Sanguine as usual gave him strong hopes of recovering his property, 230 horses and mules and 800 Beaver hunted and traded on their route. In consequence Mr. McLeod, who has a party of thirty trappers, received instructions to take a turn to that quarter which I think he has accepted with indifferent good will." Mr. McKay is of his party, I believe, and upon him I build my hopes, for if Mr. McLeod was to go alone, I am sure, even the sight of so many horses, should he perchance fall in with them, would be alone sufficient for him to yield the field.

With respect to this post, we have been distressed at it beyond measure, owing to the total failure of the fishing in Thompson's River, and it has not been a little heightened by the enpassants we have had to -----, to say nothing of the detentions and other objects to divert us from our business. We have been continually upon the go, yet all would not do, and I was obliged to send 7 men off to the sea to winter, and get corn from Colvile, to eke out the subsistence of the rest. I made a trip to the Cutamin country for salmon, early in the fall, where I only traded 300 Beaver and the scoundrels killed 5 horses. However, I have at this moment the pleasure to see three of them of the tribe before me offering payment, in part, for them and promising the rest. A singular thing, I assure you, at Kamloops, where they were in the habit of receiving presents when they committed an act of the kind. In the vicinity of the Fort the natives are wretched indeed, some dead from actual starvation and we render what assistance we can to support the lives of the rest. While I was at Okanagan in Jany a fellow, who had killed a man here, some years ago, stole a horse. Immediately upon my return, altho' we mustered only five strong, I had him shot. The chief of the place talked a little upon the occasion in hopes of exhorting property, but Dears and I set them at defiance and appeared so determined, but they at once lowered their tone and even confessed we had done right. I am prepared that it will be said by those who have preceded me, that it was a rash act, merely to screen themselves from blame, for they were well-mannered when he committed the first fault and certainly ought to have made an example of him; but I am satisfied we shall feel the good effects of what we have done. Our returns will, notwithstanding the distress, &c.,

be tolerable. In small beavers we are short but the deficiency is counterbalanced by Martens of the best kind, silver foxes, &c. Mr. Dears and I agree well in our manner of trade. He now is ordered off to New Caledonia, I regret. However it shall go hard if I do not convince the Governor of the necessity of his remaining here. This post is thought too little of by the head gentlemen judging from what has been done before. But it will admit of great improvement, which I trust we have shown this year by our small furs. Nor is it a milk sop, that should be appointed to it, (I make no allusion). At least a man must assume a fierce look upon occasions with the natives, should he even possess no courage at heart. Here I shall close my news of the department, which, with what you will collect from other letters, will give you a tolerable idea of what has been going on. The farm at the sea was far more expensive and productive than in any former year, and the saw mill when we passed was knocking off from 70 to 100 deals per day and it was thought would do better in higher water. Now to other matters.

I find my calculations agree with the Company, but what my balance may fall of the real one, is owing to the things we took en route to the Columbia, the freightage of my packages and perhaps L1.0.0 to the Bible society. This year I have been most extravagant, say L10.16.0 to Mr. Gillivray, L10.0.0 to Clowes, L19.19.0 at Vancouver, L0.11.8 for freight Per the Eagle, L2.15.0 at the sale of Mr. McKenzie's effects, (this was to pay my old debt to Mr. McLeod), L0.9.0 at Colvile, L0.16.11 at Thompson's River, and L1.10.0 at York Factory, your order to my little girl, total L46.18.4 Which will make my balance, 1st June, 1829, about L490.0.0...I mean in order that you may have the above sum at your command to forward a bill upon outfit 1929/30.

Mr. Yale took your things from home L7.17.0, Mr. Dears your flute L1.10.0. Mr. Connolly your violin L2.10.0 - the price is not finally determined upon. I offered it for the price quoted but he named L3.0.0 Your dressing case L1.10.0, and I have to pay you L1.4.0 for Work's boots, total L14.11.0 I may dispose of some of your music, books, &c., next summer of which I shall write....

I assure you that I mean to be close now, without making many bargains, and think you may calculate upon the most of my L100.00 being saved next year.

Whatever may be your future determination, my Dear Edward, I am satisfied it is nothing against you, you going down, this year, for had you returned to the Columbia, such is your fault, you would have been half distracted. The manner business was conducted last summer and the lateness of the York express would have been sufficient to cause you much care. Nor has there been any account sent into New Caledonia. They are building a new fort below, but you would have been nothing benefitted by it though. All wish is that you will keep up your spirits. and if you remain in civilized life speculate away, hit or miss, and believe me I shall never murmur, even reduced to my last farthing, by adding either to your pleasure or your speculations. I am young and I think may assure myself of a situation in the Company's service of some kind or other, so long as it shall please me to remain in it. If the commission is formed between Mr. Charles' family and us I shall certainly expect something handsome with Miss, otherwise I do not know what may be my determination. The Governor is to manage the whole affair which I

fancy will be finally settled before he meets you. He may possibly mention the result, but let the subject be broached by himself. As to your going to London I will venture no advice now - nor would I willingly dissuade you not to go. If you wish it, I am convinced you will be guided by circumstances and avail yourself of them if possible. However I beg that, if you find your prospects brighten you will not allow even L200. to stop you. Money is not the object. I could even double the sum upon an emergency from our friends in this country. If you find our united stock too little to enter business, give me a hint and it shall be done, which I will pay off by annual installments. Our father would, I am aware, be most happy to see either of us, yet would not wish our prospects injured by such a measure. It may be possible to make a trip to London before accepting any situation, but I would by no means recommend your remaining there.

A watch that my father sent out for me with the strongest recommendation has frequently stopped, since in my possession. I now forward it to you to get repaired and wish you to particularly ascertain what the matter with it is.

Let me hear fully from you and rest assured you will always find me what I have ever professed to be

My Dear Edward Your Affectionate Brother Frs Ermatinger.”

“In 1829, [John] Tod accompanied William Connolly and the New Caledonia brigade south to Fort Vancouver where he was to receive medical attention for his sciatica. At the post his was examined by Dr. McLoughlin who prescribed blistering, an extremely painful technique. Given that Tod had a chance to see his old friends John Work and Frank Ermatinger, the discomfort was endurable. “We all three lodged at the new Fort, Tod wrote Edward [Ermatinger], where we passed many pleasant days and nights together.” “John Tod, Rebel in the Ranks”, Robert C. Belyk, page 77

Thompsons River 14th March 1829

My Dear Sir

Your favour of the 17th July was handed to me by
 Messrs. Harriott and Sops, at Changan upon the 14th March. The form
 is gentleman was persuaded to take this route owing to the delay of
 the season, and as it has been a hard year in this quarter, tended to en-
 ease our distress.

The Governor reached us upon the 14th October and found every
 thing ready for his march home. Lescure and three other men, proceeded
 him for six days and the boat & was made by his arrival. The ques-
 tion of a British gun communication, is now, I fancy set at rest as impos-
 sible.

The change of Thompsons River, devolved upon me, aided by the
 Deans and the misery we have had is unprecedented. The natives all round
 us, are actually in such a state of starvation, that it is impossible they
 can survive, some are already dead, and we were obliged to send 7 of our
 men to the sea for the winter - but they have in general behaved well, so
 that it is still safe to leave from us, and although some of our men
 off, we put an end to his further depredations. I always thought it a
 disgrace, that the vessel was allowed to escape in the first instance first
 contrary as the Fort was then well manned, but as such was the case, few
 who came after, believe, thought it prudent to stop up the business, how-
 ever this first affair at once determined us, and the fellow was that, as could
 be wished in open day, without any previous ceremony, and before there was
 chance to look on. We had little salt from Nicolas the Esquimaux but
 after it was over, but we set the whole at Seignin, some appeared to de-
 termine, that they lowered their demands for property and we were safe

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seeing the good effects of what has been done

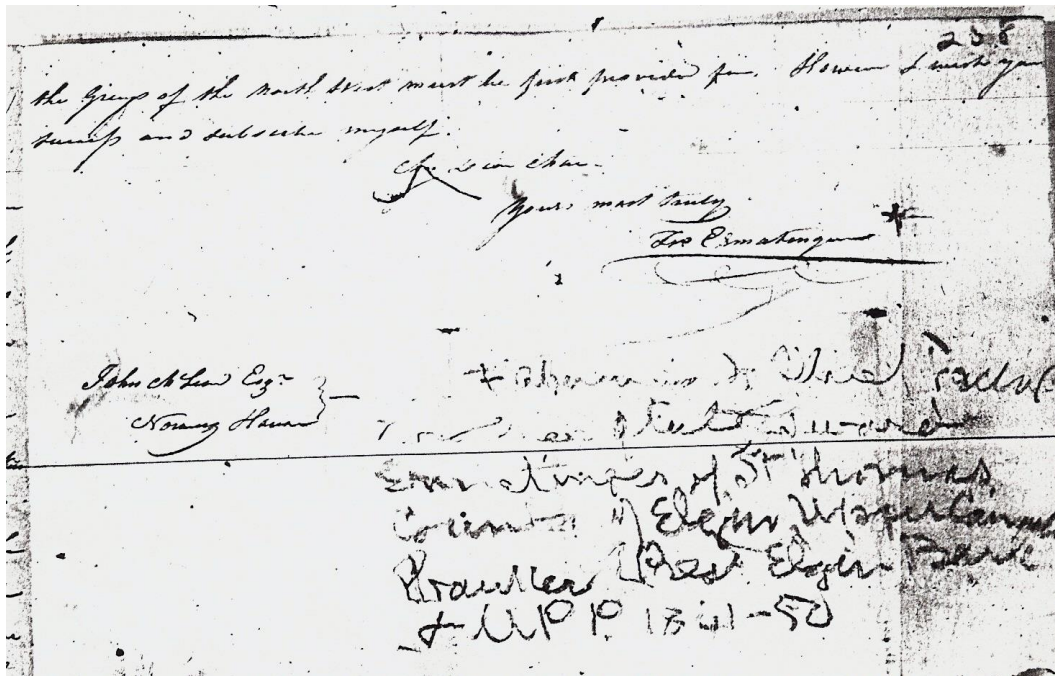
the
same

The official statements, and dispatches we have met with this year
prevent me going to the Western of Traders River, yet I trust with
due allowance, our returns will be found equal to the few late years.
Charles and other small furs we have increased the trade in, to a consider-
able extent.

I was appointed one of the party, under the command of Mr.
R. Chilton fitted out against the Challems, for the murder of Mr. Chilton.
But as things were conducted so different to what I was led to
expect, as could have wished, I shall withhold an opinion upon the
subject. Suffice it to say, we had every opportunity to punish them
but empty villages followed and objects for attacks. We destroyed some
cannoes and two or three natives lost their lives, more by chance than
any efforts of ours. The capture was of the utmost use to us and we took
to her.

The general trade of the Columbia is most sadly ended. We
are said to have seen last summer three men were drowned at the point
of rapids, one or two died at Vancouver, and one was drowned at Walla Walla.
But the returns will be, I dare say upon the whole good, from New Lah-
na, we have had no communication through the winter since fresh to
the natives being still are conduced to the death of two murders killed them
in the summer.

All your old friends here are well. Celestine has added a boy
to my crew who had been - Hume, whose endeavor to clear myself of the
contribution. Mr. Lewis joins me in compliments and believes me
when he made most happy to hear of your increasing popularity
but as you say "blat! you are a 'King Blue'" and it would appear



Facsimile of a letter by Francis on March 14, 1829, the letter is below:

Thompson's River 14th March 1829

John McLeod at Norway House:

Reel A1656 item 1, Add Mss 2715, John McLeod (from Nancy Anderson)

Fo. 236 – Letter from Francis Ermatinger

"Thompsons River, 14th August 1829

My dear sir; Your favour of the 17th July was handed to me by Messrs. Harriott and Ross, at Okanagan upon the 14th The former gentleman was forced to take this route owing to the lateness of the season, and so it has been a hard year in this quarter tended to increase our distress.

The governor reached us upon the 4th October and found everything [...] for his march hence. La course and three other preceded him here three days and the boat &c was made by his arrival. The question of a Frazers River communication is now, I fancy, set at rest, as impossible. (Governor Simpson came down the Fraser River with Archibald McDonald and found it a rough ride!)

The charge of Thompsons River devolved upon me, aided by Mr. Dears, and the [missing] we have had is unprecedented. The natives all round us are actually in such a state of starvation, that it is impossible they can survive, some are already dead, and we were obliged to send 7 of our men to the sea for the winter. Yet they have in general behaved well, [chat chat] it is true, stole a horse from us, and although our force of men was off, we put an end to his further depredations. I always thought it was a disgrace, that the rascal was allowed to escape in the first instance particularly as the Fort was then well manned, but as such was the case, few who came after, I believe, thought it prudent to stir up the business, however this first affair at once determined us, and the fellow was shot,

as [...] be wished, in open day, without any previous ceremony, and before those who chance to look on. We had little talk from Nicolas, the Emperor &c &c after it was over, but we set the whole at [def....] and appeared so determined, that they lowered their demands for property and we now experience the grand effects of what has been done.

[Nicholas was the Indian chief when my g.grandfather was in the territory; Nicola Lake is named for him. - Nancy Anderson]

The different detentions and distress we have met with this year prevented our going to the westward of Frazers River, yet I trust with due allowance, our returns will be found equal to the few late years. Martens and other small furs we have increased the trade in, to a consideration.

I was appointed one of the party, under the command of Mr. R. McLeod, fitted out against the Clallums, for the murder of Mr. McKenzie, &c but as things were conducted so different to what I was led to expect or could have wished I shall withhold an opinion upon the subject. Suffice it to say, we have every opportunity to punish them but empty villages formed our object for attack. We destroyed some canoes, and two or three natives lost their lives, more by chance than any effort of ours. The Cadboro was of the utmost use to us and we [...] to her. The general news of the Columbia is melancholy indeed. On our road to Vancouver last summer three men were drowned at the Priest Rapids, one or two died at Vancouver, and one was drowned at Walla Walla. But the returns will be, I dare say, upon the whole good, from New Caledonia, we have had no communication through the winter, owing perhaps to the natives being still [in....] to the death of two murderers killed there in the summer.

All your old friends here are well, Cleopatra has added a boy to my cares who bids fair. However, [....] endeavour to clear myself of the connection. Mr. Dears joins me in complements and believe me I should be made most happy to hear of your increasing [popularity] but as you say, alas! You are a “sky blue,” and it would appear the greys of the North West must be first provided for. However I wish you success and I subscribe myself. My dear [...] Frs. Ermatinger.

To John McLeod, Esq., Norway House. [The Greys were North West Co., the Blues were HBCo.]”

Thomas Dears letters

Dears writes to Edward Ermatinger from Thompsons River on 17 March 1829:

“Dear Friend;

No doubt you will be a little surprised my addressing you from this place after parting with you last spring. I had all the pleasure that I anticipated, with the Company of your brother as far as this place, within a short distance of the fort my horses was much jaded. Come says Frank, whip up and cut some dash on arriving at my Fort, smack went my whip, my horse gave a groan, but did not augment his pace, this was the [...] disappointment on our road, we cut no splash arriving. I remained with him a day or two, and proceeded on to N.C. [New Caledonia] when on my meeting Mr. Connolly, I got orders to [...] right about, and certainly never obeyed orders with a better graces, and arrived at Okanagan 27th May on our passage down, a boat upset in the Priest Rapids and

three lives were lost, and the whole cargo of furs wet. Shortly after our arrival at Fort Vancouver, we began to prepare for war, it was dangerous for a person to go out of the fort for Rifle men were firing at the target in every direction, but alas we found Indians in the Sound and there were none fired for the death of McKenzie in fact our General proved himself a coward he was urged in every point but he knew he was not at Ft. Vancouver table. I am sure you are much disappointed in the character if I remember right you told me he appeared to be an intrepid man, certainly he showed no one instance with us, I have copied your brothers account of our famous compagne for your amusement.

Since the departure of the Governor from this place I have received orders again to proceed into N.C. to succeed Yale who is now at Fort Langley with Arch. McDonald, but some obstacles prevent my going this winter.[much omitted] your well wisher,
Thomas Dears.
I believe you have left very few enemies in the Columbia.”

Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin – Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832”, edited by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Binfords & Mort (for the Oregon Historical Society) Portland, Oregon, 1848, page 10:

John McLoughlin writes from Fort Vancouver on March 24, 1829”
“Mr. Francis Ermatinger [Clerk] Thompson River

“Dear Sir,
It will be Necessary you send your Men to assist in Bringing down the Boats from Colville and I need not say that the Summer Man at Okanagan should be directed to be particularly careful of the provisions left there. If there should be more than Mr. [William] Connolly requires it will be transferred to you and It may perhaps save all the trouble of going about for provisions. I am Dear Sir Yours truly John McLoughlin”

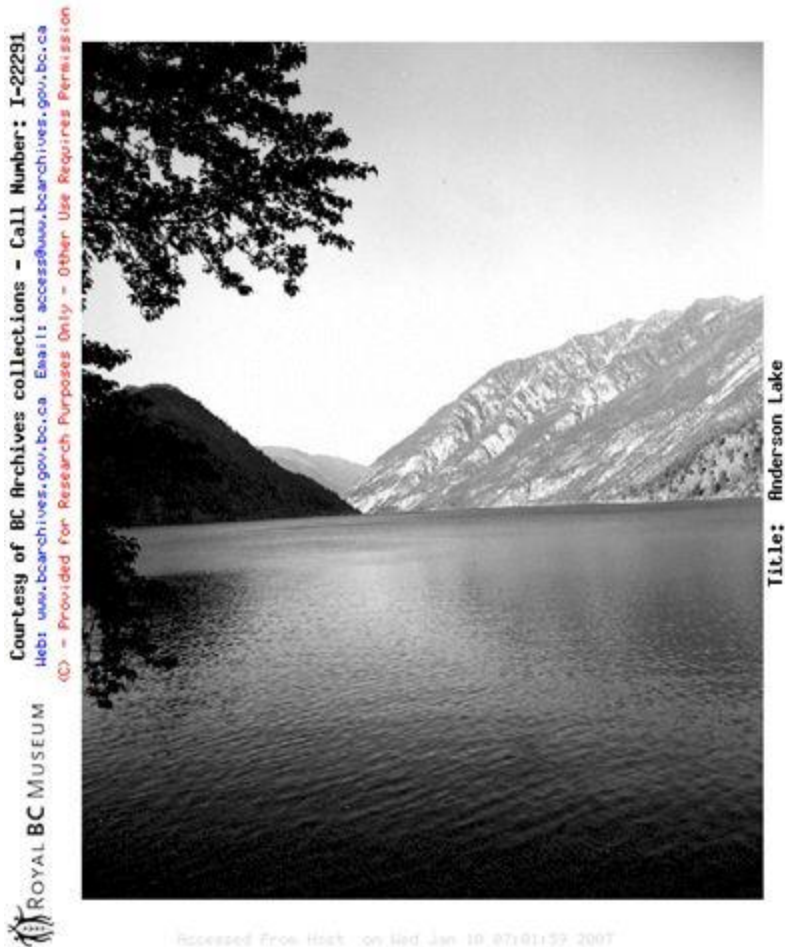
Chief Factor John McLoughlin wrote concerning Francis on July 11, 1829 :

“To the Gentlemen in Charge of the Express for Columbia Department

Sir Please give Mr. Francis Ermatinger one or two men if he should apply for them.

I am Sir Yours Truly John McLoughlin” “Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin – Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832” edited by Burt Brown Barker, Binfords & Mort, Portland, page 15.

“The first explorer of the Lake Anderson, British Columbia region “was Francis Ermatinger of HBC who went from Fort Kamloops up the "Peseline" or "Pishaleor" or "Pasilico" Lakes [now Seton and Anderson Lakes] and across to the "Li-Li-What" [Lillooet] River in 1827.” <http://andersonlake.com/pages/549765/index.htm>



Anderson Lake was named after Alexander Caulfield Anderson, an HBC Chief Trader.

<http://www.landquest.com/detailmain.asp?prop=temp6&curpage=3&search=davelist> (from Nancy Anderson)

Notes on A.C. Anderson: (Alexander Caulfield Anderson (10 March 1814 – 8 May 1884) was a Hudson's Bay Company fur-trader, explorer of British Columbia and civil servant. He was the grandson of the Scottish botanist Dr James Anderson. A.C. Anderson was father to the British Columbia botanist and Deputy Minister of Agriculture James Robert Anderson (1841–1930). Wikipedia) Nancy Anderson has written a book about him, "The Pathfinder: A.C. Anderson's Journeys in the West," which was published in November 2011 by Heritage House Publishers, Victoria, B.C.

Shortly after Francis' son, Lawrence, was born Cleo ran off with an Indian (this same Indian also had affairs with William Kittson's Indian wife). Francis retaliated in the established native fashion, by sending his interpreter, John Baptiste Leolo, to fetch the couple. When the culprit was caught, he was branded by the manner of having the tips of his ears cut off. The affair was explained to Governor Simpson by Dr. McLoughlin, "If the Indian had not been punished it would have lowered the whites in their estimation as among themselves they never allow such an offense to go unpunished." To prevent further difficulty McLoughlin ordered Francis to take up residence in Fort Vancouver, and sent John Clarke to take charge of Kamloops. McLoughlin then ordered Samuel Black to bring little Lawrence Ermatinger down to Fort Vancouver. Here he would live and be schooled at the Hudson's Bay Company school.



Jean Baptiste St. Paul Lolo and his family at Kamloops, 1869. (COURTESY BCARS, 2007)



John Tod



Title: Honourable John Tod, born in 1794 in Scotland.

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Title: Mrs. John Tod, nee Sophia Lolo she married Mr. ...

Mrs. Sophie Leolo Tod

Thompson's River 4 th March 1830

"My Dear Edward

Yours from London of the 5th Jany reached me at Okanagan upon 22nd of November. I had not 'ere I received it been altogether without expectation of your return, and passed some time at Colville waiting the express, but giving it up almost for lost, returned home, and lingered out the time in most dreadful anxiety.

I wrote our father from Walla Walla, last summer, and expect you have the news of our excursion to Clatsop point. We were seven days on the jaunt and took four scalps. The heads of Rocklaw and Ohinamas' brother furnished two of them. I fear it will become a

trade, in the Columbia soon, if a more impressive example is not at once made. At least, I wish to be excused to risking mine every year. Nothing material took place on the expedition. Mr. Connolly had the command, Black, Harriott, Hamlyn, Work and I held commissions in the land forces, and the Cadboro's Capt. Simpson and Vancouver's Capt. Manson, the naval force. The cause of the trip was the only thing to be regretted about it, for we kept it up and time rolled on as merrily as good cheer and pleasant company could make it. The previous expedition to the Clallums had cast some discontent in this country. Mr. McLeod was voted in, but his commission has been withheld, and Mr. McLoughlin has now called on me for two copies of my journal, I have forwarded him one, but refused the other for the east side. By the bye, I sent you a copy of the one given the Governor and you can judge for yourself. This business will perhaps cost me a few enemies, but I cannot help it. I have stated truths but rather in a favourable light for him. His friends will not, of course, think so and should he call for an inquiry, and be installed, I may expect no quarter. However, I trust the Governor will not allow this to bleak my prospects with him. I believe, I stand not too low - time must show this. All I know is that in a conversation with Mr. McMillan (James McMillan), who is not over zealous for my welfare, in which my name was mentioned, he said that all the Ermatingers were clever men. One thing I regret is that you have written some others about your low spirits. You should not have done this. Depend upon it, it has got to the ears of those who wish you back in the service, and may be made use of if you return. There are secrets that should be between us and not even a third person know them. God bless you. Cheer up and fear not; there is no turn of fortune that can possibly alter my intentions and it shall go hard indeed if I do not keep you afloat. Should the worst come to pass, we will turn settlers, which I think even preferable to this country.

I shall not touch upon the different points of your letter; suffice it to say, that every sentence has made its impression upon me, and all that I wish of you is to be somewhat independent and more resolute, am I right?

All your old friends remain as usual. Dears (Thomas Dears) passed the most of the winter with me but now is off to New Caledonia. Work at the Flathead and Pazette (Francois Payette) has the Cutanus (Kootenai). Mr. Deas (John Warren Dease) having gone down last fall, Work was given the charge of Colville district and Barnston sent to make up his complement. Heron (Francis Heron), who it had been arranged between the Governor and the Doctor, should come to the Columbia to take Mr. Dear's [Dease's] place, was ordered down [to Ft. Vancouver]. However, having his appointment from headquarters, he stuck fast, and after some opposition, Barnston gave him the keys and descended to Vancouver. This will cost some ire, and luckily for Heron, Work was off at the time. I have not heard from him since. The opposition increases upon us, Manson is berthed at Tongue Point with the Cadboro, Birnie at the Dalles, where Blankets go at one for a Beaver. (Richard) Hamlyne trades at the sea, (George) Barnston looks over the men of the Fort, and Captain Simpson those for the naval department, in which there is a grand ado. Harriott, who left New Caledonia with his wife affected with a most lividinous [sic] madness - she is better now - has the office, Pro tempore, and is assisted by Kittson. The cause of the last being below was a quarrel with Work, which ended in blows and was altogether a disgraceful rencontre. Douglas of New Caledonia was

appointed by council to your old berth, but it was impossible for him to get out in time to take it this year, nor do I think he will find himself qualified to hold it. (Note: from Chalk Grandpa was totally wrong here, as Douglas grew to be an important man in the Pacific North West). By Jove, now it will go hard, I think, if you are not persuaded to return, as all appear to wish it. I am told that when the Governor arrived at Vancouver and the Piper played Birnie assumed that it must be you and a certain young lady gave evident proof that she wished to cherish the hope. "Do you really think so?" said she, "I fear not."

With respect to myself, I am as well as can be here, our trade is far short in Beaver, but in small furs we continue to improve; however I do not think I am secure. Mr. Ogden is to be removed [as Snake River Brigade leader] and Work has been appointed to his place, yet I think it more probably that I may be sent there. This is a mere idea of my own, but it is warranted by an opinion of many that I am best adapted after Mr. Ogden of any in the Columbia. Besides there is a great talk of sawmills, farms &c.&c.&c. up the Willamat [sic], which has also, I believe, been named for Work. Deal boards are now as much thought of as Beaver and a transport of them has already been made to [the] Sandwich Islands. Be their arrangements what they may, they will find me ready, but I do not propose to be trifled with. I am perhaps vain, it may be so, yet I shall not yield the preference to many now in the country. They must not talk to me of old claims. The two last selections have proved the sophistry of this.

Of my match with Miss Charles, nothing decisive has been entered into, nor perhaps will not. I cannot, however, say that I am altogether averse to it. The father is a respectable man and will I am sure do his best for Me. How to ask permission of the Doctor, as has been suggested by the Governor, to cross the mountains, for the purpose. I am at a loss. For between ourselves, the thought has struck me, that if you do not return and - he [McLoughlin] would not be averse to me himself for a son-in-law. There was some talk of Hamlyne becoming so, perhaps without foundation, for he now intends, I hear, to leave the Columbia this spring.

You will see by my last letter to you that I am not altogether without an eye to the main chance, too, and have anticipated your wishes in most respects as far as relates to money matters, and you may hereafter depend, if you remain below and so require it, that an annual draught for seventy-five pounds shall be forwarded to you, as you have suggested. With Clowes I am at a loss to know how I stand....

I shall, if they do not call upon me this year for my share in the Sheeps Wool Company, request Mr. Miles to enclose you a bill for L65.0.0 st'g, upon Outfit 1830-31, which with L15 to Clowes will leave me L20 to answer my demands in the country. I feel no disposition to dispute our accounts. At best, I think them nominal...

Mr. Douglas has passed since I began this, and I received a letter from Dears. He wishes to be remembered kindly to you, feels hurt that you did not write him, and adds that he shall always be your friend. I think him sincere and beg you will remember him. I am My dear Edward Yours Most Affectionately Frs. Ermatinger."

A note on John Warren Dease:

(HBC officer 1783 – 1830 A brother of the Arctic explorer, Peter Warren Dease, John Warren Dease entered the NWC at an unspecified date and from 1814-1821 was in charge of the post at Rainy Lake. He became Chief Trader in 1821 and, from 1822, was at a variety of posts in New Caledonia and the Columbia. In 1825-1826, David Douglas found the Chief Trader to be extremely helpful. On February 22, 1829, while in the Colville area, he wrote his will, perhaps a foreshadowing of the severe illness which was to strike him in the summer of that year. Around that time, he had an argument with John McLoughlin, the nature of which is obscure, but it was important enough that he had to travel to Fort Vancouver in a very ill state in the fall when he was unfit for duty. In the middle of that winter, while returning to Colville, he died on January 11, 1830 at The Dalles and was transported back to and buried at the Fort Vancouver cemetery on January 14. In his will he gave John McLoughlin, who was a chastened, changed man, and John Dugald Cameron each £5 to purchase rings in memory, or mourning rings. He also stated that if widow Jenny Beignoit was to cohabit with anyone else, her money would go to her children. John Warren Dease had three successive wives and eight children. One wife was Mary Cadotte of Sault St. Marie, by whom he had two daughters, Jenny (?-?) and another unnamed daughter. A second wife was Jenny Beignoit, with whom he had Margaret (1818-?), Mariane (1820-?), John (1823-?), Nancy (1825-?) and William (1827-?). Peter Goulay was another son of Jenny, but was not fathered by Dease. Napoleon Dease (?-?) was his son by a Flathead woman while he was living in the Colville District.) http://ubc.bcmctis.ca/hbc_bio_profile.php?id=NzQ3 BC Metis Mapping Research Project, Sponsored by the Metis Nation British Columbia)

A note on Francois Payette

(Francois Payette (b.1793-d. post 1844) was a fur trader. Born near Montreal, he began his career as a canoeman, was hired by John Jacob Astor and shipped to the Oregon Country aboard the Beaver, entering the mouth of the Columbia River on May 9, 1812. With sale of Astor's Pacific Fur Company to the North West Company in 1813, Payette joined the NWC, "accompanying numerous expeditions into the interior." A river, a county, and a city (all in Idaho) are named for him. In 1821, when the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the North West Company, Payette transferred allegiance to the HBC. He took part in notable fur gathering-trading expeditions throughout the upper Rockies and was an occasional interpreter, sometimes second in command of brigades, and clerk. He was stationed at Fort Boise for his last years with the company, retiring June 1, 1844. After this, there are two known stories. The first is that he returned to Montreal, and nothing more is known of him. The second is the account of George Goodhart, who claims he died in Idaho, either in 1854 or 1855 and was buried in the area now known as Washoe, looking over the Snake River and Payette River. He was one of the more able and worthy HBC men in the interior of the Northwest.) From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

A note on James Birnie

(NWC/HBC employee 1799 - 1864 An educated sixteen year old James Birnie made his way to Canada and, two years later on March 10, 1818, entered the service of the NWC as an apprentice clerk for five years. Later that same year he crossed the Rockies to the Pacific slopes with Angus Bethune and James McMillan. By 1821 he was on the point of discharge from the HBC but George Simpson thought he would be useful in the competition with the Americans because of his knowledge of the west side of the mountains. Birnie was present at the construction of such posts as Fort Colville in 1825, the Dalles post in 1829 and the dramatic removal of Fort Simpson [Nass] to the new site in 1834. Paradoxically, he spent much of his career at one of the oldest sites, Fort George [Astoria] where he raised his large family. Birnie's reputation for hospitality began early. On November 18, 1827, while running messages for the Umpqua Expedition, Birnie met and provided a tasty meal for an appreciative, hungry botanist, David Douglas. Later, in 1841, the officers of the U. S. sloop-of-war Peacock presented Birnie with a silver service in recognition of his service at the time of the sloop's wreck on the Columbia bar. Still later, in the 1850's, at his home in Cathlamet, Washington Territory, he and his wife entertained their guests in grand style in their big house on the hill. He retired in 1846 to Cathlamet, as a settler along with his wife and children and bought an interest in the mill of H. H. Hunt. He later opened a merchandising store and, in 1851, was named postmaster at Cathlamet. He became a U. S. citizen in 1853 and during the 1850's was agent for the HBC. Later he gave part of his land claim for the first Catholic church. He died at Cathlamet in 1864. James Birnie had one wife and twelve children. On November 8, 1838 at Fort George [Astoria], he formalized his marriage to Charlotte Beaulieu (1805-1878) of Red River. The Birnie children were Suzanne (1828-1854), Robert (?-bap.1837-?), Charlotte (?-bap.1838-?), James (?-bap.1838-?), Amelie (?-bap.1838-?), Victoria (?-bap.1838-?), Lakse (?) (?-bap.1838-?) Mary A. (c.1840-?), Alexandre (1842-1922), Caroline (c.1844-?), Archibald (1847-1850), and Thomas Lowe (1851-1883). A child, Eliza (?-?) (possibly one of the above) became the wife of A. C. Anderson. Birnie Island, Fort Simpson [B.C.], is named after James Birnie.) http://ubc.bcmctis.ca/hbc_bio_profile.php?id=NzQ3 BC Metis Mapping Research Project, Sponsored by the Metis Nation British Columbia)

A note on Thomas Dears

(HBC employee 1797 - 1840 Thomas Dears joined the HBC in 1817 in Canada working at four posts east of the Rockies before coming to the Columbia in 1824. In 1825 he found himself superintending the construction of Fort Colville and, by the end of the year, was part of a Snake Expedition. Discontent with the snow and isolation of Fort Connolly (and, he felt, his non-commensurate salary), caused him to express considerable unhappiness. As well, Dears' views on the distribution of liquor to the Natives was considerably more liberal than Company policy. He left New Caledonia with his family in 1836 heading eastward over the Rockies via Peace River. Dears settled in St. Thomas, Ontario, where he died four years later.) http://ubc.bcmctis.ca/hbc_bio_profile.php?id=NzQ3 BC Metis Mapping Research Project, Sponsored by the Metis Nation British Columbia)

A note on George Barnston

(George Barnston (c. 1800 – 14 March 1883) was a fur trader and a naturalist born in Edinburgh, Scotland. Barnston was trained as a surveyor and army engineer. He joined the North West Company in 1820 and was retained by the Hudson's Bay Company after the 1821 amalgamation. He began his HBC career at York Factory (Manitoba) and from there he helped outfit two forts in the south: Lower Fort Garry, and Fort du Bas de la Rivière at the mouth of the Winnipeg River. From 1826-1832 his postings took him to various posts on the Pacific coast and, subsequently, to Fort Albany. From there, he founded Fort Concord to extend the company's trade into the Winisk River area. Next was Martin Falls where he worked for six years; and

then transferred to Fort Albany as Chief Trader. His last posting was Norway House where he stayed until he retired to Montreal. During his stay he outfitted a number of northern expeditions including those of John Rae. He was also arrested a free trader, Andrew Bannatyne in an attempt to protect the HBC monopoly in the area. During his working life with the HBC, Barnston was a student of the natural history of the various areas and his specimens are in the Smithsonian Institution, the British Museum and the Redpath Museum at McGill. He wrote regularly for the Canadian Naturalist and often for the Ibis as well. He became a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882.)

A note on Richard Hamlyn

Julian Richard Hamlyn is mentioned in Sir George Simpson's correspondence as "the strangest compound of skill, simplicity, selfishness, extravagance, musical taste and want of courtesy I ever fell in with." In a letter from Thomas Simpson to Donald Ross, written at Fort Garry, 12 March 1831, he is again mentioned: "The settlement has been extraordinarily prolific in births this season, and sickness and mortality are very rare. Dr. Hamlyn, however, seems to find plenty of employment. He has two fine horses and is continually galloping about." He accompanied the governor on his famous trip from York Factory to the Pacific coast. An oil portrait of Dr. Hamlyn is in the City Hall at Winnipeg. <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/transactions/3/earlydoctors.shtml> , Early Doctors of Red River and Manitoba by Dr. Ross Mitchell, MHS Transactions, Series 3, 1947-48 Season

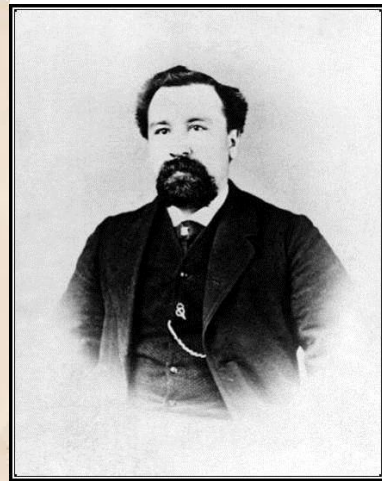
"Doctor Richard J. Hamlyn quarrelled with Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver and left the fort in 1830." http://lib-db3.lib.sfu.ca/abcbookworld/view_author.php?id=8505, Alcohol, Forts and Fur, Medicine.



James Birnie



Alexander Caulfield Anderson



John Work, Jr.

<http://www.fortlangley.ca/langley/jwork.html>

In a letter to George Simpson on March 20, 1830 John McLoughlin wrote from Fort Vancouver that the manpower in the Columbia District was 62 men at Fort Vancouver, 25 men in the Naval Department, 15 at Fort Langley, 28 at Fort Colville (it had extra men to build a stockade around the HBC buildings), 17 at Thompson River (Kamloops and with Francis Ermatinger in charge and he had extra men also so he could penetrate the Lillooet country), , Fort Nez Perces (Walla Walla) had 6 men, Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Brigade had 30 men and the brigade under Alexander Roderick McLeod had 27 men, with a total of 210 personnel. McLoughlin told Simpson that if the HBC was to go in the lumber and salted salmon business he would probably need more men.

Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin – Written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832", edited by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, Binfords & Mort (for the Oregon Historical Society) Portland, Oregon, 1848, page 99: McLoughlin wrote on the same day (March 20, 1830) to Francis at Thompson River from Fort Vancouver:

"Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 31st January and am sorry to again observe that your people have been again unfortunate in not reaching the Li-le-what (Lillooet) Country, however I hope before this reaches you that they have returned from that place. I am sorry to say our stores will not admit our fulfilling your requisition but you will receive as much as we can spare. I beg to call your attention to mine of 8th December and again to request two copies of your journal of the Clallam Expedition, that is one more copy in addition to the one you sent me.

I am Sir Yours truly John McLoughlin”

McLoughlin also sent two more letters on the 20th, in which he wrote;”Inclosed is a copy of the extract of my remarks on your journal.” And “ Inclosed is a copy of the Interpreters Replies to my queries.” Then on another letter that same day this, “If you think you cannot give me a Copy of your Journal exclusive of the One you sent me it is necessary you go to York Factory.” [In other handwriting: Not del. JEH [John Edward Harriott]

That April Chief Trader Francis Heron writes while in charge of Fort Colville, “21st Wednesday. The men employed as usual. Turnip, radish, cabbage, cress, mustard and carrot seeds put in the ground by old Phillip.” Old Phillip was the blacksmith.

He wrote on “23rd Friday. The following is the distribution of the men at the place vis

Hugh [Duloge]	\	Joseph Bourgeau	\
Jac Servant	Raising the	Ant Felix	
Jean Monde	Bastions	J Bt Poreau	Farming
Louis Andre		Ant Bourdignon	
J Bt Leferve	/	Colville Quinville	/
Joseph Lapiere	\	Herea St	\
J Bt George		Jos Pin	Rafting
Ant Plouff	Fence Pole	Louis Poreau	Poles
George Ross	Cutters	Pierre [Karagnaryati]	/
Thos [Sebaneuabgss]	/	Phillip Desgrais	Gardening
P LaCourse	\	J Bt Lajoie	\
Claude [Secaunatun]	Boat	Joa Hubert	/ Carters
Nas Portelana	Building	Am Petit	Mess Cook
Canott Humperville	/		

Lapierre was part of the day doing nothing on account of illness.”

Heron wrote: “24th (April) Saturday. The usual employment for the men. This evening rations were given to this establishment consisting of twenty six men, thirteen women and twenty eight children making a total of 38 rations. The allowance per rations for the week as follows vis 4lb dry meat, 2lb back fat, 3 quarts wheat, 2 quarts corn and 1/4 keg of Potatoes, besides the above each man has 2 quarts of wheat over their weeks allowance.

Five kegs of barley sowed in the foot of the hill field and old Phillip has again put several sets of garden seeds in the ground. Fair weather.”

A good garden was tended at Fort Colville and on May 21st this was entered in the post journal by William Kittson: “The following is the seed put in the ground viz 23 kegs of Wheat, 7 kegs Barley, 3 1/2 of corn, 9 of pease, 246 of potatoes and 13 of oats, besides 2000 pumpkin seed. Fair weather.”

Francis Heron writes on May 24th & May 25th:

24th. Monday. Finding it necessary to pass the summer inland I sent Mr. Kittson off this morning to Vancouver in my place, with our returns in five boats manned by eighteen men and two Indians. Four of the boats were built here, this season. Myself, Rivet and six men constitute the summer establishment of the place. Two men employed sawing, one at the water mill, one in the Kitchen garden, hoeing the seed put there, one sick and one cooking. The water mill which was begun on the 30th ult produced this day some good flour. Fair warm weather. Wind W.

25th Tuesday. The duties of the place as yesterday. Wind and weather the same. An Indian arrived with a letter from Mr. Ermatinger imparting that Mr. Busy would not be at Okanogan at the time appointed and requesting that our Brigade would therefore not reach that place before the 3rd proxly which information it is to be regretted has come too late.” No 106, C T Herons Journal of occurrences at Fort Colville. Copied by Wm Kittson, 1830 – 31 Fort Colville Journal Commencing 12th April 1830 and ending 12th April 1831. This journal was kept alternately by William Kittson and Francis Heron. Francis Heron held the title/rank of Chief Trader and is therefore referred to as C T Heron.

John McLoughlin wrote on July 13, 1830 from Fort Vancouver to Samuel Black at Fort Kamloops:

“Dear Sir,
I forward you two Books which were only handed me after the departure of the Brigade, you will please deliver to the bearer Mr. [Francis] Ermatinger two horses (Saddle) you will please observe it is a rule at Thompson River that the Men who have Families furnish Horses to transport Provisions for them.

I am Dear Sir Yr. John McLoughlin”

And on the same day he wrote to Francis Heron at Fort Colville”

“Dear Sir,
It is necessary you wrote me on return of your people from the Flat Head trade so as to enable me to form an idea who would be most suitable and necessary to make up your complement of Gentlemen for the Out Post. – It occurs to me if there is no opposition to American trappers at the Flat Heads for Mr. [Nicholas] Montour would answer for the Kootenay Post I forward with this a Packet for Mr [Samuel] Black and wish you would forward it immediately. Indians I suppose will answer the purpose to carry it and at the same time I wish they bring Mr. [Francis] Ermatinger two saddle Horses from Okanogan

to Colville where they are to remain till further orders – You will please to observe all the Horses you can are to be purchased (traded) on the Companys account.

B N None of the Servants can be allowed to sell their Horses to others if they do not want them. The Company will take them at the same price they sold them. JMcL.

N.B. In case Mr. Black is not at Okanogan you will please tell your messenger to tell the people there that they are sent for Mr. Ermatinger's Horses – LMCL."

Then on August 3, 1830 from Fort Vancouver Dr. McLoughlin wrote to Heron again:
""Dear Sir

If you can not use your Bolting Cloth you will please send it to us by the Express Boat this Fall also a sufficient Quantity of Gum to take the Boats say two up in the Spring – Willyou have the Goodness to inform me by first Opportunity what was the Quantity of your Crop Fall 1829 and the Weight of Pork killed at Colville Since Novr. 1829 as also how much of this last you have supplied other places and you will please observe It is expected Colville is to supply the Pork and Flour required for the Interior of the Columbia. I am Dear Sir

Yours Truly

John M.Loughlin

N.B. two of Ermatingers Horses are gone forward to your place which you will please Keep them for him and not allow them to be used. If Mr. Ermatingers Boy is at Colville will you request the Gentlemen Coming with the Express to bring him here. J.M.L."

In October of 1830 in the Fort Vancouver Letter Book is "A list of Documents forwarded to England by the "Eagle." In the private letters is one to L. E. Ermatinger from Francis.

"Historian Frederic W. Howay noted that a Mr. Jones of the Owhyhee was sent to Fort Vancouver, "dangerously ill" on 27 October 1829 and he stated that "no light is thrown on Mr. Jones's illness; but through November, December, and January there are many references to his condition, sometimes improving and sometimes not."¹³ It is unlikely that anyone at the time knew just how significant Mr. Jones's "intermittent fever" would turn out to be but in less than a year an epidemic of catastrophic proportions that devastated the indigenous people of the Columbia River would be traced to the Brig Owhyhee."

The Mystery of the Brig Owhyhee's Anchor and the Disappearance of Captain John Dominis by Jim Mockford
http://www.cnrs-rn.org/northern_mariner/vol18/tnm_18_3-4_105-119.pdf

Notes on Nicholas Montour:

From "Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin":

"Nicholas Montour: A half-breed son whose father, Nicholas, was a partner in North West Company. The son was a clerk of the North West Company in 1804 and remained with that company till the coalition in 1821. In May 1813 he fought a duel at Spokane House with F.B. Pillet of the Pacific Fur Company (Astor's Company) with pocket pistols at six paces. Both hit--one in the coat collar, the other in the trouser leg `and the tailor speedily healed their wounds.' After the coalition of 1821 he served as a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company at 100 (pounds) per annum but was reported to be `indolent, a good trader, fond of liquor, will be discharged in 1823.' He seems to have been discharged, for, in 1824, he joined the Alexander Ross Snake country expedition under Peter Skene Ogden, and, along with a number of others, deserted Mr. Ogden and, taking their horses, traps and furs, joined a party of Americans under Mr. Gardner causing the loss to Mr. Ogden of 700 beaver skins. He is listed as a freeman in 1827-

28 and as a servant in the Columbia District during the outfits of 1828-29 and 1829-30. He was in charge of the Kootenay post during the winter of 1830-31 but his status seems uncertain thereafter. During 1840-41 he was listed as a Columbia freeman. His daughter, Isabelle, by Susanne Umperville, married Thomas McKay at Fort Vancouver in 1838." There is much more information out there on him and I have lots in my PAF file on him. Some of the Flathead McDonalds descend from his son, George.

In the autumn of 1830 malaria of epidemic proportions spread across the Pacific Northwest. Even the fort's doctor, John F. Kennedy was down with the sickness. Dr. McLoughlin tended the company personnel and all the local Indians that he could who had contacted the dreaded disease. The Indians instead of fleeing the area to safer climes, camped close around and by the fort's stockade. Their reasoning was that if they died, as seemed likely, they would be decently buried by the white men. Officers [James] Birnie, James Douglas, and Francis Ermatinger, as well as Dr. McLoughlin were kept constantly employed tending the sick from daylight until 11 o'clock at night. At one time in November of 1830 there were seventy-five or more malaria patients at the fort hospital. It was only through the efforts of these few men that very few whites died, but the Indians having no resistance died by the score. Francis wrote to Edward on February 16, 1831, "we were visited by a most malignant intermittent fever some time ago, and of which we are not totally recovered yet. It carried off King Comcomly with most of his subjects and those of the tribes about him. It is no unusual thing to see two or three dead bodies, in a short excursion along the river. Some of the villages were entirely depopulated. The establishment felt contagion too, severely. Almost all caught it more or less, but from care its effects were less destructive upon us. I was fortunate to escape. At one time there were 80 men besides women numbered amongst the patients. Of the former we buried three". McDonald, p140. The fever lasted on the lower Columbia from the fall of 1830 to the summer of 1831.

"In the fall of the year 1832, the fever and ague was very prevalent at Vancouver, and at one time we had over 40 men laid up with it, and great numbers of Indian applicants for la Medicine, as they called it; and as there was then no physician at the Fort, Dr. McLaughlin himself had to officiate in that capacity, although he disliked it, as it greatly interfered with his other important duties, until he was himself attacked with the fever, when he appointed me his deputy, and I well remember my tramps through the men's houses with my pockets lined with vials of quinine, and making my reports of the state of the patients to the Doctor. It proved, therefore, a great relief, both to him and to me, when the annual ship arrived from London, bringing out two young medical men, Doctors Gardiner and Tolmie, one of whom was immediately installed in office at Vancouver, and the other dispatched to the northwest coast, where the Company had lately established several forts. Reminiscences of Fort Vancouver on Columbia River, Oregon in 1832." Author not identified. Found in Transactions of the Ninth Annual Re-Union of the Oregon Pioneer Association; for 1881. Located at Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

"Another man of mark at Vancouver, in my early days, was Mr. Francis Ermatinger, a clerk in the service, a regular jolly, jovial cockney, whom we sometimes styled Bardolf, from the size and color of his nose. He was full of humor and had a great fund of talk, of which he was no niggard, and would address himself to the doctor in all his humors, when others took care to stand aloof, so that it was often said he bearded the lion in his den; but sometimes the lion would give a growl, and say that Frank did nothing but bow, wow, wow. Frank, however, was a capital trader, and was dispatched to the Snake and

Flathead countries to encounter the American fur trades. He was also frequently engaged escorting the missionaries and from his constant good humor would often make the most staid and long-faced of them laugh heartily, and I am pretty certain that many of them to this day remember kindly the frank and jovial Ermatinger. He afterwards retired from the Company's service and joined a brother in business in Canada, where he died." Author not identified. Found in Transactions of the Ninth Annual Re-Union of the Oregon Pioneer Association; for 1881. Located at Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.

The following identifies the author of the above as "George T. Allen, who frequently saw Ermatinger at Fort Vancouver during these years, described him as a "regular jolly Cockney whom we sometimes styled Bardolf from his size and color of his nose." Sampson, p130

On November 24, 1830 John McLoughlin wrote from Fort Vancouver to "The Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company":

"Honorable Sirs,

1. In the 18th par: of my last pr Eagle I informed your Honors that all our people who had been on the sick list were in a convalescent state. I am sorry to be obliged now to inform you that the fever broke out with increased violence and that at one time we had seventy five on the sick list. However it is now reduced forty 5 and we have had no new case of fever these last twelve days. In this state of our people, so many of the sailors in Hospital and not having a sufficient number of Land men in health to spare to complete the number required for Nass I conceive it more advisable to defer Establishing that place till spring 1831 rather than run the risk of ruining the business by sending a sickly crew at this Boisterous season of the year, and not to allow our Vessels remain Idle. On the 18th Inst. The Vancouver Capt. [William] Ryan was dispatched to Wahoo (Hawaii) with a cargo of thirteen M feet Deals [lumber] and the Dryad Capt [Aemilius] Simpson sails for Monterey with a cargo of 35 M feet and sixty Barrels Salmon (of 200# each) to ascertain their Value in California but we cannot send either of these Vessels to Lima or Valparaiso as they are both required here in the beginning of March to go to Nass as to the Cadboro she is unfit to go to sea till she gets a thorough repair.

...Mr. Ogden was ill of the fever and also Dr. [John] Kennedy, I had to attend the sick who were about fifty in number, we had to pack the furs, to attend to the Indian trade, and to the Indians who frightened at the mortality amongst them came in numbers to camp alongside of us giving us as a reason that if they died they knew we would bury them. Most reluctantly on our part we were obliged to drive them away, and I must add to this the other urgent work of the place so that in fact I was as well as my assistants Messers. James Douglas, [Francis] Ermatinger and James Birnie were kept constantly employed from day light to eleven at night. I say I was employed but in truth I might say harassed in mind and body as much as I probably could be.....

4. Mr. [John] Harriott arrived here on the morning of the 2nd Inst. And I am sorry to State had the Misfortune to lose seven men Drowned in a Rapid below Okanogan Dalles the place has been always considered sufficiently safe to run with loaded Boats in this

instance there were four Boats in Company the three first past safe and were allowing themselves merely to drift with the current till the fourth came up as by getting in a whirlpool she had fallen a little astern, but the next rapid is so nigh the one the Boat wrecked on that the three first were in it before they saw the wrecked Boat which was drifting along with two men on the Bottom of it, the first Boats immediately put ashore and the men dispersed themselves along the Beach to see if they could give assistance but to no purpose as they saw none of the Crew except the two on the Bottom of the Boat who were saved and the Steersman who had Jumped out of her and swam ashore.

I am Honr. Sirs Your Obt. & Humble Servant John McLoughlin.”

On September 9, 1831 John McLoughlin wrote from Fort Vancouver to Chief Trader Francis Heron at Fort Colville, but as Francis Ermatinger was still at Fort Vancouver on the 16th of February he must have delivered the letter when he finally went up to Fort Colville:

“Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 26th ult. which reached this [place] yesterday. I am sorry to say that it is out of our power to assist you from this [place] with the three men you demand.

I approve of your sending [Francois] Rivet and Mr. [Nicholas] Montour with the Indians as also of the Gratuity you promised the first but I hope you have kept in mind that the Hon.ble Committee has directed that we are not to send any of our people South of 49 on the East side of the mountains. I also approve of the distribution of the Gentlemen as you propose for the winter and you will please observe these are measures that rest entirely with yourself as you are on the Spot you must be better able to decide properly than I who am remote.

I am sorry it is impossible to send you all the Medicines you demand or the Beads as [it] is not safe to trust the latter by this conveyance and Indeed we have none of the large Green beads I am sorry to inform you that the fever and ague [intermittent fever] is raging with as great violence as last year. A few days ago we had 68 on the sick list but at present the number is less Indians report that the mortality among the Indians of the Wallahamette has been very great.

You will receive with this the Iron you request.

I am Dear Sir yours truly (signed) John McLoughlin

N.B. Mr. [Francis] Ermatinger goes by the present opportunity which will enable you to make your winter arrangements without waiting for the Express and by Mr. Ermatingers remaining at Colville He could come down here if any one comes in with the Express for your Place. I send you two Owhyhees and a Canadian [along side the page] Carracas S.J.

Spunyard & Brunel [along side the page]”

Writing to Edward on February 16, 1831 from Fort Vancouver Francis told of a story involving his acquaintance, William Kittson. This is how he tells the story, Fort Vancouver 16th Feb. 1831

“My Dear Edward,

Your several favours reached me here, upon the 1st November, and upon discovering the black seals, I was for some moments fixed to the spot on which I stood, afraid to break them to learn the sad certainty. But I looked through the whole and missed the handwriting of our parent, which at once betrayed me the cause of them. I had, only two months before, received news from Clowes, and not a word to warn me of the precarious state of our father’s health. I was not, I confess, prepared for such a sudden shock, and this perhaps made the sensation greater. We are now indeed, almost friendless, and while we sympathize with each other upon the irreparable loss we have sustained, let it tend, if possible, to rivet out affections the stronger, and by so doing we may yet become tolerably happy in ourselves and be enabled, under divine providence, to secure a few years’ tranquility to prepare ourselves to follow him. In the meantime, let me conjure you to keep up your spirits, and rather than think your not returning to this country as an addition to your cares of this world, deem the disappointment a blessing. For my part, I never wished to see you back, yet I am indignant at the manner in which you have been tampered with. It would almost appear (I am loath to cherish the thought) that the motive has been to reduce you to solicit a situation upon their own terms, by leading you into expense, and what is of more importance to lose your time. You are pleased to think, My Dear Edward, that I have confidence in you. Continue in the same mind and I will not disappoint you. I am interested in your success, and am aware that if you fail at home it will be held up by some as an example to those who may become disgusted in the service and wish to leave it. It has already reached some of your friends “that you was out of employment and would willingly return.” Be this as it may, put the best appearance upon affairs and be particular how you write to those in the country, but let me know the worst and I will, at least while I hold my present situation, always enable you to spurn any situation that you may think derogatory to you. In Canada, with economy, I think you may, should you fail in business with what you have, manage to live upon eighty pounds Per An. and this sum you can reckon on, perhaps a little more. Nor think I will transmit it with reluctance. I know you will ultimately prove successful, and then, and not till, will I ask restitution. I shall offer no advice, act as you please. Were I inclined to do so, it would be to try business rather than farming, or as you say, commerce upon a small scale, and then if you saw a neat little farm near where you carry it on, to purchase it. But perhaps I have no adequate idea of the cash required to do so. Therefore, let me not influence your conduct. You are the best judge of the steps most advisable to take. I do not exactly know how my accounts stand for the year. I have sold of some useless clothes, I had to purchase the stock and when I have finally arranged, I will enclose the result upon another sheet.

It is gratifying to me to hear the terms you are upon with the family below. Our Uncle Charles I believe to be a good man. That he should assist you, otherwise than with his advise, could not be expected. But this same from a man of his knowledge is invaluable,

and may be of more real benefit than any loan of cash he could offer. I beg you will present my respects to the whole, and you may add that I live in hope of one day doing so personally.

I have not written Clowes for anything nor do I think it likely that I shall for some time to come. Fine clothes ill accord with my present views of economy, and I regret that you have, with two or three exceptions, requested any of our deceased father's things to be sent to me. They would much better have answered yourself under existing circumstances. One thing, however, I wish, if it meets your will, namely, that I may have his watch. He had, so he wrote me, ordered one similar to yours, which he intended to send out, and requested I would keep it for his sake. It is this that makes me the more anxious for his, and depend upon it, I shall esteem the possession sacred. I find myself indebted to Clowes £29.8.0, and the alterations he is about to make will add to the sum. This I will settle myself, by Bills I have due me, without interfering with the balance I transmit to you....I wish to leave no stone unturned to render you as independent of others as possible. Hitherto I have not thought of raising money amongst our friends. I think I could succeed with three or four hundred, but you must bear in mind that any further supplies would be out of the question from me until I paid them off. The only advantage I proposed to result from this mode, would be the immediate increase in capital. Perhaps Work or Tod would advance a little for a longer pay day.

Since I wrote you last, I have had my little troubles, too, and was I able, would immediately take leave of this country forever. But, as I am not, and am doomed to remain in it longer, I am, notwithstanding the anxiety that have hitherto caused me, convinced the end will be more to my advantage, by freeing me of connexion which I should soon find myself much incumbered with very little honor to myself. My cares commenced with Kittson. In order to understand this, I must take you back to last year. I think I wrote you of the battle between Work and him. The consequences was Work ordered him off duty and sent him to the sea. Kittson left his family with me for the winter and Madam put my zeal to test. Her conduct was so notorious, particularly with one Indian, that I thought it incumbent upon me to let her husband know of it. But he, apparently blind to her faults, at once reported (I having upon one occasion, half drunk, gone to her room, which I told him myself) that I had attempted his wife's virtue and not succeeding, had traduced her, to give anything she might say of my conduct the less weight. Thus far my information had been by letter, and his conclusions, which made some of my friends write me in very sincere language, was formed. We met, and to clear myself, I made Madam confess before her husband and Mr. Harriott the truth. Had not Doctor McLoughlin, before he would give him [Kittson] permission to proceed inland to meet his family, made him promise to be quartered with me while I held the appointment I had, the result would in all probability have been serious. Never was a man's mind shown to such disadvantage. He had even read my letter to him to every man in the Columbia and had brought all to agree with him. But when the fatal secret came out, he could condescend to beg I would say no more about it. The ingratitude and vile aspersions of this man hurt me more than any single circumstance of my life, nor could I for a moment think he doubted the truth from the first. Certainly, if I had been aware the affair would have been made so public I would have punished the Indian who was the

cause. The explanation happened while the express was at Okanagan but I was too much shocked to write to you the particulars. Besides, to add to my cares, I had at the time to draw up some cross-statements of Mr. McLeod's Clallum expedition. In a few days, after I started for Kamloops and left my Girl to profit by the example she had received from Madam K[ittson] through the winter, which she did to the letter, and I was not too long off when the news reached me that she had absconded with the same rascal who had caused all my trouble with Kittson. My resolution was soon formed and he [the Indian] was punished with the loss of his ears (note from Chalk: Grandpa had his interpreter Jean Bte. Leolo to do the slicing), and Madam came under my own discipline. She is now with the Indians. The Doctor [having] expressed himself satisfied that Kittson's aspersions were ill founded, has disapproved openly, altho' I believe not within himself, of the punishment I had inflicted upon the Indian. Being urged, I fancy by Mr. Connolly, to notice it, he removed me from Thompson's River, at the same time he told me that the removal would be nothing against me and his kindness to me since has been uniform. The cause of Mr. Connolly's enmity I can see no other way to account for, than he thinks if my system is to be followed up, he and his son will run a risk, and perhaps if the truth were known they deserve it at my hands. With Ross there is little room to doubt both their guilt, and with Pambrun. The son's declared itself in a manner which rendered medicine necessary. By the Girl (Cleo)...I have a boy and since our separation she has been delivered of a daughter. The whole from the last accounts I heard were wretched indeed. The mother has been filched of everything I left with her and the children were little better. Lawrence is now, by order of Dr. McLoughlin, I trust at the fort, and I must endeavor to take care of the little fellow. Mr. Black was my successor [at Kamloops]. I have been the more particular, as I hear Kittson is to go out, and it is probable you may see him. When in talking over the subject he might give you a wrong impression.

The child I left at the Bay, was with her mother starved to death. I have had this conveyed to me in rather an uncertain manner, yet I fear it is too true. (Note from Chalk - he later found out that this wasn't true and she was to grow up and marry James Bird). Thus far, you see, I have had my little cares too. But time will, I trust, obliterate them and the day may come, when in thinking over them, the separation that has taken place will be a source of satisfaction. At present, I confess, I feel much vexed.

In giving you the running news of the Columbia, you will find our friend Dr. McLoughlin has had his anxieties too. Last spring, a fine vessel, Isabella, which was sent out to remain in the country to meet the loss of the William and Ann, was lost near the same spot. The crew fortunately escaped; the fact is they were too much impressed with the fate of the former crew, that they were not willing to run the same risk, and as soon as the vessel touched ground, (there was little or no wind at the time) pushed off in the boats nor stopped until they reached Vancouver. This was unfortunate, for had they passed the Fort George side where Manson is stationed, she in all probability would have been saved, as when he next morning went on board, she was afloat but he had no seamen to work her. A part of the cargo was got out in a damaged state. My Chum, Dr. Kenedy (John Frederick Kennedy), a fine young fellow, was on board. You may remember him, he went home in 1819. The other vessels, Eagle and Dryad, reached us safe, the latter to remain in the country too. But the Capt. (John Minors), a sorry sot, was packed off home

per the Eagle. I had the overlooking of the men in charge at the time and was often employed with this worthy. The consequence was I narrowly escaped the horse whip upon one or two occasions. His triumph however was short. The next misfortune was the loss of one of Mr. Ogden's boats with 9 men, a woman and two children in the Dalles below Walla Walla. After this, came the loss of one of Mr. Harriott's, who brought in the fall express, with 7 men in the little Dalles above Okanagan. And to crown the whole of our misfortune we were visited by a most malignant intermittant fever some time ago, and of which we are not totally recovered yet. It carried off King Comcomly with most of his subjects and those of the tribes about him. It is no unusual thing to see two or three dead bodies, in a short excursion along the river. Some of the villages were entirely depopulated. The establishment felt the contagion, too, severely. Almost all caught it more or less, but from care its effects were less destructive upon us. I was fortunate to escape. At one time there was 80 men besides women numbered amongst the patients. Of the former we buried three, a Mr. Anderson (James Anderson), shipbuilder, one of them, and of the latter many, besides children. I did not luckily extend beyond the Cascades.

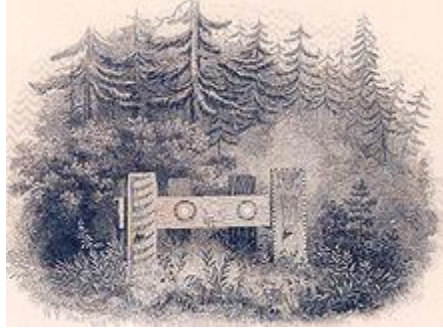
All you old friends are well. Work is off to the Snake country. Barnston has Walla Walla. He, I believe, goes out this spring and Mr. Simon McGillivray is off to take his post. Messrs. Heron and Kittson are at Colville. Here we now muster strong viz. Messrs. Ogden, McLeod, Harriott, Birnie, Douglas, Kenedy, Sinclair, McKay, Annance &c. The naval gents are off. On the Dryad, Messrs. Simpson, Duncan and Young to the Spanish settlements. And the Vancouver, Messrs. Ryan and Eales to the Sandw. Isles. The establishment of the men is large, perhaps 140 besides the three ship's crews, and there is a grand ado preparatory to an expedition under Mr. Ogden to extend the trade far north of Frazer's River. Who are to accompany him is not yet known, perhaps myself, if Dr. does not send me to Colville. At all events, the choice cannot be great for, of those here, Douglas goes out with the accounts, and Harriott commences with them and the stores for [the] ensuing year. They have two accountants now, to do the business alternately, and I hear Messrs. McLeod and Annance go out. From us who remain, with Manson at Ft. George, two are to be chosen for Nass (later called Fort Simpson). The only objection I have is [to] my being removed so far out of the way of your correspondence. The dread of the natives has cost me [not] a thought. The party was to have started last fall but the sickness of the ship's crew &c. rendered it impossible, however the EAGLE, before leaving this, and Cadboro were there reconnoitering. Sinclair, who is now employed making a new vessel of the Cadboro will, I expect, have the command of her. If not, he goes out, he says. The Dr. is getting a grand saw mill made up the Willamette, he was proud of his farm, the harvest was fine and got in time - without the usual labor. He has also made great progress in the buildings, but altho' they are numerous and commodious, none of them are yet finished off - as they ought to be. Until the fall express arrived I was employed with the men about the farm, vessels building &c. but since then I have had an easy berth at the saw mill. And I am happy to think, that the Dr. appears to have been satisfied with the results of my exertions in every business he has employed me upon. At the least he has used me with kindness, and I may add what very few can, we have not openly quarreled, except indeed when the affair of my girl came upon the carpet, and as I spoke in general terms, he was, I believe, aware that I aimed at Mr.

Connolly. I should, at the time, have been happy indeed if Mr. C, had noticed it. What truths might have come out is now of little consequence. Do not, however, think from all I have written upon this subject, that I fancy myself in the background. It may be so, yet I have no cause to think it. While I give satisfaction to my immediate Bourgeois, I by no means think it incumbent to flatter the inordinate variety of every Jackanapes in office. I will follow the plough first and think myself happy under my task before I will submit to so vile a degradation. I am now a single man, and it is likely I shall remain so, at all events no more such momentary connexions. If I take a life it will be for life, and in the meantime I propose to behave myself. Hitherto I may set slander at defiance nor have the fair Cheenooks upon any one occasion been to draw me off the line I had marked out for myself.

I shall add a postscript to this before the express leaves this. In the meantime, in looking over the results of my balances, including the interest and Bill I sent to you last spring I think the sum will be L690.0.0. To this I shall endeavor to enclose a draft upon Outfit 1831/32, for L80.0.0 and if possible Work's order for L13.0.0 I do not know if they will continue to give me drafts in this manner before it comes due, and to draw out of the Company's hands, I fancy, it is unnecessary to apply to any person in this country. You will perceive I retain L20. to meet my own expenses in the country and the L80. is what I propose to save. It must therefore be spring 1833, except indeed I keep under the L20. or make transfers to my credit, before any money will be actually due to me by the Compy. Yet if no objections are made to my drawing upon the Fur trade, I will, if possible, continue to transmit about L80 Per Ann. However I would not wish to risk a refusal, and after all the difference will only be one year. Keep up your spirits and depend upon my zeal to augment the stock, nor do not allow every little cross to depress you. I shall be anxious until I hear from you, to know what line of life you have adopted. In the meantime I am consoled with the impression that it cannot be worse than the one you have left. It is said by all your friends "there is no fear of Ned." Be it so and rest assured no one can be more interested in the truth of this, than
My Dear Edward Your Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger"

A note on Chief Comcomly:

[“Chief Comcomly (1754? - 1830) was a Native American chief of the Chinookan people. He was the principal chief of the Chinook Confederacy, which extended along the Columbia River from the Cascade Range to the Pacific Ocean. Washington Irving described him in his book Astoria as "a shrewd old savage with but one eye". He was friendly to the White explorers whom he encountered, and received medals from Lewis and Clark. He also assisted the Astor Expedition and offered to help the Americans fight the British during the War of 1812, but Astoria was sold to the British instead. Comcomly was friendly with the British as well. He was entertained at Fort Vancouver by John McLoughlin and he piloted Hudson's Bay Company ships up the Columbia. Comcomly's daughter Raven, also known as Princess Sunday, married Duncan McDougall of the Astor Expedition, and after he left she married Archibald McDonald. She was the mother of Ranald MacDonald. Comcomly died in 1830 when a fever epidemic struck his tribe. His remains were interred in a canoe, per Chinook custom, in the family burial ground. In 1834, Comcomly's skull was stolen from his grave by a Hudson's Bay Company physician and sent to England for display in a museum. There was a station of the Oregon Electric Railway in Marion County named "Concomly" for the chief. Chinook elder and historian Catherine Troeh was a descendant of Comcomly.] http://viswiki.com/en/Chief_Comcomly



A Chinook burial.

Back to Grandpa:

After the fever crisis calmed down Dr. McLoughlin sent Francis back up river to Fort Colville to work on the farm. Francis was still sore from a fall off a horse that summer of 1831, this ailment would plague him for some time afterwards.

From the “Reminiscences of Fort Vancouver on Columbia River, Oregon in 1832”

The author not identified. Found in Transactions of the Ninth Annual Re-Union of the Oregon Pioneer Association, for 1881. Located at Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon:

“Another man of mark at Vancouver, in my early days, was Mr. Francis Ermatinger, a clerk in the service, a regular jolly, jovial cockney, whom we sometimes styled Bardolf, from the size and color of his nose. He was full of humor and had a great fund of talk, of which he was no niggard, and would address himself to the doctor in all his humors, when others took care to stand aloof, so that it was often said he bearded the lion in his den; but sometimes the lion would give a growl, and say that Frank did nothing but bow, wow, wow. Frank, however, was a capital trader, and was dispatched to the Snake and Flathead countries to encounter the American fur trades. He was also frequently engaged escorting the missionaries and from his constant good humor would often make the most staid and long-faced of them laugh heartily, and I am pretty certain that many of them to this day remember kindly the frank and jovial Ermatinger. He afterwards retired from the Company’s service and joined a brother in business in Canada, where he died.”

“Ten years of Francis Ermatinger’s life, from 1832 to 1842, are unfortunately the least-well documented by his letters to his brother Edward. It was a period in his career in which he most distinguished himself in the pursuit of furs in a country dominated by American trappers. He worked more independently than he had before, or would ever be allowed to do again. These years saw the closing of the frontier so far as the fur trade in North America was concerned. There were to be no more forays into fresh beaver country. Competition for the dwindling supply of fur-bearing animals along well-trapped streams was practically at an end along the western slope of the Rocky Mountains before mid-century. For a decade the skills Ermatinger demonstrated in cornering the trade of both Indian tribes and free American trappers won him the admiration of his superiors

and competitors alike. As Francis was to write to Edward of his 1839 campaign in the Snake Country, this was the period of his “master work.

Ermatinger’s courage, and a kindness of spirit readily recognized in spite of rough appearance and generous use of profanity, were noticed and appreciated by numbers of missionaries and souls in search of adventure, some of whom seemed to be crossing the Rockies and the plains every year, in spite of the complete lack of tourist facilities. Some of these people and the events which occurred when they met Ermatinger were colorful in the extreme; yet Francis wrote almost nothing about them. Probably this omission was due, in part, to his rationalization that Edward could not be much interested (now that he was embarked on his own business concerns) and, in part, to the lack of writing facilities in the rough camps where he spent his few spare hours.” McDonald, p147.

Francis knew many of the historical figures and westward bound travelers of his time. He seemed to have been mentioned in most of their diaries and journals between the years 1825 to 1853, including Washington Irving’s novel *Captain Bonneville*.

During this period of his life, he had “an almost paranoid obsession with the Hudson’s Bay Company’s failure to promote him to Chief Trader, the years he spent in the Flathead and Snake districts were probably the most self-fulfilling years of his career. He was a person who liked decisiveness, with the fewest possible authoritarian restraints, and there was plenty of that type of action. He wanted to prove himself to his beloved bourgeois, Chief Factor John McLoughlin. The opportunity was there. He was provided with a grudge toward a fellow employee (Francis Heron) that could best be nursed by besting his competitor’s record at the trade.

Comradeship with hearty and crude men, whether of the Scotch and Irish Hudson’s Bay Company variety, or backwoodsmen from the States, like Joseph Meek and Robert Newell, was a source of enjoyment to Ermatinger. He relished the company of a proper Bostonian like Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who knew when to stand on ceremony and when a good drunk between friends was called for. Existence for the men scrounging for peltries among the tributaries of the Columbia and Missouri Rivers was bound to be primitive and uncomfortable, but it is not possible from the evidence at hand to conclude that Ermatinger hated the life. What he hated was his exploitation by the huge fur company.” McDonald, p. 148

Harriett D. Munnick wrote: “During the six years from 1832 to 1838 Francis Ermatinger was constantly coming and going on the trails to the mountain rendezvous and as far south as California, meeting all comers and keeping an ear out for all that was going on in the fur trade. Scarcely any traveler who left a written record failed to mention him, be the traveler a competitor, emigrant or missionary. Many of them fell in with the trader’s brigade and traveled with it for the sake of safety; some of these, like Nathaniel Wyeth and Jason Lee, were returning to the East on business, some were scouting the country with an eye to entering the fur trade, some, like David Douglas and John Townsend, were scientists investigating the flora and fauna of the region, and still others were missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, bent on converting the natives. All, with the possible exception of Captain Bonneville, who was actually spying out the fur trade

under the guise of a military expedition, spoke warmly of the help they had got from Ermatinger in all circumstances.” Letters to Mrs. F. F. Victor,” Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXIII (1926) p. 211 and The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, Leroy R. Hafen, -Chapter on Edward and Francis Ermatinger by Harriett D. Munnick, p.162. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif. 1971.

Using Fort Colville as a base he worked the Flathead country. “Up to 1832, when Ermatinger was placed in charge of the Flathead trade, the winter post of Flathead had first been an outpost in the Spokane district, and later in the Colville district. In 1832 the system was changed and the post was no longer kept up. Instead, Ermatinger was placed in charge of a small party and outfitted with goods for the purpose of trading the hunts of American trappers near the borders of the Snake Country and the headwaters of the Missouri. He traveled under the protection of the Flathead camp and was able to trade skins as they were collected by the Indians. This plan, with certain modifications, was followed in subsequent years, and Ermatinger arrived back at Fort Vancouver from the last Flathead party of which he was in charge on January 7, 1838.” *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book*, E. E. Rich, p212

He was under the command of Chief Trader Francis Heron at Fort Colville, who took John Warren Dease's place in 1829. Since Heron and Dr. McLoughlin did not like each other, he and Heron were destined not to either. Although they despised each other they avoided coming to blows. While at Fort Colville in the spring of 1832, Francis was in charge of the farm and was proud of the grain crop that year. “In that year Governor Simpson reported him as being ‘a stout active boisterous fellow who is a tolerable Clerk & Trader and qualified to be useful where bustle and activity without any great exercise of judgment are necessary.’” (Colin Robertson's “Correspondence Book”p.212)

Flatheads 24th March 1832

“My Dear Edward,

Upon the return of the Express last fall I received your several communications, and felt pleasure from their contents. I trust your expectations may be realized and you may depend upon my readiness to continue to aid you as far as my poor means will permit. Your letter by the Columbia Ship, Capt. Kipling (you know him, I believe, and went to London together) I got also, but did not write you then, though I was urged to do so by the Doctor, with whom I passed the summer and experienced his kindness as usual, but when he ordered me off to Colville in Sept. he merely gave me a few hours notice and I was then so much troubled in body and mind, that I had neither time nor inclination to write. I had been confined a month to my bed, from a fall from my horse, which injured my leg and it was long after before I could go without crutches. But at present, thank God, I am well, and have overcome my limping. When I left the sea, it was understood that Colville was to be my winter quarters, and upon these arrangements operations were commenced, but Mr. Heron who came here, as the good things of the past decreed, felt alarmed at the prospect and ordered me up for the remainder of the season [to the Flatheads]. He is altogether a mean fellow, and he does not go out as expected by the express, I shall refuse to serve under him. His private conduct has been in unison with his public and he may deem himself lucky that the effects of his lust are known only in his own department. All your old friends are well. Mr. Work, Capt. Simpson and Dr. [William] Tod[d] were the traders of last year, but they come in upon half shares. The

Captain I fancy did not live to receive his additional honor, or must have died very shortly after it. His complaint was of the liver and he died at Nass upon 9th Sept. Work has the Snakes (Snake River Expedition) again and has had some warm work of it. Two or three of his men have been killed, one or two wounded. He received a ball on the shoulder but it luckily had not force to injure him. We were together a long time last summer, and talked of you often. Mr. Ogden, [Donald] Manson, and Dr. Kenedy[John Frederick Kennedy] are at Nass and from last accounts doing tolerable, the natives kind in the extreme. They had traded last Sept. 1500 skins. Mr. [Samuel] Black has my old quarters and Mr. [Simon] McGillivray, Walla Walla. The new Chief Factor, Mr. Finlayson (Duncan Finlayson), has come in for the Columbia, but whether the Dr. will go out in the Spring is uncertain. It is left with himself to remain one year more if he chooses, and we have had no news from the sea this winter. However, when I left him last fall he assured me he would go if possible. The fever was then at its height and he had a most miserable time of it. Since then he may have changed his mind. I shall feel his departure. He was kind enough to take my little Boy under his care, and in every instance has shown a good will towards me. It will, from what passed between us, I think go hard, if he does not get a place in this department. But possibly the arrival of Mr. Finlayson may frustrate his views. Mr. [Francis] Heron, [William] Kittson, and [Francois Noel] Annance, it is understood, leave us this spring, the latter mentioned in New Caledonia. And Mr. [John Edward] Harriott goes out, I fancy with the accounts. I think I wrote you of the state of Madame Harriott's mind. She recovered at the sea, but fall before last, upon her way across, had a relapse, was lost, and no vestige of her has been seen. This happened the day after she met her husband, nor did he get intelligence, altho' so near at hand. [John] Todd and [Charles] Ross are very ill and are allowed to leave New Caledonia via Peace River. Capt. [Benjamin] McKenzie is amongst the new arrivals in that quarter, and Mr. [Pierre] Pambrun returned to the Columbia to take a place from those going out from this.

With respect to myself, I am well, yet ill-pleased with my present situation. Hitherto I have been fortunate and was always placed under gentlemen whom I respected. Not so this year, and from the advice the Doctor gave me before I left the sea, I think he anticipated this. With him, Mr. Harriott &c., I was happy. At present my thoughts are much occupied upon the young Lady at the Sea (Maria Eloisa McLoughlin). But I do not expect that I can succeed, the father has such an aversion to the country and would not like to leave his daughter behind him. She is a fine Girl and deserves to be well provided for. Perhaps I may give you the result of a second application, in a postscript from Colvile. The first I made last winter but met with no success. However, not discouraged I wrote again from Colvile, as most of his objections to my first will be removed by his leaving the Columbia

In looking over your letters, I find you have promised sending an account annually but have not yet commenced doing so ... This has given me much anxiety. ... Pray be particular in this last respect at least, for it will be no time to rectify a mistake with the Company after we have passed two or three years writing explanations; they take care to debit me with the amount at once, and you should take as much to set my mind at rest by acknowledging the receipt. I shall say nothing conclusive about the interest, but I think,

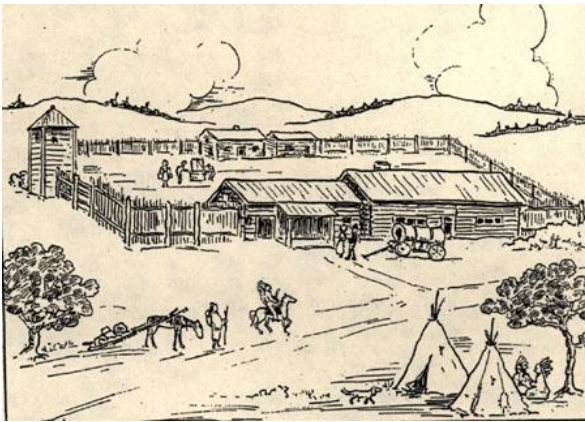
if you wish to allow me any, it ought to be that of the country. However I repeat to you to be under no apprehension from me, unless something very serious takes place to induce me to leave the country, but in the meantime keep your accounts regular in case of accidents. When you have cash to spare, you may possibly collect mine little by little, without injuring your business. I have now (taking it for granted that you have drawn against the Company) not a farthing, as I rather scrimped myself to close for 1831-32. I shall send you a Bill for L65.0.0 only, upon 1832-33. Hereafter if you require any more of my money you must let me know or wait until it becomes due and draw it yourself by power of attorney. Mr. McGillivray offered to advance 2 or 300 pounds at 5 P C for your use, but I declined taking it and if you can secure our own prosperity I shall be much better pleased than by doing so under obligation to others. Many have their eyes cast on you. Some think there is no fear of your doing well, while others say it is impossible for any young man to succeed from this country. [When I hear] opinions of this sort, I generally weight the motives they may be given with, and shall be proud indeed if by your example I can contradict them. In the meantime I have every confidence, but as I do not know the country you are in, form no opinion of my own. Hereafter I trust you will be able to extend your prospects and choose your situation. For myself, it is impossible to say what I may do. At times I am almost persuaded to leave the service, and try the Fur Trade upon my own account, but I come to nothing decisive, yet fell perfectly indifferent to the service. Much may depend upon my success in what I have noted above.

Colville 16th April. I have just received a letter from the Doctor in which he acknowledges mine, but gives very little hope. His principal objection is the country in which he says he would not like to leave a child of his. I also received one [a letter] containing the "Serious censure of council for the injudicious mode of punishing the Indian who took off my woman." This gives me no uneasiness, but I am vexed with Mr. Heron and for two straws would go out. Poor Work has had many battles with the Indians, and several of his men wounded; he says little of his own arm. I got a letter from him a few days ago. He had then been attacked by three hundred Blood Indians, which lasted five hours but was upon the point of removing to a less dangerous part of the country. Mr. William McGillivray, with one man, was drowned in New Caledonia last winter. He has been most unfortunate. In the first instance some years ago, he lost his wife and child, both drowned in New Caledonia. The winter before he lost his son, whom it rumored he almost killed, and now is no more himself. My Dear Edward, if you can manage to live even tolerably, never for one moment think of this service. We must now work to get me out of it, and then I trust we may be somewhat happy; here I can never be so. Mr. Simon McGillivray is to be my Bouvois. He is now here, and I feel pleased that he is so. Pambrun has Walla Walla. The Gentlemen going out are Messrs. Heron, Harriott, Kittson and Annance. Poor Tod I believe leaves New Caledonia the other way, he has been ill again. They appear careless about bringing him on; in fact, I fear they are disposed to keep him back altogether. The chief trader to come in this Outfit is supposed to be with Hargrave (James Hargrave) or Douglas. All now came in upon half shares. I have just received a letter from Mr. Archy McDonald in which he says you did not write him, and he wishes me to remember him kindly to you. He is well and adds he was much pressed for time that he was obliged to neglect you with many

others. I trust, My Dear Edward, you are well and happy. I will endeavor to rough through a little longer, altho' I have no hopes of getting forward, in order to be a stand-by for you, but in the mean time, hope for the best, and as soon as possible I will join you or try something else. The money I had in the Company's hands, I take for granted you have drawn; this would have enabled you to increase your outfit last year. I am now a little in debt, and I fancy owe Clowes something for a side arm which I wrote to our deceased father for, and which C. tells me he will send out Per ship. This will soon clear off, and beg of you to keep up your spirits and believe me

My Dear Edward Your Most Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger.

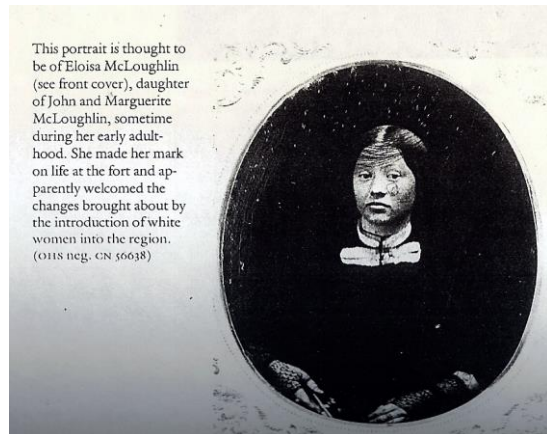
You say you have time, therefore make this out the best way you can for I cannot copy it. Annance remains behind with us..."



Fort Colville



(gatheringaroundthetable.blogspot.com)



This portrait is thought to be of Eloisa McLoughlin (see front cover), daughter of John and Marguerite McLoughlin, sometime during her early adulthood. She made her mark on life at the fort and apparently welcomed the changes brought about by the introduction of white women into the region. (OHS neg. CN 56638)



Maria Eloisa McLoughlin

(Oregon Historical Quarterly, Fall 1991)

In the summer of 1832 a newcomer arrived from Boston, in the person of Nathaniel J. Wyeth. He came to trade beaver and had intended to compete against the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as against the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and the western outfit of the American Fur Company. Wintering at Fort Vancouver he acquainted himself with Dr. McLoughlin and talked much of the fur trade. He "suggested that the two factions set up some dividing line beyond which American and British would agree not to trap. And that the Grande Ronde River be the boundary, and that the traders of both countries

would be able to pass freely across the territory.” McDonald, p152. McLoughlin was interested but the Hudson’s Bay Company’s London Committee wasn’t.

Wyeth met Francis Ermatinger at Fort Vancouver and when Ermatinger’s brigade of 3 canoes with 120 pieces of goods and 21 men, left the fort on February 3, 1833, he was in one of the canoes. The February 3rd date is Wyeth’s while CF McLoughlin recorded the departure date as January 31st. Nine of Wyeth’s men were in the canoes too, nine were leaving Wyeth’s service to settle in Oregon. Francis saw clearly that if Wyeth could outfit the Americans trappers from the Columbia so could he. He emphasized a shift from trapping for furs to trading for them, and his standard operating procedure would be to trade with anyone who had furs to exchange. Two of Wyeth’s men would travel with them, Wiggin Abbott and John Woodman.

“In 1833 a Japanese junk named Hojunmaru was wrecked on the Washington coast, and porcelain pieces by the dozen were sold to fur traders out of the Fort Vancouver store.”

Nancy Anderson



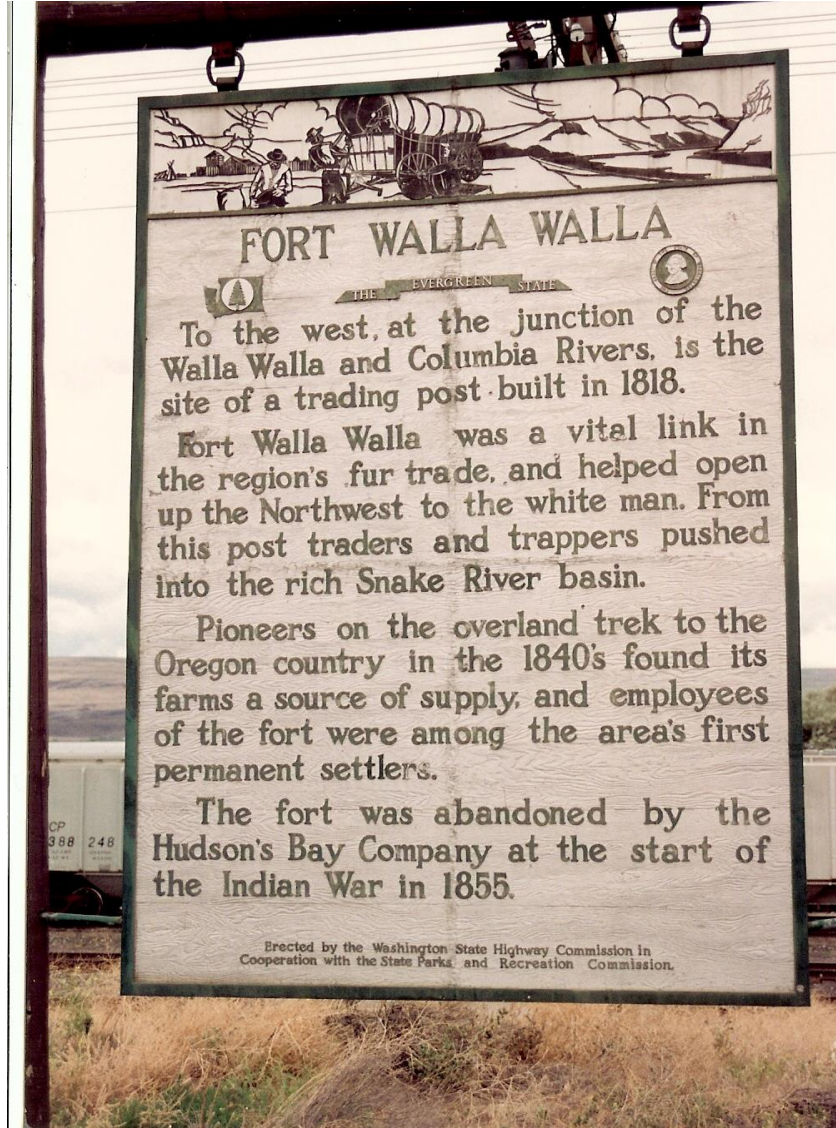
This picture shows the typical HBC canoe and its occupants.

Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834) *Two of the Companies Officers Traveling in a Canoe Made of Birchbark Manned by Canadians*, c. 1823 Watercolor and pen and ink, 21.5 x 26.8 cm National Gallery of Canada (23007 <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>)

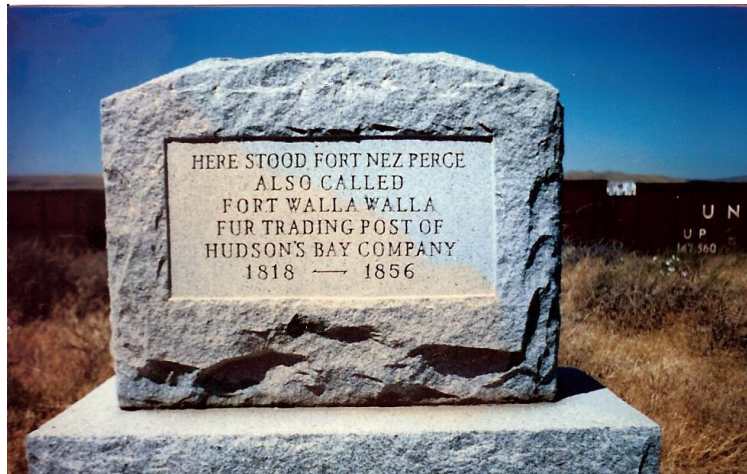
By the 5th Ermatinger’s party had passed the Cascades, site of present-day Bonneville Dam, and three days later they had reached the Great Dalles. After portaging around The Dalles the brigade proceeded on to Fort Walla Walla, which was reached on the 14th. Here the brigade laid over for five days to be refurbished, which allowed Francis time to visit with Pierre Pambrun. The brigade would now travel by horse, so the cargo of

supplies was taken out of canoes and packed on horses. From here they traveled to old Spokane House by going east and then northeast on the Walla Walla River, then up to the junction of the Snake and Palouse Rivers. From here it was straight north to Spokane House.

Leaving the cargo at Spokane with some men to guard it Frank and Wyeth went on to Fort Colville, the district headquarters located at Kettle Falls on the Columbia River. At Fort Colville Francis completed his arrangements for water transportation of his goods down the Clark Fork River to the Flatheads, and cleared his accounts with Chief Trader Heron, and wrote the letter to Edward immediately proceeding.



I took this photograph while working in that area in the 1990s.



I took both of the above photographs in the early 1990s. The bottom monument I found out on the back roads in farm country.

After returning to Spokane House by March 26th, they again resumed their journey heading northeast to Lake Coeur d'Alene and the Pend d'Oreille River on March 27, 1833. They reached the Pend d'Oreille on the 30th. At this point the cargo was loaded onto flat-bottomed boats to be poled across the lake and up the Clark Fork to Flathead Post near Thompson's Falls. Wyeth went overland with the string of horses, following the shore of Lake Pend d'Oreille, then southeast along the Clark Fork to Flathead Post,

which he reached on April 7th. He had a difficult passage through the wet new snow. Francis and the boats arrived at the post five days later on April 12th.

Chief Factor John McLoughlin writes to George Simpson about Francis Ermatinger's movements. D.5/4, fo. 37 George Simpson's incoming mail:

"Fort Vancouver, 20th March 1833

To George Simpson

...10th -- Mr. Ermatinger was sent last summer into the plains from the Flat Heads and from the information that he brought we have determined to send a party into the plains to meet some of the American trappers. Our party will divide into two; Mr. Ermatinger with four men will proceed with the Flat Heads from the post of the same name, and Mr. Payette will proceed from [Fort] Walla Walla by way of Salmon River and join Mr. Ermatinger there. In this way they will stand a better chance to meet the American trappers who are equipped by no one and trade with the first come, and of whom there are a large number scattered over that country. Last year an additional number of a hundred and twenty men under a Major Bonnevillie came there and what they will do is impossible for us to say, tho' certainly they cannot find furs to pay any thing like the labour of such a number of people in the Snake Country.John McLoughlin" (from Nancy Anderson)

"Moving now with the [Flathead] Indians, Wyeth and Ermatinger continued up the Clark's Fork from Thompson's Falls to the Horse Plains, near present Plains, Montana. They left the main stream to follow first the Flathead, then the Jocko rivers. On April 28 they moved through the Coriakan Defile towards the Plains to the south, reaching the site of present-day Missoula on April 30. From May 9 to 17, the camp moved southeast along the Bitterroot River, and on May 18, crossed the height of land into the Big Hole River Valley." McDonald, p167.



The Flathead River near Perma, Montana, I took this in June of 2010.



I took this near the top of the Continental Divide of Montana in June, 2010.

“Again the Flathead camp crossed into the Columbia drainage basin along the Salmon River and its tributaries. They were joined here by one of Bonneville’s hunters, Hodgkiss, on May 30. Bonneville had wintered on the Salmon River, not far from the divide. Hodgkiss was traveling with a Nez Perce camp. Hunters and camp followers of

several Salish-speaking tribes swelled the number of lodges as they moved across northeastern Idaho with the Three Buttes in the distance to the southeast. Blackfeet Indians dogged their camp constantly, stealing horses and ambushing single hunters. Buffalo-hunting now absorbed the attention of the Flathead hunters, and on June 9 one of the Flathead hunters was gored in the chest by a bull. Wyeth observed that though his lung had been punctured, the young Indian was calm, and quietly dictated his will while Ermatinger bound his chest. The relatives of the Indian gathered about him and repeated each of the young man's statements as he recited his wishes for the distribution of his goods. A travois was fashioned for the wounded man, and he traveled with the main party for several days before he expired.

Word came on June 9 that [Francois] Payette was with the Nez Perce Indians and would meet them at the Fork's (of the Snake), presumably the junction of the Snake River with Henry's Fork. On June 19 the party arrived at the sink of Lost River. They were then in the Camas Prairie near the present town of Dubois, Idaho. Bonneville was known to be not far off. On July 1 men from Bonneville came into camp. On July 3 Ermatinger met with Bonneville himself." McDonald, p167



Benjamin Bonneville



Washington Irving



Nathaniel J. Wyeth

At the meeting, Bonneville tried to undersell the HBC camp, but to his surprise he found that the Indians would only trade with Ermatinger and Payette. This was the encounter that Washington Irving had written about in his novel *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*. So sure was Francis that Irving was telling of him and not Francois Payette, that he wrote to Edward Ermatinger to tell him about it. Here is what was written by Washington Irving:

"During his sojourn on the Snake River plain, Captain Bonneville made one of his first essays at the strategy of the fur trade. There was at this time an assemblage of Nez Perces, Flatheads, and Cottonois Indians encamped together upon the plain; well provided with beaver, which they had collected during the spring. These they were waiting to traffic with a resident trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was stationed among them, and with whom they were accustomed to deal. As it happened, the trader was almost entirely destitute of Indian goods; his spring supply not having yet reached him. Captain Bonneville had secret intelligence that the supplies were on their way, and

would soon arrive; he hoped, however, by a prompt move, to anticipate their arrival, and secure the market to himself. Throwing himself, therefore, among the Indians, he opened his packs of merchandise and displayed the most tempting wares: bright cloths, and scarlet blankets, and glittering ornaments, and everything gay and glorious in the eyes of warrior or squaw; all, however, was in vain. The Hudson's Bay trader was a perfect master of his business, thoroughly acquainted with the Indians he had to deal with, and held such control over them that none dared to act openly in opposition to his wishes; nay, more -- he came nigh turning the tables upon the captain, and shaking the allegiance of some of his free trappers, by distributing liquors among them. The latter, therefore, was glad to give up a competition, where the war was likely to be carried into his own camp.

In fact, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company have advantages over all competitors in the trade beyond the Rocky Mountains. That huge monopoly centers within itself not merely its own hereditary and long-established power and influence; but also those of its ancient rival, but now integral part, the famous Northwest Company. It has thus its races of traders, trappers, hunters, and voyageurs, born and brought up in its service, and inheriting from preceding generations a knowledge and aptitude in everything connected with Indian life, and Indian traffic. In the process of years, this company has been enabled to spread its ramifications in every direction; its system of intercourse is founded upon a long and intimate knowledge of the character and necessities of the various tribes; and of all the fastnesses, defiles, and favorable hunting grounds of the country. Their capital, also, and the manner in which their supplies are distributed at various posts, or forwarded by regular caravans, keep their traders well supplied, and enable them to furnish their goods to the Indians at a cheap rate. Their men, too, being chiefly drawn from the Canadas, where they enjoy great influence and control, are engaged at the most trifling wages, and supported at little cost; the provisions which they take with them being little more than Indian corn and grease. They are brought also into the most perfect discipline and subordination, especially when their leaders have once got them to their scene of action in the heart of the wilderness.

These circumstances combine to give the leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company a decided advantage over all the American companies that come within their range, so that any close competition with them is almost hopeless.

Shortly after Captain Bonneville's ineffectual attempt to participate in the trade of the associated camp, the supplies of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived; and the resident trader was enabled to monopolize the market."

Was Irving talking about Ermatinger or Payette? Or a little about both? Bernard De Voto thought Irving was speaking of Payette. "It seems likely that both Payette and Ermatinger were involved. Payette was with the Nez Perce, and may have been waiting for his outfit from Ermatinger. Bonneville arrived on the scene and Payette convinced the Indians that they should wait for the "King George" man. Or it may have been that Payette was arriving with a fresh supply of goods for Ermatinger. Ermatinger was positive that he was the man Bonneville had meant in his journals." McDonald p168.

Back to our story:

“On July 7 Wyeth parted company with Ermatinger and went towards Henry’s Fork of the Snake. Ermatinger, according to Wyeth, went with the Pend d’Oreille Indians back toward the Flathead River. Wyeth did not mention an encounter with Payette, but from a letter written that summer to Ermatinger, it is likely that the three men were together.”

McDonald, p168

Just before he departed from Ermatinger’s camp Wyeth wrote a letter to Chief Factor McLoughlin expressing his appreciation of Francis’ hospitality and polite manner in his association with him.

“July 5, 1833

Plain of the Three Butes [sic]

Having arrived at the camp of Mr. Bonneville I take the liberty of writing to you by this last opportunity to express how much I am under obligation to Mr. Ermatinger for the polite and agreeable manner in which he has dispensed your hospitality to me during the whole route.

I am here in a direct train for the States, and cannot without some extraordinary accident fail of reaching home in Oct. next. Should you visit the states I would feel myself highly honored by a visit or any intercourse which might be agreeable to you for which purpose I have enclosed my direction. Should any of your friends visit the States a letter would procure them any attention which may be in my power. It will be a pleasure to execute any business commands which you may entrust me. Models of Agriculture implements, seeds and other matters connected with your tastes or or business.

Resply., yr. obt. Servt. Nathl J. Wyeth

To Doct. McLaughland, Fort Vancouver.” Wyeth, “Correspondence and Journals”. P 68.

Wyeth wrote Francis too, from the Green River on July 18, 1833:

“Mr. F. Ermatinger

Dear Sir:

I arrived here on the 16th 9 days from your camp. Saw no Indians but saw the bones of Mr. More killed by the Blackfeet last year and buried them. He was one of my men who left me in Pieres Hole last year. A Mr. Mudd was also killed by them. All the rest arrived well in the States. I found here about 250 whites. A list of the Cos. and their beaver which I have seen I subjoin. I should have been proud of my countrymen if you could have seen the American Fur Co. or the party of Mr. S. Campbell. For efficiency of goods, men, animals and arms, I do not believe the fur business has afforded a better example of discipline. I have sold my animals and shall make a boat and float down the Yellowstone and Missouri and see what the world is made of there. Mr. Wm Sublette and Mr. Campbell have come up the Missouri and established a trading fort at each location of the posts of the Am. Fur Co., with a view to strong opposition. Good luck to their quarrels. I have got letters from the States. The chief news are that cholera Morbus has swept through them killing 5000 people in N. York and in proportion elsewhere. Genl. Jackson [is the] president, an insurrection in the Southern States on acc. of the

Tariff but quelled by Bloc(k)ading their ports and the repeal of the most obnoxious parts of the same. About 25 Americans [mountain men] have been killed during the last year. A Snake village is here with us. I find Bonneville's connections are responsible (A statement that he has a draft from B. for horses follows but is crossed out.) he being very short of them. He lost one entire party among the Crows that is the horses and of course all the beavers. A party under Bridger and Frapp also lost their horses by the Aricarees, also Harris party lost theirs by the same Inds. who have taken a permanent residence on the Platte and left the Missouri which is the reason I go by the last named river. Harris party did not interfere with any of my plans south of Snake River.

In my opinion you would have been robbed of your goods and beaver if you had come here although it is the west side of the Mts., for Green River empties into the head of the Gulf of California. I give you this as an honest opinion which you can communicate to the Co. There is here a great majority of scoundrels. I should much doubt the personal safety of any one from your side of the house.

My respects to Mr. Payette and believe me yr. sincere Friend, Nath. J. Wyeth.
(a post scriptum)

Drips and Fontenelle arrived July 8th 160 men a good supply of animals. Obtained 51 packs of 100 lbs ea. Beaver.

Rocky Mtn. Fur Co. 55 packs 55 men well supplied one party not in Beaver sent home by Mr. Campbell.

Mess. Bonneville & Co. 22² packs. Few goods few horses and poor Capt. Cerry goes home B. remains.

Harris party now in hand 7 packs Beaver and are on foot." *Sources of History of Oregon, F. G. Young*

Wyeth had come west to make money in the fur business and by packing salmon. He was going back East for more supplies and trade goods. He made two expeditions west one in 1832 and one in 1834.



Yellowstone River (I took this photo in June of 2010)

The next fur trader that Francis ran into was, Warren A. Ferris, of the American Fur Company, whom he met on the Bitterroot River on November 28th. The next day, along with Robert “Doc” Newell, they rode north from Hell Gate into the Little Camas Prairie through the Coriakan Defile, retracing Ermatinger’s route taken in the spring with Wyeth. They were trying to overtake the main party of Pend d’Oreilles. Francis collected furs as they traveled. At Flathead Post he loaded the furs onto barges, cached the trade goods in one of the old cabins at the post, and then left by water to Fort Colville. Because of the Pend d’Oreilles honesty he had no worry over his goods left at the old fort. There were there when he returned. At Fort Colville he was happy to see that Chief Trader Francis Heron had been replaced by his old friend, Archibald McDonald.

Warren A. Ferris wrote about his visit to Flathead Post, “In the morning following we started for the house, passed out into the plain, at the mouth of Thompson’s River, several miles in extent, and occasionally intersected by woodland ... Under the direction of my guides, I passed across the plain several miles, to the Flathead house, situated on the river bearing the same name. This establishment formerly consisted of seven hewn log buildings; but all are now going to decay, except the one inhabited by the Indians who accompanied me. They supply themselves with firewood, at the expense of the other buildings. They are entrusted with the secret cache, made in one of those decayed houses, containing the goods which yet remain of Mr. Ermatinger’s stock last fall. He would be there shortly, they informed me, on his way to the plains. During my stay at the fort, the Indians went out daily to hunt, and seldom returned unsuccessful.

On the thirteenth I left Flatt head post in a barge loaded with about a ton of merchandise, for the Horse plain, and manned by four stout Canadians; who propelled it with poles where the

water was shallow, but when its depth would not admit of this mode of locomotion, recourse was had to paddles. We halted at sundown, opposite to a rock called "Le Gros Rocker". By noon on the following day, we reached Horse Prairie and encamped with a few lodges of Indians, who were awaiting the arrival of Mr. Ermatinger. In the afternoon, a Canadian reached us from Bitter Root river; he informed me that my fellow trader of last summer, was now with the Flat heads. Mr. Ermatinger came up in the evening by land, with a quantity of goods upon pack horses. From this period until the twenty-third; Mr. Montour and myself, having purchased equipment from the Hudson Bay Company; were employed in arranging bales, purchasing provisions, and making preparations for our departure to the Flat-heads."

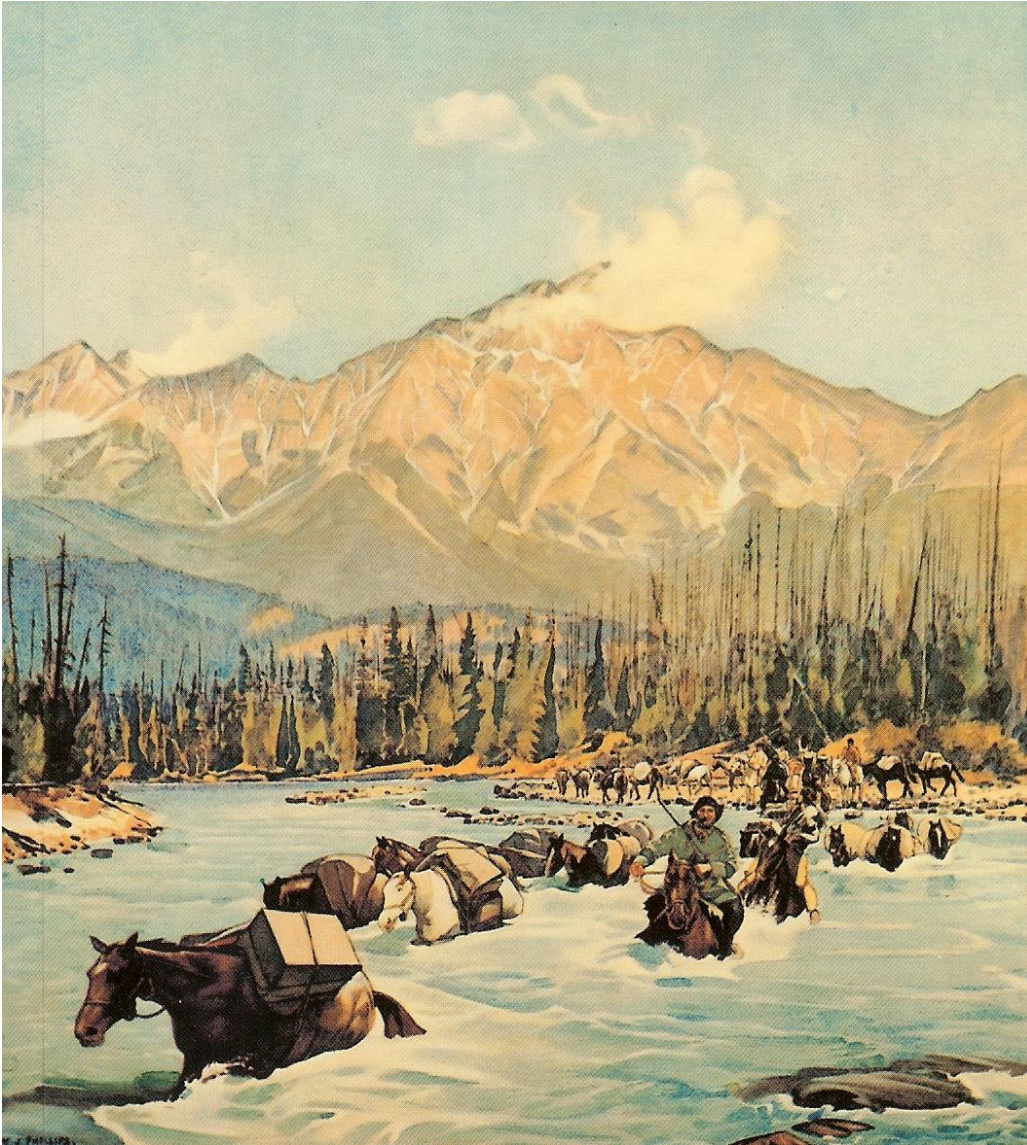
Life in the Rocky Mountains, Warren A. Ferris, p234-237

In 1834 Francis Ermatinger was to take the same route as he did in 1833 arriving in the Flathead country in April, where he met Warren Ferris.

"Ferris had wintered close to the Flathead Post, and one of his first orders of business was to purchase a trade outfit from Ermatinger. Probably had the old Chief Factor from Vancouver been aware of the sale, Ferris would never have received that outfit. He got it from Ermatinger with no more than a promise to pay at the 1835 Rendezvous."

"Ferris travelled with Ermatinger and the Flathead camp as they left the wintering grounds, up the Clark's Fork to the Jocko, along the Jocko valley to the little canyon that led them into the plains east of Hellsgate. On the Camas prairie, near the junction of the Bitterroot with the Clark's Fork, the Indians were chasing and breaking wild horses.





This is a good example of how the fur brigades looked as they crossed the rivers.

"The Parting of the Brigades, 1826 (Yellowhead Pass)." HBC's 1938 Calendar Illustration by Walter J. Phillips. HBCA Reference, P-402 (N9034) a note: Nancy Anderson wrote: "The guys in the foreground would have been heading to Athabasca Pass, which they called Mount Hooker Pass (or at least ACA did.) Those in the background for Yellowhead Pass to New Caledonia-- that pass was also called Leather Pass because the leather was delivered from East of the Moutnains through that pass -- which you would know if you read my book."

Ferris makes some interesting notes about the wild horse roundup: "During our journey, we saw wild horses galloping in bands over the plains, almost daily; several of which, were caught by our Indians and domesticated, with but little trouble. They pursued them, on very fleet horses until sufficiently near to "leash" them; when thus captured, they exert all their remaining force in fruitless endeavors to escape; and finally become gentle from exhaustion. In this situation they are bridled, mounted, and then, whipped to action. Other horses are usually rode before, that they may be induced to follow. If then they move forward gently, they are caressed by the rider; but on the contrary, most cruelly beaten if they refuse to proceed, or act otherwise unruly; a few day's practice seldom fails to render them quite docile and obedient. The process of catching wild horses, by throwing a noose over the

head, is here called "leashing," and all Indians in the mountains, as well as those who rove in the plains east of them, are quite expert at it; although in this respect, far behind the inhabitants of New Mexico, who not only catch wild horses, cattle, buffalo, and bears; but even leash them by the feet, when at full speed, so as to render them quite incapable of moving. However, two experienced "leashers" are requisite to the complete capture of a large bull bison, or a full grown grizzly bear, and in both cases the feat is attended with considerable danger."

"To cross the river, which Ferris called the Arrowstone (later the Deer Lodge River but now known as part of the Clark's Fork), the traders followed the example set by the Indians."

McDonald, p176

Ferris wrote: "On our arrival at the Arrow stone river, we found it too high for fording, and immediately commenced making rafts. In the meantime, the squaws sewed up all torn places or holes in their lodges, then conveyed them, and their baggage, to the brink of the stream. The lodges were next spread on the ground and folded once in the middle, the baggage of several families were then placed on one, taking care to put the heaviest articles at the bottom; the lodge was then firmly drawn from every side together at the top, and there strongly fastened by a thong, or rope, so that the whole appeared like a large ball four or five feet in diameter. About half way up the side two long cords or "leashes" (such as they use in catching horses,) were attached, and the ball then launched into the water, which buoyed it up like an egg-shell; several squaws and children then embarked upon it, and secured themselves from falling, by clinging to the cord which held it at the top. After all these arrangements were completed, two naked mounted Indians, seized the long cords between their teeth, and pushed out into the river; making their horses swim and carry them and tow one of their families and baggage at the same time. When I observed them start, I was fearful that the ball would upset and endanger the lives of the women and children; but was agreeably disappointed seeing them turning and returning, as the cords slackened or strained on it, horizontally; until it reached the opposite shore in safety. The river appeared in a few moments literally covered with these balls, all in the same manner constructed; all surmounted by women and children, and each towed over by two Indians on horseback. In short, they all crossed without accident, and transported our baggage over at our request, we having found our rafts quite insufficient. Ermatinger and myself, however, with several of his men, passed over on a raft; but the velocity of the current carried us down a considerable distance with fury, and it was for some time doubtful, where we should be able to effect a landing, but we finally passed so near a point of willows, which overhung the river, that we succeeded in arresting our rapid course by clinging to them, and got to shore, a mile below the landing place of the Indians, at which we all encamped."

"On April 30 Ferris and Ermatinger departed down the Bitterroot River valley to meet a large Flathead encampment. Here they first met [Robert] Newell and numerous other American Fur Company men." At the Bitterroot Valley Ferris departed from Francis and the Flatheads on May 10th, and left with some Indians and half-breeds to the buffalo plains for the summer hunt. "Ferris stumbled onto the wonders of Yellowstone that summer. He was not to see Ermatinger again until the 1835 Rendezvous."

“Throughout May and part of June,” Francis and his old friend, Robert “Doc” Newell, traveled together, he had met his old friend and other American trappers at the Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley. Francis was more than just good company around a campfire. He carried a stock of wine with him, and somewhere along the trail the Blackfeet Indians created a disturbance while the boys were in their cups. It had turned into more of a frolic than a tragedy apparently, worth writing in a letter to Wyeth to be delivered to him at the Rendezvous by Newell. Newell’s record of the skirmish in his own journal is typically terse; in a few unpunctuated phrases he covered the whole summer.

Newell wrote: “Went with the Indians up deer lodge on to the head of Missouri and then on to Psalmon River to a fork of Snake River called Commerce (Camas) Creek (a party of hundred Blackfeet charged on our village) left there for Green River accompanied by 25 Indians for Suplies met the company held at Randezyvous at hame fork Returned with goods to the Flatheads.” McDonald, p176. Frank wrote, “Upon one occasion we had 5 or 600 Blackfeet upon us, & fought some hours without losing a man. Our numbers were not a sixth of theirs.”

Francis did not go to the Rendezvous that year, and Thomas McKay who took his place went too late to trade but was able to look around. Francis stayed with the Flatheads and received an answer to the letter he wrote to Wyeth:

Bear River July 5th 1834

“Friend Ermatinger

Your esteemed fav. Of the 12th ulto. reached me by the politeness of Mr. Newell on Hams fork of Green River ... I am happy to hear that you had some success last year but am afraid that you will do little this season.

I am happy to hear that the Doctor remains at Vancouver. I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing him. I suppose that McKay has ‘thought of it’ by this time and perhaps felt of it too, and you seem to have done more than thought of it.

I have again to repeat to you the advice which I before gave you not to come with a small party to the Am. Rendezvous . There are here a great collection of Scoundrels.”

Francis wasn’t afraid to go to the American Rendezvous but was obeying orders from Chief Factor John McLoughlin, who was reluctant to send me into American territory.

“Ferris was a trapper who kept a remarkable journal of his travels in the west. Between 1831 and 1834, he was in and out of the area which is now Montana and he recorded general natural history notes as they related to his travels in western Montana. He traveled along the Missouri, Dearborn, Madison, Jefferson, and Beaverhead Rivers in southwestern Montana. He also traveled along the Clark Fork and Blackfoot Rivers and spent time in the Flathead Lake region. Ferris gave one of the first accurate descriptions of geysers on the upper Madison River in what is now Yellowstone Park.”

<http://www.npwr.usgs.gov/resource/habitat/presettl/expedit/ferris.htm>

While working as a trapper and fur trader in the Rocky Mountains for six years, Ferris kept a diary of his adventures. This journal, the classic *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, accompanied by a map which he drew from memory, provided a unique and valuable picture of trapper and Indian life in the 1830s. Ferris also gave the public its first written description of Yellowstone's amazing geysers. As a businessman seeking to become a landowner, fur trader Ferris followed his brother Charles to Texas the year after the Texas Revolution. He became the official surveyor for Nacogdoches County, which then included much of northeast Texas west to the Trinity River. Although his brother returned to their hometown of Buffalo, New York, Warren Ferris spent another thirty-five years of his eventful life in Texas. <http://www.tamu.edu/upress/books/1997/starling.htm>

Francis wrote to Edward on February 24, 1834 from Fort Colville:

“My Dear Edward,

I received your two letters of the 23rd December 1832, and 1st April 1833, and believe me, I was highly gratified by their contents. It would appear that some parts of mine had vexed you, and I confess I intended to do so when I wrote them, not that my affections to you become less, but I thought you had not sufficiently particular with respect to the draft I sent down. Here let this rest, and nothing shall be wanting upon my part to render your success as secure as possible or to add to your respectability as a married man. The Company, I expect, upon the 1st June 1834 will hold a balance of mine of about 230 pounds [sterling], which will be at your service, even should you not require it in business. It would perhaps be as well to draw the amount and place it somewhere. These transactions will always add something to your importance in your quarter

When I wrote you last spring. I think I told you that it was more than possible I should go out this ----- [Spring?] I thought so then and wrote the Governor upon the subject somewhat independent. He was sick and off to Canada when my letter reach York [Factory], but Mr. Cameron [Chief Factor John Dugald Cameron] answered it, and after a little buttering, begged of me to abandon my intention. In the meantime the Dr. had removed Heron from Colvile, and now our friend Mr. [Archibald] McDonald is here, with whom I feel myself content, but he goes off this spring, and who is to take his place? Perhaps H[eron] will come back. Then I remove. (Note Heron did come back and he sent Francis to the Flathead trade). I only see [John] Work disposable in the Columbia, and he only becomes so by his trappers being joined to my Flathead expedition. Maybe he will have Colvile. I wish it with all my heart! Poor fellow, he has suffered much last trip by the fever – but he will write you himself. [John Work had had a hard trip to California with his brigade].

I, upon my new expedition did tolerably well last spring, summer and fall, and shall start upon the 1st proximo for the Plains again. This year, if God preserves me, I will exert myself and get the trade as high as possible. Next spring, I think, I shall go to York – it is [on] the advice of friends – and if there is no prospect of immediate promotion, probably leave the service. To serve the Company for L100 Per Annum much longer I will not. Some think my chance tolerable, others differ. But this much from myself: If the Dr. and Mr. McDonald can do anything for me, I think they will. Do not put yourself to any preparations upon my account, it is uncertain what may be my future resolutions. In the

mean time, I shall try to get clear of the plains. We have too much anxiety and run too much risk in them, and my object for undertaking the business with such zeal was, if possible, to show how the business has been neglected by Mr. Heron. The farm here got me some credit last year, more from chance than real experience. H[eron] had given out that no one could do at Colvile but himself. He was sent back, and Simon [McGillivray] & I remained. However the Dr. sent me here again, and subsequently took him away, and it is a source of great satisfaction to me to see the result of Mr. McDonald's trade [the Colvile accounts], which is upwards of 1000 Beaver skins more than heretofore. I must drop this subject, for confound the fellow [Heron], I cannot think of him with patience, and I hear no more from you about getting married. Can not you get a wife to your fancy? Surely if you have the smallest chance, in your choice, you will live much happier than in a single state. I have not given up Maria, and if I become a Chief Trader may succeed (the father last winter was a little more open to me), but nothing decisive took place. His family has taken care of my little Boy since I took him from Okanagan, and when they leave the Columbia I do not know what I can do with him. Let me know if there is any way of placing him in your quarter to make something of him. He is a fine little fellow; roguish, and requires looking after. They keep him in school – but, of course, with little benefit to himself. Moderate charges will be of no object, if I can get him well taken care of. All your old friends in the Columbia are well. Many new establishments have been made upon the coast and much more shipping employed. Whether the Dr. will go out this spring is not known yet, but it is thought not. At least I hope not, for I never had more respect for any man in my life. He has used me kindly and placed much private confidence in me. I esteem the man and am all ways improved in his company. Work wintered with him this year, and I should have gone down, had not the Freeman's accounts &c. required my time and attention. My Dear Brother, do not think from what I write that I am discouraged. I am displeased with the country I am in, and would willingly leave it. Yet as it is possible I may get on, wait a little longer. In the meantime you get ground, and I trust, if I am to be disappointed, by the time I find it out, we shall be better able to judge whether it will do for me to go down. If your prospects should bleaken, then however revolting to my own inclinations, I will remain the drudge I am rather than embarrass you. Therefore continue to give me correct information. Had you always wrote me so particular as your last letters I would never have said anything to hurt your feelings. I feel more pleasure in the contemplation that my money can be useful to my brother than I possibly can be in the possession of. Your letters gave me pleasure, I may add that I was proud of them, and with respect to my being your principal creditor, I hope I may continue to be so, and then I think there is little danger of my embarrassing you, by calling upon your funds, too suddenly. To live respected, Edward, must, indeed, be a gratification, of which we feel not in this country, and for the want of which no compensation is sufficient. If we made a little money in the service we become too old to enjoy [it], when we retire therefore we have not only misery in the gaining, but are rendered unable to experience any enjoyment in the spending of it. With you it is different. You live as you please, and I dare say, at no time, it is thought any obligation to supply you with what you may want, while you can pay for it. In our stores, you know, it sometimes is. I feel pleasure to hear that you are getting into notice, and trust you will still increase your means and responsibility. Had I have gone to the Sea I should have shown the newspapers [you sent] to the Dr. but I thought he would think me vain if

I sent them down. Send me a few more if you can, if they have any thing from, or concerning, you in them.

If I have time & opportunity I will write again from the Flatheads. If I have not, Mr. McDonald will forward you the amount of my balances for the last years from York Factory. They ought to amt. [amount to] L230 stg. if I have not committed some blunder, which I think scarcely possible. Be it what it will, draw it if you choose. You appeared to think that I could not have much. I have been economical, and can assure you, that it is to save that I remain here. If I find that there is a likelihood of my becoming a C.T. [Chief Trader] within three years from this I shall remain long in the service. If not, I shall not, without you require assistance, remain long. Under any circumstances, it is more than probable, that I go out to the Bay in the spring of 1835. And make me no doubt, but that I shall ultimately get the better of Mr. Heron's aspersions. This last summer, I am told the gentlemen there were not too pleased. Just reproof I will patiently submit to, but slander never, and their honors have placed me, by listening to Heron, in such a situation that they cannot think me premature in calling for their intention with respect to my promotion. McGillivray retires this year. Had I thought if it before I would have sent you a copy of my letter to the Governor last spring.

I have not been particular with the news of the country but depend upon your friends, who have not other matters to give it you, nor shall I take the trouble to copy this, but leave you to make the most of it. You have become an author, therefore correct it yourself. In the mean time believe me that, however carelessly I may write to you, I am not so to your welfare and that you have the heart, My Dear Edward of your Affectionate Brother Frs. Ermatinger

Postscript, 14th March

Since I left Colville letters have reached me from Vancouver, and as I expect to be busy at the Flatheads I shall close this at once. In looking over my accounts, sent me here by Work, I find I have upwards of L200, and I think that after the 1st of June 1834, you may draw L210.0.0 if you choose. The Dr. wrote me very kindly, but in his public capacity, he disapproved of some of my arrangements last year. All I had to do myself he admits was done, and well done, but Payette's part of the Expedition via Walla Walla failed. And as he was under my orders I, of course, get the blame. He is also vexed with me for not having gone down to the Sea this winter, and with Mr. McDonald for having kept me at Colville. However, I am re-appointed to the charge of the Plain expedition. May God preserve me once more, and render me successful. Yours, always F. E."

Archibald McDonald, wrote instructions in a letter on March 1, 1834 addressed to Francis Ermatinger at Fort Colville, as McDonald wrote the note from Fort Colville, I assume Francis heard these same instructions verbally from McDonald as well:

"The time has now arrived to begin another campaign on the Flathead district ... it is much to be regretted that we have not the benefit of Mr. Chief Factor McLoughlin's conclusive opinion upon the plans submitted to him ... The letters [from McLoughlin]

are not arrived, still we may yet reasonably calculate that by the 5th or 6th you [and Payette] will ... find yourselves [at Spokane]. Therefore let 7 men be dispatched with that part of your Outfit now here to the Pend d'Oreille bay, the mountain to all appearances being passable for horses, and meet you with the 2 Boats at the Coeur d'Alenes traverse on or about the 8th. Should you ... hearing nothing from below by that time you will make the best arrangements you can to proceed with one Boat to close the Flathead trade and trust to the others to follow you as expeditiously as circumstances will admit of. On the supposition that you will be nowise disappointed from below, & that Mr. [W.A.] Ferris is to be employed in the service, you will take with you the 5 Engages now pointed out & equipt for the summer duty on the plains, & 6 that will return with the two Boats.

Once the spring trade in every description of property the Indians may have to dispose of is made & forwarded, you will again yourself accompany the Natives to the plains, & use your usual activity & judgement to secure from freemen & Indians of whatever denomination & character all the Beaver you possibly can. To good free American trappers that may be disposed to hunt for us give any reasonable encouragement as I believe it is the Company's determination to secure at any cost the trade it formally had in your quarter. On your return in the summer, should no unforeseen event prevent it, you may rely on receiving an ample supply of everything at the Flathead House about the middle of August. With the Outfit I would recommend a Gentleman to go up in the same manner as I did myself last year so as to guard against a disappointment that would arise from any accident happening to you ... at Spokane avail yourself of any communication made to me on the business of the district, should the letters from below arrive there before you pass.

I will only assure you that should another party set out from there this season, as far as it rests with me they shall be equipt here ... to prosecute the route proposed for Payette last year by the Blue Mountains & the Grand Rond, so as to follow either side of the main Snake River as circumstances & the nature of the information the person in charge receives may suggest. Of course, once in the vicinity of the Trois Buttes you & he may meet, & can always communicate with each other in the course of the season. Were it possible, a letter from you on your prospects & on the state of affairs in general, sent down to Walla Walla prior to the return of the summer Brigade from Vancouver, would in my opinion be of great advantage to yourself & to the person at the head of affairs here. (Archibald McDonald was going on a year's furlough to England and Francis Herron was to take his place).

[Note in letter book] Mr. Ermatinger left us on the 3rd – on the 4th Mr. McL.'s Budget came to hand – that same evening a courier was sent after Mr. E. to come back, which he did early on the 5th, & left us again in the A.M. of the 7th." "This Blessed Wilderness" Jean M. Cole, pages 106-107.

McDonald writes him again on March 6, 1834 from Fort Colville with the new instructions:

"To Francis Ermatinger

By the communication just received from Mr. C.F. McLoughlin you see we are not authorized to engage Mr. Ferris; but we are at liberty to make over to him & Mr. [Nicholas] Montour an Outfit sent up for the purpose if we think it prudent under certain conditions, and as a judicious application of these goods in their hands among the American trappers is expected to supercede the necessity of our sending that far ourselves into the heart of the country frequented by the Americans, you will take forward the Outfit in question and deliver it to them ...

Of the 5 men you have for the plains, if you can afford a couple for the season at their own charge to Ferris & Montour, you can do it. Mr. Payette will accompany you from Spokane to the Flatheads & as his service are not likely to be required in your quarter you will send him down in charge of the two Boats & the spring trade. The canoe need not be sent down, as it will always be found useful going & coming between the [Flathead] House & the horse plain. Should you find them in a condition for the trip, take on 10 of the W.W. [Walla Walla] horses from Spokane as tis more than probable some of your horses above met with misfortunes during the winter ...”

And again on April 18, 1834 from Fort Colville:

“To Francis Ermatinger, Flathead House

Your various communications in the Flatheads & the plain business since you left this beginning of March came duly to hand & although there was no Beaver trade made this spring at the F.Hd. owing to the nonarrival of the Natives, I am happy to learn that matters in other respects was even more favorable than we apprehended.

Mr. C.T. Heron now succeeds me here & to him I have made over your notes & otherwise freely communicated with him in every subject relative to your present expedition .. Plouffe leaves this in a few days with your horses.” “This Blessed Wilderness” Jean M. Cole, page 108.

Angus McDonald once wrote (1850), “Many a fine Buffalo tongue and boss (the hump of fat and gristle on the shoulder of the buffalo) and many a glass of the best Cognac that ever crossed the Atlantic was served in that Sylvan building; not a vantage of it now stands. Where the stirring reel of “Gille Cruback” and the solemn strains of the “Flowers of the Forest” were whistled and sung, and where we were glad to hear once a year from Europe, though seldom, if ever, from the United States, is now covered with Montana’s mountain ryegrass and evergreen Kenekenek. The wolf and fox may howl there, and the cock of the hills and meadows dance there, but we say like the old Bard, “When will it be morn in the grave to bid the slumberer awake!” Angus McDonald: A Few Items Of The West, edited by F.W. Howay, William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers, Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. 8, 1917, pages 188-229.

[McDonald as the chief trader in charge of Fort Colville he was to supervise the Flathead trade as well. Francis had taken out the Flathead party for two years before McDonald took charge of it. One of Archie McDonald’s first acts was to visit the Kootenai and Flathead posts, with an extra supply of trade goods for Francis. He wanted two party’s to compete with the Americans in Idaho and Montana, “one to follow the usual route through the Coeur d’Alenes and Flathead country and the other to go up the Snake River

from Walla Walla , the two to rendezvous at Trois Buttes.” “Exile in the Wilderness”, page 173, Jean Murray Cole.]

[A note on: “Francis Heron, (1794-1840), fur trader, was born in Donegal, Ireland, in 1794 and was a brother of James Heron. He entered the service of the H.B.C. in 1812, and in 1814 was the steward at York Factory. From 1815-18, he was at Fort Cumberland; from 1818-21, at Fort Edmonton; from 1821-22, at Fort Cumberland; from 1822-23 on the South Branch expedition; from 1823-24 in the Mackenzie River district; from 1824-28, at Fort Garry; from 1828-29 at Brandon House; from 1829-35, at Fort Coleville in the Columbia district; and from 1835-1839 he was in Europe on furlough. He was promoted to the rank of chief trader in 1828; and he retired from the company's service in 1839. He died in April 1840.” <http://www.fortlangley.ca/Heron.html> He is also connected to our family as he “married” Josephine Boucher Clarke, the daughter of John Clarke (HBC Chief Trader) and Josephine “Green Blanket” Kanhopitsa. Josephine Boucher Clarke later married John McKay “The Rouge”.]

“Nathaniel Wyeth had arrived at the 1834 Rendezvous with wagons bearing \$3000 worth of trade goods, to fill an order he had taken from Milton Sublette of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company the year before. Sublette reneged in his contract, his excuse being that the company was now defunct (it had been reorganized and had plans for someone in St. Louis to act as an agent). Wyeth was furious. He was determined to depose of his goods, and in a manner to make Sublette and Co. suffer. After the Rendezvous, he and his wagons, and an entourage including Jason and Daniel Lee, Sir William Drummond Stewart, naturalists Thomas Nuttall and John Townsend, and a free-loafer “Sir Richard” Ashworth, headed for the Bear River. Meanwhile, Tom McKay outfitted as trader “on his own account,” circled the scene and watched to see what Wyeth planned to do with \$3,000 worth of competitive merchandise.” McDonald, p177

After McKay saw Wyeth build Fort Hall he went on down to the mouth of Boise River to build a hovel he called Fort Boise. Francis had helped the wiry, twinkly-eyed, yarn-spinner Tom McKay superintend the building of Fort Boise that was to serve as competition to Fort Hall. (Wallace, p.439; Frank C. Robertson, FORT HALL: GATEWAY TO THE OREGON COUNTRY, pp 166-167)

“Meanwhile, back with the Flatheads, the fur traders had taken time out for a little romance. From this summer’s profits, Robert Newell was investing in a Nez Perce wife whom he called Kittie. On July 27, 1834, according to the application he made later for a land claim in Oregon, he took to wife this daughter of Chief Kowsoter. Other daughters of this chief are reported to have married Joe Meek and Caleb Wilkins. Perhaps Ermatinger was a member of the wedding party.

It was about this period of his life that he met our ancestress, Cha-teel-she-nah , or Mary Three Dresses the Elder, the daughter of Che-les-qua (Three Hats) and Matilda (or Madeline), a Pend d’Oreille couple. “In April of 1836, Archie McDonald wrote to Edward Ermatinger about her, presuming that Francis’ brother knew about the young woman’s role in the trader’s life. The Flathead women were rather handsome, and had a reputation for chastity not found in the Indians along the coast. When he met and approved of Mary, Archie urged Francis to think of her as a permanent arrangement, rather than as an alliance formed to facilitate trade relations with the Indians. Francis was unable to give up his dream of winning Maria McLoughlin’s affections and the consent of her father for them to marry.” McDonald, p179. Archibald McDonald also wrote to Edward Ermatinger from Fort Colville on April 1, 1836: “...His chere amie (a Flathead woman) is more desirable than the generality of her class in the country, and with proper

attention to her further improvement would, I have no doubt, make a good wife, and is one that would make Frank perfectly happy." Cole, page 111.

John McLoughlin also mentions it to Edward in letter of February 1, 1835, "I have not heard news from your brother since the month of June, though I expect news of him every moment, you know he is in the Flat Head country, he may perhaps pay me a visit, I am told he has a Clooch-i-man."

As Francis Ermatinger was assigned to Fort Hall in 1838, it would seem that Mary Three Dresses had contact with him either there, or while he was out trading. Did she move with him to Fort Hall? There is no mention of her being there, and presumably he never returned to the Flatheads after leaving them in 1838.

Did Mary Three Dresses' youngest brother really die, or was he hid from McDonald, and has been lost in time?

It is not known if Mary Three Dresses ever married again, or how long she lived. According to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Ashley, she died when Young Mary was just a child of six. This would put her death at about 1844. Young Mary was then raised by her grandmother Matilda.

Mary Three-Dresses, was the daughter of full-blood Pend d'Oreilles, Che-les-qua and Matilda. She is often referred to as: Cha-teel-she-nah, Mary the Elder besides Mary Three Dresses and various other versions of these in the church registers of St. Ignatius Mission, Montana. Little is known about her. There is a tintype that has survived through the years in the possession of Charlie Blood, who lives in St. Ignatius, Montana. This shows three Indian figures, one of which could be Mary Three Dresses' mother, Matilda.

Mary probably was born between 1811--1815, assuming she was in the range of 18 to 22 years of age when she married Francis Ermatinger. Of course she could have been much younger at that time of her marriage in the "custom of the country" with Ermatinger. Most likely place of her birth is western Montana, in a Pend d'Oreille camp, probably in the Mission Valley, or in one of the other haunts of that time. She could have also been born in the Clark's Fork-Thompson Falls area.

In the early part of her life she followed the ways of her people, the Pend d'Oreilles. These people lived off the land, practiced animism and other religious rites of the Indians. When the Jesuit priests came in the 1840's, she was probably baptized by Father Jean Pierre DeSmet like most of her tribe was. It is not known who gave her the Christian name of Mary, the Catholic priests or her husband, Francis Ermatinger.

Like all Pend d'Oreilles women, she learned the things necessary to maintain her family: setting up a skin lodge (tepee), preparing cooked foods, and preserving foods, making medicinal concoctions, and clothing from hides and furs. Those things that needed to be learned by young Pend d'Oreille women. One of the main chores of the

women was that of preparing beaver pelts and buffalo hides. The fur trade played a great economic and financial part of her tribe's existence, and this made her a person of relative importance. She traveled in the nomadic trend of the tribe, usually spending springs and summers camped with the Pend d'Oreille, in their hunting and root digging and berry picking grounds.

Sometime around 1834-1835 she became Francis Ermatinger's wife. Their Indian custom marriage was mainly to cement relationships with her tribe for trade purposes. It was a convenience for him and a true marriage to her.

Their involvement ended in June of 1839, when he transferred out of that area to Idaho. They had three children: a son (name unknown) who was born in 1837 and died in 1838; Mary (our grandmother) who married Pierre Ashley and had 12 children; and then another boy (name unknown) born in 1838-39 and died 1840-41. It is known that Francis Ermatinger was greatly distressed when his little sons died. So we can imagine the distress and grief held by our Grandma Mary Three Dresses. Mary Ermatinger Ashley, who could not have been old enough to know her brothers--mentioned them in her allotment records sixty some years later. She had to have been told about them by her people.

Mary Three Dresses had at least two sisters and a brother: Che-la-sil-shin-nah (called Ann Quitoo, and also Two Leggins); Felicite; and Che-lele (or Che-heb).

[A note on the Upper Pend d'Oreille, or Qlispé (Kalispel), those of the Mission Valley being the Slqtkwmiscint, the people living along the shore of the Flathead Lake. The Pend d'Oreille were the closest Salish tribe to the Salish proper, or Flatheads, in language and customs. From a Qlispé term said to mean "Camas"; they were given the name Pend d'Oreilles, because when they were first met by Europeans nearly all of them wore large shell earrings. So called Earring People, or Hanging Ears. There lived on the Pend Oreille River and Pend Oreille Lake, Priest Lake, and the lower course of Clark's Fork. They were said to have extended east-ward to Thompson Falls and Horse Plains and to have hunted over some of the Salmon River country, Canada, and were formerly said to have extended to Flathead Lake and Missoula. The Upper Pend d'Oreille lived in Montana while two other subdivisions lived in Washington: the Lower Kalispel or Lower Pend d'Oreilles or Kalispel proper and the Chewelah, who spoke a slightly different dialect. They were considered Plateau Indians of the Interior Salish but lived in the customs of the Plains Indians. Winter and Fall were spent on the Plains near the upper tributaries of the Missouri River engaged in hunting buffalo.]
(http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/idaho/kalispel_indian_tribe_location.htm)



Flathead River

Taken by Chalk Courchane in June of 2010

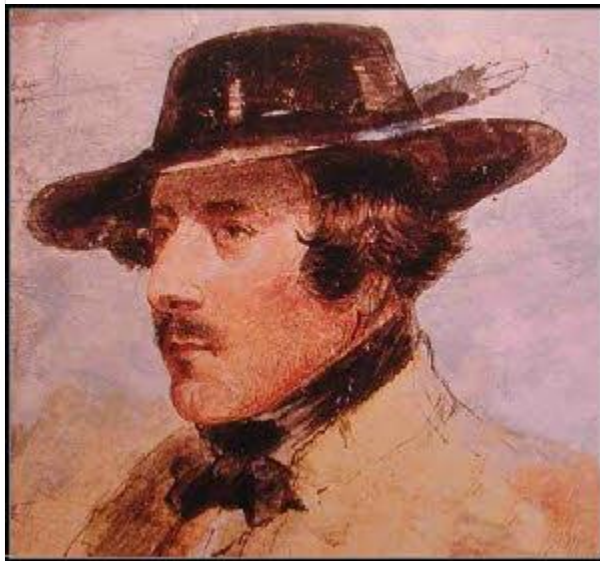
As it has been mentioned earlier, William Drummond Stewart was traveling with the Wyeth party. Stewart was the second son of one of the oldest and wealthiest families of Scotland. Later he would become, Sir William, owner of Grandtully and Murthy Castles, with immense lands and revenues. The rest of Wyeth's party consisted of Captain Joseph Thing, a distinguished navigator, who went on the trip to measure the distance between Independence, Missouri across the mountains to Fort Vancouver, and Cyrus Shepherd, P. L. Edward, and Courtney Walker.

In the winter of 1835, Francis was re-outfitted for the next expedition to the Flatheads and the 1835 Rendezvous, at Fort Vancouver where, he, William Glen Rae and William Drummond Stewart (who had wintered at Fort Vancouver) left on February 11, 1835. "On that day Nat Wyeth, beating down the Columbia in a leaky dugout through rain and gale that had driven the river at him in high walls, came to the Cascades. At that stretch of turbulent water he found Francis Ermatinger with a brigade of three boats taking up the outfit for the upper forts." *Across the Wide Missouri*, Bernard de Voto, p217 After briefly visiting with him and arranging for a summer outfit to Fort Hall, Wyeth went on down the Columbia to his post at Sauvies Island, situated at the mouth of the Willamette River.

[A note on Sir William Drummond Stewart, "Scottish adventurer (Dec. 26, 1795-Apr. 28, 1871). Born at Murthly Castle, Perthshire, Scotland, he was the second son and one of seven children of Sir George Steward, 17th. lord of Grandtully, fifth baronet of Murthly. William joined the 6th Dragoon Guards, was three months in Spain and Portugal and as a lieutenant served under Wellington at Waterloo, five years later becoming a captain in the 15th King's Hussars and soon retiring on half pay. Seeking adventure he visited St. Louis in 1832, contacted William Clark, Pierre Chouteau Jr., William Ashley and other luminaries and arranged to accompany Robert Campbell who was taking a Sublette pack train to the 1833 rendezvous of mountain men. The party left St. Louis April 13 and attended the Horse Creek Rendezvous in the Green River Valley of Wyoming. Here Stewart met Jim Bridger, Antoine Clement, Benjamin Bonneville, Tom Fitzpatrick and others. With some of these people Stewart visited the Big Horn Mountains, wintered at Taos, and attended the next rendezvous at Ham's Fork of the Green, later that year journeying on to Fort Vancouver, Washington. He

attended the 1835 rendezvous at the mouth of New Fork River on the Green and reached St. Louis in November. Stewart's income from Murthly had sadly declined so he went to New Orleans, speculated in cotton to recoup, wintered in Cuba and in May joined Fitzpatrick's train to the Rockies once more for another rendezvous on Horse Creek. He wintered in 1836-1837 at New Orleans, speculating in cotton again; he learned that his son-less older brother was dying of cancer, which would make William the seventh baronet of Murthly with plenty of money. For the rendezvous of 1837 he took along an artist, Alfred Jacob Miller, who painted a notable series of works on Mountain Man life, the rendezvous, Indians and Rocky Mountain scenes, some of which done as oils would later grace Murthly Castle. Again Stewart accompanied Fitzpatrick's train to the rendezvous on the Green and later visited the Wind River Mountains. Stewart attended the following rendezvous on the Popo Agie River and enroute back to St. Louis learned that his brother John had died. Stewart leisurely returned to Scotland and Murthly Castle in July 1838 with Clement and some Indians and his many trophies, Miller arriving later with his sketches. Homesick for the American West Stewart returned to this continent in late 1842. Stewart and his entourage joined the Sublette train to the 1843 rendezvous--the last the Rockies would see--and after word visited the area that would become Yellowstone Park, returning to St. Louis in October and going back to Scotland for good. His later life was generally tranquil; his son George survived the Charge of the Light Brigade in the Crimea, but died before his father. William Stewart's parenthood, if it was that, of the mysterious Francis Nichols was never proven, although Nichols migrated to Texas and called himself Lord Stewart until the English House of Lords insisted he stop it, where after he was known merely as Mr. Stewart. He married but was soon divorced and died at San Antonio November 23, 1913, aged 67."]

<http://www.3rd1000.com/history3/biography/wdstewart.htm>



Sir William Drummond Stewart

"It was a rich treat To see the 'chivalry' of the various encampments engaged in contests of skill at running, jumping, wrestling, shooting with the rifle, and running horses. Here the free trappers were in their glory, they considered themselves the 'cocks of the walk' and always carried the highest crests." Washington Irving, c. 1835.



This is an example of how a portage was conducted. Paul Kane (1810-1871) *White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River*, c. 1851-56 Oil on canvas, 46 x 74 cm National Gallery of Canada (138)
<http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canoe/can10eng.html>

Francis and Stewart portaged around the Cascades, a hard and miserable task. From here Francis “followed his usual route, taking Stewart with him to visit Fort Colville.” By June 10th they had reached Fort Hall on the Snake River in Idaho. “The establishment of Fort Hall added a new aspect to Ermatinger’s routine, as he dipped south to the Portneuf and delivered Wyeth’s order of trade goods to Captain Joseph Thing. Joe Meek recorded the fact that Ermatinger had ‘supplied Fort Hall’ and Osborne Russell jotted down that on June 12, Mr. Ermatinger took off from Fort Hall to attend the “grand rendezvous” for the first time.” McDonald, pp182-183

After resting two days at Fort Hall and outfitting themselves with horses, Ermatinger’s party rode up the Snake to New Fork of the Green River (Green River, on the confluence of Horse Creek, near present-day Pinedale, Wyoming), which they reached on June 20, 1835. They were early and it wouldn’t be until August before the eastern caravans made the scene. As the tribes and mountain men came to wait, they played, gambled, drank, and fought with the normal display of vigor. Among the participants were Thomas “Bad Hand” Fitzpatrick, Andrew Drips, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, Kit Carson, Marcus Whitman, Samuel Parker, Jim Bridger, Joe Meek and with his beautiful wife, Mountain Lamb.

“At the Rendezvous Ermatinger managed to avoid being roughed up by the scoundrels that Wyeth had described to him. He received the payment from Warren A. Ferris for the 1834 outfit he gave him, and Dr. John McLoughlin’s mind, when he heard it was greatly relieved.

He wrote to the London Committee:

“Mr. Ermatinger went across from the Flat Heads to the American Rendezvous, and got paid the advances he had made last year to Mr. Faries of the American party. On his return, three of his party, were killed, and he and the rest had a most narrow escape. Mr. Ermatinger reports that the people from St. Louis were not yet arrived at the Rendezvous, but they were nigh, and that there were five missionaries on their way to join the two already here.”

Colvile 15th March 1835

“My Dear Edward

Since I wrote you last I have been continually upon the move, and am now so hurried to be off again that I have scarcely time to express the pleasure I received from your letters of 19th December 1833 and 13th April 1834. I think it was a wise step your getting married, and I heartily wish you joy. Pray give my respects to Mrs. Ermatinger, and if the Blackfeet will leave me alone I shall anticipate the pleasure of seeing her. With respect to my choice I have not resumed the subject to the father. I want to see if there is any chance of a Chief Tradership first. I have just returned from Vancouver and saw the young lady; she improves very much. The father was, as usual, kind in the extreme and I believe means to urge my claims this spring, and I have written myself to Gov. Simpson, to know how much longer I am to remain in expectation. They are aware that I have a hazardous duty and that they have now few who can do it better. They have new-modelled the concern. The Company claims the right of selecting the clerks for promotion - without them being voted for at York Factory, and of [the right] of reducing the Chief Factors to 16, but to make two Chief Traders for each of those reduced - with many other alterations &c., &c., &c.

In my last I gave you the state of my affairs with the company and I believe I was correct - this year I have added L65.0.0. This you can draw, if you want it or see any chance of laying it out to advantage. I received letters from Clowes regularly. He complains that you have never written him since your return to Canada. Has he offended you, or is it the postage? The latter, he adds, as far as relates to himself ought not to cost you a consideration. Do not slight the poor man. Remember 1817, when our deceased father was in Canada, and we without cash? I always feel indignant at bad actions, but trust never forget good and kind ones, yet if Clowes offended you I shall think less of him for it.

Mr. McDonald, no doubt, told you that my friend Heron was back upon me. We have agreed much better than usual and he was written much in favour of the manner of my doing business &c. &c., yet my opinion of him is not altered. He is the worst man, and the greatest drunkard I ever saw. He goes out, and I have charge of the department. Mr. Rae (William Glen Rae) is with us and will remain here for the present, while I return to the plains. Last year I was again tolerably successful in every respect. Upon one occasion we had 5 or 600 Blackfeet upon us, and fought some hours without losing a man. Our numbers were not a sixth of theirs. May God preserve me this year, for I have a long trip to make to the American Rendezvous and I have only six or seven men to go with me. Since I last wrote you, I have scarcely had a house over my head. Upon my arrival here I received orders to go to Vancouver. I have just returned, and upon the 17th

instant must be off again to the Flatheads. At Vancouver I was most kindly treated by all there, particularly by the Dr. and Mr. Ogden. The latter by-the-bye is now a Chief Factor and goes to New Caledonia, ----I did not see [Kennedy]. He was off for the coast. He returns, I believe, next fall and intends to go home in 1835. All the rest as when I wrote you last. [Thomas] Dears tells me that he sent you L500 to purchase a farm for him. If so, with submission, the bargain not yet made, it would be better to place the money at interest, as it is almost impossible to please people. So much depends upon taste. Besides he takes down his Chenook and she is not so respectable a woman as we ought to desire near us. The good fellow I will feel happy to see, but his wife is out of the question. It is sufficient to brook immorality while in this country.

I cannot tell how long I may remain in the country. This much I am determined upon, not to run the risk I do much longer, without promotion. The Dr. told me to write Gov. Simpson, and I have done so pretty independently. If I get a Chief Tradership I must remain 5 or 6 years, but it shall go hard if I do not see you before the end of my time. I have some liberal offers from the Americans, yet with immediate promise of promotion prefer this service - nor under my circumstances do I think seriously of joining them. I am tired of the Indian life - money, or the prospects of making a little, keeps me in it. Our friend the Dr. got a present last year from the Company of L1100. That is, they gave him L500 and 150 Per An. for four years having attended the ----- of Vancouver. God grant him health to enjoy it. He made something like an offer of money for your use, but I stopped him by telling him that you were not in want. Your success gave him pleasure and many others expressed themselves surprized or pleased by it. What little cash I have you can draw when you choose, and believe me, Edward, however carelessly I may write you at present, I am not altered in my anxiety for your welfare. The truth is I have only five days to remain here, and my outfits to make up, public letters to write, besides much talk over with Rae - which if any other person but Heron had been here would not have been necessary. God bless you and believe me to be

My Dear Edward ---Yours Most Affectionately Frs. Ermatinger.”

While at the 1835 Rendezvous at Green River, Robert Newell and his wife, Kittie had a baby boy - Francis Ermatinger Newell, born at “Green River, South Pass on June 14, 1835”—the first recorded birth in the area. This suggests that Kittie M. Newell, the daughter of Nez Percé chief Kowsoter, was the first woman known to have crossed South Pass. <http://historicwyoming.org/index.php?id=307> The other children born to Doc Newell and his wife are said to have borne the names of Thomas Jefferson, Stephen Douglas, and Marcus Whitman,

“1835 Green River Rendezvous: Accompanying Lucien Fontenelle with the 1835 supply train was two missionaries, Dr. Marcus Whitman and Samuel Parker. During the rendezvous, Dr. Whitman removed a metal arrowhead from Jim Bridger’s back. Bridger had been shot three years before in the Blackfeet country. The Nez Perce at the rendezvous were so receptive to having missionaries among them that Dr. Whitman returned to the East to recruit more missionaries. Samuel Parker left a description on the plight of the mountain man:

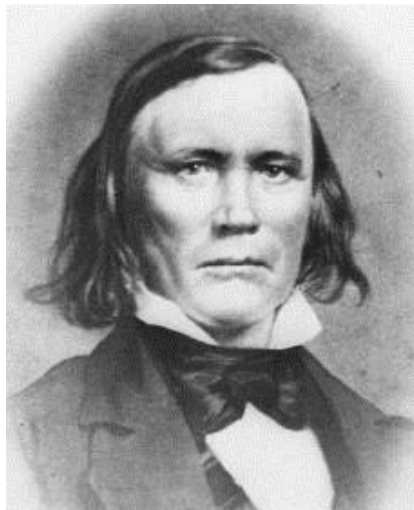
“The American Fur Company had between two and three hundred men constantly in and about the mountains engaged in trading, hunting and trapping. These all assemble at rendezvous upon the arrival of the caravan, bring in their furs and take new supplies for the coming year, of clothing ammunition and goods for trade with the Indians. But few of these men ever return to their country and friends. Most of them are constantly in debt to the company, and are unwilling to return without a fortune, and year after year pass away while they are hoping in vain for better success.”

http://www.thefurtrapper.com/rendezvous_sites.htm

After leaving the Rendezvous site, not waiting for the main action as it turned out, Ermatinger joined the Flathead Indians near the forks of the Jefferson and Beaverhead rivers. Almost every other trapper and trader in the country seems to have converged on the Flatheads. Most of them were very impressed by Ermatinger's activity. Wyeth's men trapping out of Fort Hall arrived at a village of 180 lodges of Flatheads and Pend d'Oreille Indians and found Ermatinger working to corner the market. Russell wrote, “Here we found a trading party belonging to the Hudson's Bay Co. They were under the direction of Mr. Francis Ermatinger who was endeavoring to trade every beaver skin as fast as they were taken from the water by the Indians. Joe Meek was trapping in the same area with Bridger's men. Kit Carson and Joseph Gale would have met up with Ermatinger that summer of 1835 also.” McDonald, p183-184



Joe Meek



Kit Carson



Joseph Gale

[A note on Joseph Lafayette Meek (1810-1875) was a trapper, law enforcement official, and politician in the Oregon Country and later Oregon Territory of the United States. A pioneer involved in the fur trade before settling in the Tualatin Valley, Meek would play a prominent role at the Champoe Meetings of 1843 where he was elected as a sheriff. Later he served in the Provisional Legislature of Oregon before being selected as the United States Marshal for the Oregon Territory. Joe Meek was born in Washington County, Virginia, United States, near the Cumberland Gap in 1810. At the age of 18 he joined William Sublette and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and roamed the Rocky Mountains for over a decade as a fur trapper. In about 1829, the nineteen-year old Meek traveled with a trapping party along the Yellowstone River. A band of Blackfoot scattered the trappers, leaving Meek to travel into what is today Yellowstone National Park. In a later account included in author Frances Fuller Victor's 1870 biography of Meek, The River of the West, he described the region. The whole country beyond was smoking with the vapor from boiling springs, and burning with gasses, issuing from small craters, each of which was emitting a sharp whistling sound. In Idaho in 1838, he married the daughter of Nez Perce chief Kowesota. Her true name is unknown, but Meek called her "Virginia".

By 1840, as it was becoming clear that the fur trade was dying due both to a change in fashion preferences and the over trapping of beaver, Meek decided to join fellow trappers Caleb Wilkins and Robert Newell in Oregon. On their way there, they met a small group of emigrants at Fort Hall who were also headed to Oregon. The trappers agreed to guide them to the Whitman Mission near Fort Walla Walla. The single wagon that the group brought became the first ever to make it as far west as the mission on the Oregon Trail, although to get it there they ended up leaving the load behind.

In Oregon Country, Meek took to wearing a bright red sash in imitation of the French Canadian trappers employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. As the French trappers enjoyed good relations with most of the Indian tribes in the area, Meek seems to have hoped that the Indians would take him for a Québécois and leave him alone. In 1841, Meek settled in the Tualatin Valley, northwest of Oregon City, and entered into the political life of the area. At meetings in Champoege, Oregon called to form a provisional government, he was one of the foremost voices on the side of the American settlers. In 1843, when the provisional government was formed, Meek was appointed sheriff, and he was elected to the legislature in 1846 and 1847.

When, in the late fall of 1847, some Cayuse and Umatilla Indians killed Marcus Whitman, his wife Narcissa, and 12 others at the Whitman Mission, among the dead, was Meek's daughter, Helen Mar Meek, age 10, who died in captivity.[3] Meek traveled to Washington, D.C. with the news of the killings (known as the Whitman massacre) and the ensuing Cayuse War. Leaving in early January, Meek and George W. Ebbert made the difficult winter trip, arriving in Saint Joseph, Missouri on May 11 and proceeding to Washington by steamboat and then by rail.

While in Washington, where he met with President James K. Polk (whose wife Sarah Childress Polk, was Meek's cousin), he argued forcefully for making the Oregon Country a federal territory. The following spring, Joseph Lane was appointed Territorial Governor and Meek was made Territorial Federal Marshal. Meek served as Territorial Marshal for five years. In this position in 1850, he supervised the execution of five Cayuse Indians found guilty of the Whitman massacre. He organized the Oregon Volunteers and led them in the Yakima Indian War and was promoted to the rank of major for his service.

In June 1875, Meek died at his home on the land he settled on the Tualatin Plains just north of Hillsboro, Oregon, at the age of 65. His wife survived him by almost 25 years. Virginia Meek died on March 3, 1900. They are buried at the cemetery of the Tualatin Plains Presbyterian Church ("Old Scotch") north of Hillsboro, in Washington County, Oregon. As Meek said "I want to live long enough to see Oregon securely American... so I can say that I was born in Washington County, United States, and died in Washington County, United States. His older brother Stephen Meek was also a trapper, and became known for his role in the ill-fated Meek Cutoff. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.)" From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

[A note on Kit Carson(1809-1868) - At the age of 25, in the summer of 1835, Carson attended an annual mountain man rendezvous, which was held along the Green River in southwestern Wyoming. He became interested in an Arapaho woman whose name, *Waa-Nibe*, is approximated in English as "Singing Grass." Her tribe was camped nearby the rendezvous. Singing Grass is said to have been popular at the rendezvous and also to have caught the attention of a French-Canadian trapper, Joseph Chouinard. When Singing Grass chose Carson over Chouinard, the rejected suitor became belligerent. Chouinard is reported to have thrown a fit, disrupting the camp to the point where Carson could no longer tolerate the situation. Words were exchanged, and Carson and Chouinard charged each other on horses while brandishing their weapons. Using a pistol, Carson blew off Chouinard's thumb. His opponent barely missed killing Carson with his rifle shot; it grazed below his left ear and scorched his eye and hair. Carson said that the fact that Chouinard's horse shielded him probably saved him, as Chouinard was a splendid shot." [Kit Carson was similar to Tom McKay as he could be completely without any feelings for another human being and was prone on occasion to kill in cold blood. He was one of the few illiterates to become a Brigadier General in the United States Army during the middle part of the 19th century. He was brave and kind without fault except to obey orders.]

Controversy regarding Chouinard's fate continues. The duel with Chouinard is said to have made Carson famous among the mountain men but was also considered uncharacteristic of him.

Carson considered his years as a trapper to be "the happiest days of my life." Accompanied by Singing Grass, he worked with the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the renowned frontiersman Jim Bridger, trapping beaver along the Yellowstone, Powder, and Big Horn rivers. They trapped throughout what is now Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. Carson's first child, a daughter named Adeline, was born in 1837. Singing Grass gave birth to a second daughter but developed a fever shortly after the birth, and died sometime between 1838-40." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kit_Carson

[A note on Joseph Gale (1807-1881) As early as 1830, Joseph Gale had traveled the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri to Taos and was fur trapping in the southern Rocky Mountains. Just how and when he arrived in the west is unclear. In October 1831, he departed Santa Fe as a member of Ewing Young's second trip to California. The goal of this expedition was to export horses and mules from California for sale in the Missouri Valley, and do some trapping of beaver and perhaps sea otter on the side. Whether Gale went all the way to California, or remained at the Colorado River to wait for the returning party is unclear. However, Gale likely accompanied David Jackson and the California livestock back to New Mexico, arriving in July 1832.

A year later, in July 1833, Gale was at the fur trapper's Rendezvous at Green River, where he joined Joseph Walker's expedition to California. The fur trappers traveled from the Great Salt Lake to California by way of the Humboldt River, crossing the Sierra Nevada near Yosemite Valley. Traversing the rough mountain terrain in October took a month. In November, Walker and company finally reached the Pacific Ocean. In February 1834, the Joseph Walker party began its return trip to the Rocky Mountains, but Gale stayed behind in California. He instead joined his friend Ewing Young on his cattle drive from California to Oregon in the company of Oregon promoter, Hall Jackson Kelley. The Ewing Young party reached the Willamette Valley in October 1834.

Less than a month later, Gale and a "picked up lot" were hired by Nathaniel Wyeth and were traveling to Fort Hall. Gale was soon leading a "spring hunt" in the Rockies north of the Great Salt Lake. In the fall of 1835, Gale lead his party of men to the Gallatin River, where they had a bloody encounter with Blackfeet Indians. Gale and his party, Kit Carson, Joe Meek, and several others were fortunate to survive the encounter. Joseph Gale continued to work out Fort Hall for the next few years. With the sale of Fort Hall to the Hudson's Bay Company in August 1837, he began trapping for the English company.

While working for Wyeth out of Fort Hall, Joseph married a Walla Walla Indian woman, Eliza, who was a daughter of Old Chief Joseph (*Tu-eka-kas*) of the Wallowa Nez Perce and a Walla Walla mother. She may have been named after Eliza Spalding, co-founder of the Protestant mission at Lapwai. Eliza Gale was half-sister to Young Chief Joseph (Heinmot Tooyalakekt). Joseph Gale and Eliza's first two children (Francis Ellen and Edward) were born at Fort Hall in 1837 and 1838, three more children were born in the Oregon Territory (Susan, Margaret and Mary), and three more girls (Maria Antonia, Clara and Sabrina) were born in California during the 1850s.] (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Gale)

About the time that Francis Ermatinger's adventures were being played out in the Pacific Northwest other events were occurring in Texas. The American colonists and Mexican citizens of Texas revolted against the evil beast General Santa Anna. Somewhere between 182 to 257 Texicans defended the Alamo for 13 days against 2,400 of Santa Anna's army. The battle lasted from February 23rd and March 6, 1836. When it was over all but one had died at the old mission, taking with them 400 to 600 Mexican troops. A few of these Alamo defenders had been participants in the Rocky Mountain fur trade Rendezvous. Ermatinger may have known one or two of them.



Green River rendezvous scene from *The Wild West*, Michael Wallis, 2010, page 15, Abrams, New York

Francis wrote to Edward about the Blackfeet ambush leaving the 1835 Rendezvous:

“Colville, 11th March 1836

My Dear Edward,

I have received your two letters dated 15th January and 12th April 1835 and in acknowledging them have to express the pleasure they gave me. It is some consolation to me to think, that while I am knocking about, exposed to the dangers of the Blackfeet &c. and often without the comfort of an Indian lodge, that you are doing well, and that the humble means I possessed may have been of service to you. My Dear Edward, my last campaign was particularly distressing. I lost some Indian hunters and three Islanders at several times, one of the latter was the most faithful servant to me and had followed me

throughout. In fact his death saved my life ... he was ahead and when I got up to him had that minute been killed and I was in time to see his murderers running off. Had I been at that moment leading, as was my custom, we should all have fallen with the three poor fellows. It is needless to dwell upon the subject, you know the country. Suffice it to say that I had to travel all last summer through the most dangerous parts of the plains with 5 men ... except indeed when I fell in with the trapping parties. The routine of duty pointed out for me the last four years kept me continually upon the move. I arrived here late in the fall. Must start immediately for Vancouver and it is generally the 9th of March before I get back here. Upon the 18th I have to be off again to recommence, so that I rest every night in a fort, nor have very much time to write private letters. The Dr. continues his kindness as usual, but I have not latterly resumed my application for Miss; indeed while I hold my present appointment it would be folly to think of such a union. I told you last year that I had written to the Governor (Simpson). His answer was full of complaints, but contains no decisive promise. How things turn out I cannot tell. Douglas was promoted last year, yet we were in the country before him. And certainly my employments have been more active and much more harrassing than his. The news of the Columbia I shall leave to others; most of your friends write you. Suffice for me to say, that Mr. McDonald is back here and that I am much better pleased to be under him than any other the council could have appointed. He is as agreeable to me as the villain Heron was hateful. The days we are together we pass so as to make me forget the anxieties of the plains and in spite of the Dr. we generally manage to have our glass of grog together.

Of money matters I have little to say. When you drew the two hundred pounds, I had more than that sum in the company's hands and your humility before Mr. Smith was unnecessary. Next June there will stand in my favor about one hundred and forty pounds, perhaps a little more, so that you could avail yourself of this sum, when it is transferred from the Fur Trade, if you wish it, for bills, I shall send you no more unless you become pushed. With respect to my boy, I wish he was with you, however the Dr. is against my sending him down yet. He appears dull and I do not think Vancouver too good for him, nor a place where his temper or morals are likely to be much improved. I am as economical as possible, yet cannot rough through under 30 to 50 pounds per annum. To Clowes I seldom send any orders, but always write the poor fellow. He complains of your not doing so and thinks you have "cut him." Pray remember his former kindness. Think of 1817 when our deceased father was in Canada and omitted to write us, I believe you never heard him express anxiety altho' the only security he had for payment was our poor selves without a penny. We have many now and let us remember him.

How have you managed Dears' affairs? He, poor fellow, I am for having near us, but it is his wife. I should like to form a little neighborhood in your quarter by and bye, and would not like to see anyone in it with whom we could not freely associate; with her it is impossible to do so. I think there are many of our friends who have an eye to your district. Poor Tod, I am told, has made bad spec(ulation). At least his situation must be a distressing one. Work is upon the coast, and his wife and four children at Vancouver, and others who (you) have no care for hold their old appointments. I propose to leave this upon the 18th and shall endeavor to get my appointments. Since I have had it, the

business is generally turned out well, and has convinced many how shamefully the Company's business must have been neglected before in the Flathead quarter. However, now, as I think the opposition has withdrawn, I trust in a change. It is too much for me to be kept continually upon the move and racked by danger and anxiety. With respect to my leaving the service, I have not made up my mind. Hitherto two objects have influenced me. Miss Maria and (a chief) tradership. For these I have been working and the probability is that I'll succeed in neither. However, I am told not to be rash, that I stand high and promotion is sure. In the meantime, I may be killed, or at all events my youth is on the wane and that without having had any of the pleasure of life. My conclusion, at present, is to sound the Dr. in the course of the year and if I find that there is no chance of succeeding in his family, they must be quick with their promotion or I shall be off. Another thing, if I do not succeed I shall immediately remove my boy Lawrence from Vancouver and it must remain with you to take care of him. You can endeavor to make a farmer of him, if he shows no parts for better employment. I regret that I had not an opportunity of paying for a coral for Miss Frances. Pray kiss her for me, and give my respects to the mother, and tell her that I shall take a great interest in her welfare and will avail myself of the earliest opportunity of showing my respects in person. God bless you all, and may I have the continual satisfaction to hear that you are happy together and that you, my Dear Edward, may prosper ... in the meantime allow me to repeat that should misfortune overtake you, you may depend upon me, when rather than add to your distress, I will remain in this country in order to afford you the poor aid that can be drawn from a salary of a hundred a year.

I have written this letter in snatches as I have my Outfit to make up besides other preparations to make and many private letters to write (I say nothing of the long stories between Mr. McDonald and I), I cannot undertake to copy. I shall be off upon the 18th and you must be satisfied with it as it is. I have had no communication with Dears since I received your last but shall write him before leaving this. Let me have long letters and believe me to be

My Dear Edward

Most Affectionately Yours

Frs. Ermatinger Edward Ermatinger Esq."

More about the Blackfeet attack mentioned by Francis in the above letter:

Francis Ermatinger's daughter would one day marry Pierre Ashley, the grandson of Jocko Finley, his uncles Louison and Alexi Ashley would marry two Sata or Stah-tah sisters.

Louison Ashley married Adele Stah-tah and Alexi married Susanna. Both Ashley brothers were trappers and hunters. The Stat-tah sisters' father was Sata and their mother was Francisca (Plessaway) Kuiltpi. Sata's father was Nicolas, of the Small Robes band of Blackfeet and a chief. He died in a fall from his horse in September 1846. Sata aka: Gervais. "Of all the Blackfeet, the Small Robes were the friendliest to the Flathead, and it was through them Catholicism was introduced to the Blackfeet. The first to be baptized -- at St. Mary's on Christmas Day, 1841 -- were "an old chief ... with his son and his little family, five in all" (Chittenden and Richardson 1969:II, 338). The "old chief" was given the name Nicolas; his son became Gervais. They became for the Blackfeet what Ignace Lamoose and Little Ignace had been for the Flathead (Buckley 1989:250).

Gervais had been known as Sata, a name which the priests equated with Satan, which befitted his behavior in younger days (Buckley 1989: 250; Chittenden and Richardson 1969:II, 596). Sata is said to have been the leader of the Blackfoot war party which ambushed Francis Ermatinger's men in O'Keefe Canyon in 1835, killing 3 South Sea Islanders, including one who was Ermatinger's favorite and for whom the canyon was known for the next three decades as the Coriakan Defile (Teit 1930: 364; McDonald 1980: 184, 209; Gray 1980:28).

Charles Larpenteur (1962:II,270-271) described Sata as "a small Indian" and "a half-breed Flathead and Blackfoot." Father Point said that Sata's wife "had been brought up among the Flatheads." (Buckley 1989: 347). Her name is given as Koitepi in the marriage record of her daughter Adele." Malouf

"The season of the Flat Heads, 1836, lacked the glamour of the Snake Country events." John McLeod, an old Nor'wester, was sent to the Rendezvous that year instead of Francis.

In 1836 five missionaries came west with Dr. Marcus Whitman as reinforcements. On his second trip to the West he brought his new wife, Narcissa, and another couple, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Spalding. A single man, William H. Gray came too. They met the Hudson's Bay Company brigade at the Rendezvous which was led by John McLeod, who was infatuated with Narcissa Whitman's charms. The Whitman and Spaldings were disappointed that Rev. Samuel Parker wasn't there to meet them. Both Wyeth and William Drummond Stewart were there too. McLeod and his party led the missionaries west on July 18th, with Whitman taking a cart as far as Fort Boise but no wagons. From there they went to Fort Walla Walla and down the Columbia River to and Fort Vancouver. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were both pregnant and stayed at the fort until the fall of 1836. The Whitman's were to settle among the Cayuse at Waiilatpu and the Spaldings settled at Lapwai on the Clearwater River in Idaho among the Nez Percés.

"W.H. Gray spent some time at each mission, but always restless, he decided in mid-winter to go to Fort Vancouver from Lapwai. He arrived at Walla Walla and was advised to wait for Francis Ermatinger, who would be going down the Columbia with a load of freight from Colville. It was New Years' Day when Gray arrived at Walla Walla. It was January 14th before Ermatinger managed to get through the snow and ice-clogged Columbia; he had been forced to leave the greater part of his cargo at Okanogan."

Dr. McLoughlin was sometimes criticized by the "Honourable Company" for being friendly to Americans, but he always felt it was his Christian duty as well as humanitarian to help them. Plus he felt that good relations should be kept up because they all were "squatters" on the American continent. It was the end of an era for just about all the people in the West.



John McLoughlin welcomes the first women to cross the continent by covered wagon in 1836 (LA) bluebook.state.or.us/facts/scenic/cap/cap05.htm



Narcissa Whitman



Marcus Whitman



Henry H. Spalding

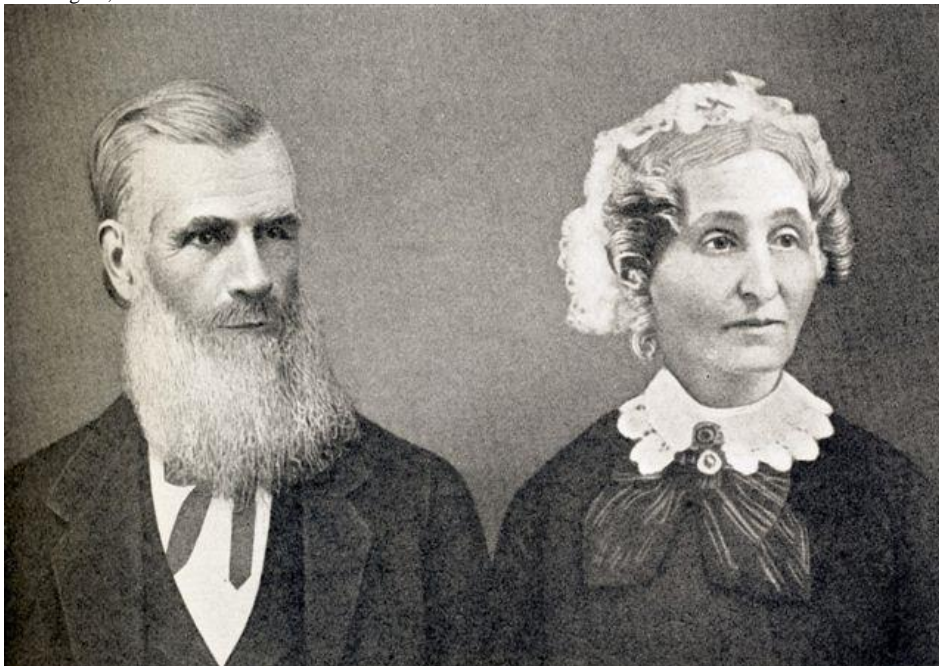


McLoughlin Welcomes the Americans, Fort Vancouver, 1834 by Charles Comfort, 1935



Diorama, in the museum of the Fort Vancouver Visitors Center, is of the arrival of the Whitman-Spalding party at the Fort on September 12, 1836.
Courtesy of National Park Service, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia

"Royal Family of the Columbia – Dr. John McLoughlin and His Family," Alberta Brooks Fogdall, Ye Galleon Press Fairfield, Washington, 1978



William H. Gray (1810-1889) and his wife, Mary (Dix).

Notes on the Whitmans:

"Marcus Whitman (September 4, 1802 – November 29, 1847) was an American physician and missionary in the Oregon Country. Along with his wife Narcissa Whitman, he started a mission to the Cayuse in what is now southeastern Washington State in 1836. The area later developed as a trading post and stop along the Oregon Trail, and the city of Walla Walla, Washington developed near there.

Narcissa Prentiss Whitman (March 14, 1808 – November 29, 1847) Along with Eliza Hart Spalding (wife of Henry Spalding), she was the first European-American woman to cross the Rocky Mountains in 1836 on her way to found the Protestant Whitman Mission with husband Dr. Marcus Whitman near modern day Walla Walla, Washington. Narcissa Prentiss was born in Prattsburgh, New York, in the Genesee Valley on March 14, 1808. She was the third of nine children of Judge Stephen and Clarissa Prentiss. She was the oldest of the five girls, followed by Clarissa, Mary Ann, Jane, and Harriet. She also had four brothers. Like many young women of the era, she became caught up in the Second Great Awakening. She decided that her true calling was to become a missionary, and was accepted for missionary service in March 1835. Narcissa was educated at the Female Academy at Troy, on the Hudson before her marriage to Dr. Marcus Whitman. It was on February 18, 1836 in Angelica, New York.

Her journey from the East to the wagon train depot was by sleigh, canal barge, wagon, river sternwheeler, horseback, and foot. On May 25, 1836, the couple, and a group of other missionaries including Henry and Eliza Spalding, joined a caravan of fur traders and traveled west. The fur company caravan was led by the mountain men Milton Sublette and Thomas Fitzpatrick. The fur traders had seven covered wagons, each pulled by six mules. An additional cart drawn by two mules carried Milton Sublette, who had lost a leg a year earlier and walked on a "cork" leg made by a friend. The combined group arrived at the fur-traders' annual rendezvous on July 6. The founder of Ogden, Utah, Miles Goodyear, traveled with them until Fort Hall. On September 1, 1836, they arrived at Walla Walla Fort, a Hudson's Bay Company outpost near present day Walla Walla, Washington. They then traveled on to Fort Vancouver where they were hosted by Dr. John McLoughlin before returning to the Walla Walla area to build their mission. Narcissa was one of the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains and live in the area. She was something of a novel addition to the community for the local Native Americans, the Cayuse.

The group established several missions as well as Whitman's settlement at a Cayuse settlement called Waiilatpu (Why-ee-lat-poo, the 't' is half silent) in the Cayuse language, meaning "place of the rye grass". It was located just west of the northern end of the Blue Mountains. The present-day city of Walla Walla, Washington developed six miles to the east. The settlement was in the territory of both the Cayuse and the Nez Percé tribes. Whitman farmed and provided medical care, while Narcissa set up a school for the Native American children.

The Whitman Mission began to take shape in 1837, eventually growing into a major stopping point along the Oregon Trail. Methodist missionary Jason Lee would stop off in 1838 at the mission on his way east to gather reinforcements in the United States for his mission in the Willamette Valley. Then, in 1840, mountain man Joseph Meek, who the Whitmans met on their journey to the area, stopped off on his way to the Willamette Valley. Built at Waiilatpu, the settlement was about six miles (10 km) from Fort Walla Walla and along the Walla Walla River. At the mission, Narcissa gave Bible classes to the native population, as well as teaching them Western domestic chores that were unknown to the Native Americans. Besides the missionary goals of converting the natives, she also ran the household. Her daily activities included cooking, washing & ironing clothes, churning butter, making candles & soap, and baking.

On March 14, 1837, on her twenty-ninth birthday, Narcissa gave birth to the first white American born in Oregon Country. She and Marcus named their daughter Alice Clarissa after her two grandmothers, and she would be their only natural child. Unfortunately, Alice drowned in the Walla Walla River on June 23, 1839. Unattended for only a few moments, she had gone down to the river bank to fill her cup with water and fell in. Though her body was found shortly after, all attempts to revive her failed. However, other children came to the mission, including the seven Sager orphans, to whom Narcissa became a second mother.

Just before winter, in late 1842, Marcus traveled back east to recruit more missionaries for the mission. During the time he was away, Narcissa traveled west and visited other outposts in the territory including Fort Vancouver, Jason Lee's Methodist Mission near present day Salem, Oregon, and another mission near Astoria, Oregon. Marcus returned with his nephew Perrin from his trip East in 1843. On his return he helped lead the first large group of wagon trains west from Fort Hall, in southeastern Idaho. Known as the "Great Emigration", it established the viability of the Oregon Trail for later homesteaders. Not having much success with converting the Cayuse, the Whitmans gave more attention to the settlers. They took in children to their own home and established a boarding school for settlers' children.

The Cayuse resented the encroachment of European Americans. More significantly, the influx of white settlers in the territory brought new infectious diseases to the Indian tribes, including a severe epidemic of measles in 1847. The Native Americans lack of immunity to Eurasian diseases resulted in high death rates, with children dying in striking numbers. The Whitmans cared for both Cayuse and white settlers, but half of the Cayuse died and nearly all their children. Seeing that more whites survived, the Cayuse blamed the Whitmans for the devastating deaths among their people.

When Marcus Whitman led the first large party of wagon trains along the Oregon Trail to the West, he established it as a viable route for the hundreds of thousands of emigrants who used the trail in the following decade. The new settlers encroached on the Cayuse near the Whitman mission. Following the deaths of all the Cayuse children and half their adults from a measles epidemic in 1847, in which the Cayuse suspected the Whitmans' responsibility, they killed the Whitmans and 12 other settlers in what became known as the Whitman Massacre. Continuing warfare by settlers reduced the Cayuse numbers further and they eventually joined the Nez Perce tribe to survive. [Our ancestor Nicholas Finley was involved and in the thick of the events.]

The Cayuse tradition held medicine men personally responsible for the patient's recovery. Their despair at the deaths, especially of their children, led the Cayuse under chief Tiloukaikt to kill the Whitmans in their home on November 29, 1847. Warriors destroyed most of the buildings at *Waiilatpu* and killed twelve other white settlers in the community. The events became known among

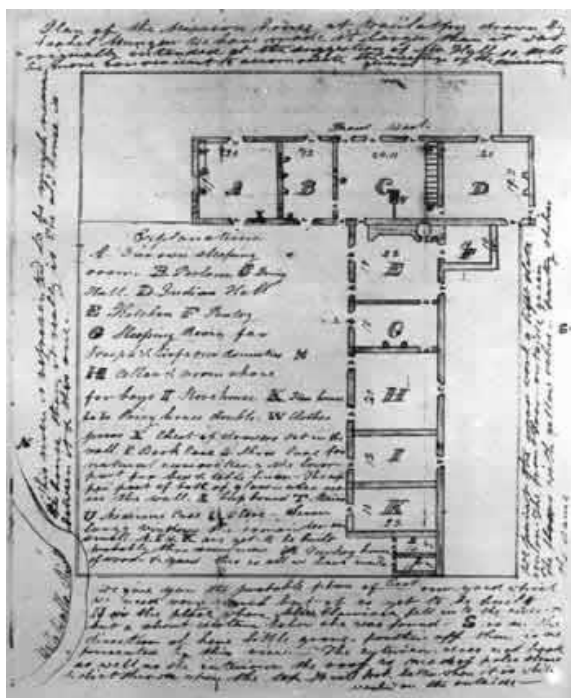
European-American settlers as the Whitman Massacre. The Cayuse held another 53 women and children captive for a month before releasing them through negotiations. These events, and continued European-American encroachment, triggered a continuing conflict between the occupying white settlers and the Cayuse that became known as the Cayuse War. They were so reduced in number that survivors joined the Nez Percé tribe.

Historians have noted contemporary accounts of competition between the Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests, who had become established with Jesuit missions from Canada and St. Louis, Missouri, as contributing to the tensions. The Roman Catholic priest John Baptiste Brouillet aided the survivors and helped bury the victims. But, the Rev. Henry H. Spalding later wrote a pamphlet stating forcefully that the Catholic priests, including Father Brouillet, had incited the Cayuse to massacre. "Spalding's version of the disaster was printed and reprinted, sometimes at taxpayer expense, for the next half-century. It was finally discredited in 1901 by Yale University historian Edward Gaylord Brown."

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marcus_Whitman; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narcissa_Whitman. See Stephanie Flora's The Oregon Territory and Its Pioneers, Whitman Massacre, oregonpioneers.com for an excellent account of the Whitman Massacre.

Excavation of the Mission House - Garth, 1947 Archeological Report,

<http://www.nps.gov/whmi/parkmgmt/mission-house-excavation-garth-1947.htm>



NPS PHOTO

This plan of the Whitman Mission House was drawn by Asahel Munger in 1840.

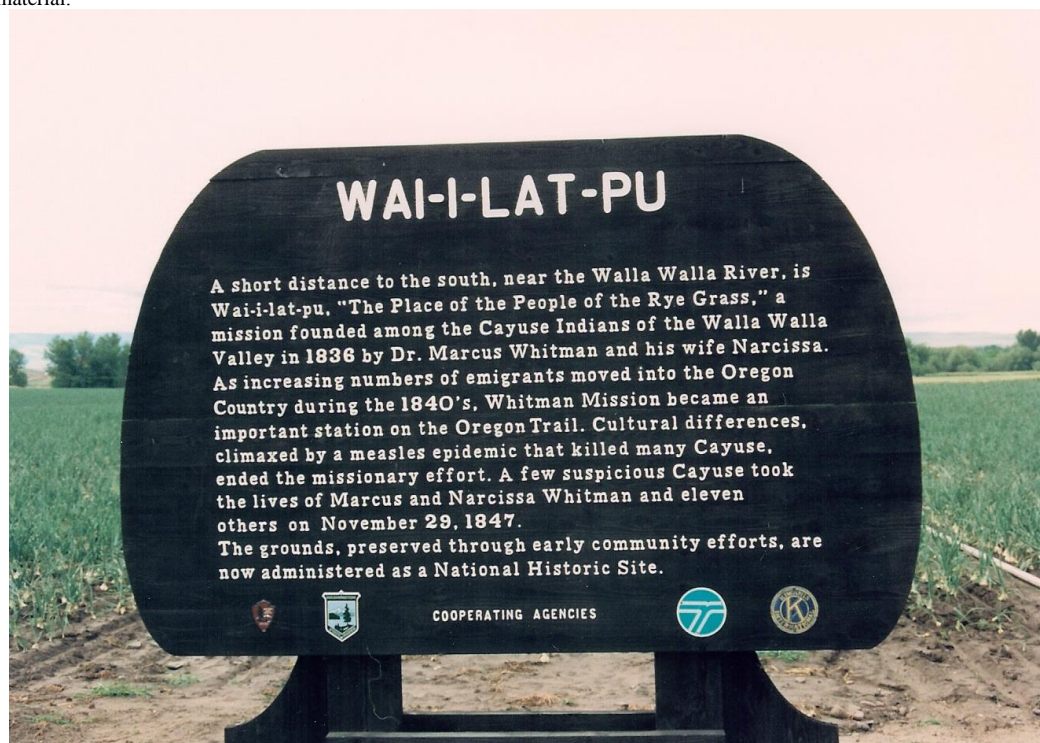
"Mission life was centered in this large "T" shaped building, which served as a combination dwelling, school, and church. Its construction was begun in 1838, after the first house was found to be not only too small but hazardously near the river and subject to flooding. By 1840 the new house was enough completed, for the Whitmans to move into. Being very proud of her new home, which had been nicely finished inside by an expert carpenter-Asahel Munger-Mrs. Whitman sent a drawing of the ground plan made by Munger to her parents in New York. (12) Thus we have a more accurate knowledge of the construction of this building than of any of the others at the Mission.

When searching for its walls we discovered a series of packed levels-occupation floors-and thin ash layers in an area that subsequently proved to be five to twenty feet south of the actual ruin. The four packed occupation floors encountered correspond rather closely to the four successive houses that have occupied the site since 1838. Level 4 represents the ground level in mission times. It is extremely compacted. Over it is a thin layer of grey ash, probably from the burning of the mission house. Over this is a fill layer of burned earth deposit which very likely came from the Eells cellar which was dug through the ruin about 1859. On this level (floor 3), which shows some packing, is a second ash layer containing material from the Eells cabin which burned in 1872. There are large quantities of melted window glass, some of it thick and some thin. Apparently Cushing Eells used thin Hudson's Bay Company type glass in his windows as well as some of the thicker, more modern type glass. In the ashes, too, were several door locks, portions of his stove, an ox shoe, powder horn, and numerous other items. He used kiln-fired brick in his chimney, no doubt some of the first made in the region. These vary from an inch to two inches in thickness and are from three and one-half to four inches wide. Chinaware on floor 3 should be for the most part that used by the Eells household, though as yet not enough has been

obtained to enable a thorough analysis. Some of the sandstone footings which had supported the Eells cabin were still in place though badly fractured by heat.

Above floor 3 was two to four inches of burned-earth fill, doubtless spread about by Charles Moore after 1872 when he redug the cellar and built a frame house on the site. The floor 2 level which topped this fill probably dates from about 1873 to 1912. Except for a preponderance of square "cut" nails and other late nineteenth century artifacts the content on floor 2 was much the same as that on floor 1. On both floors the prevalent types of pottery was plain white Ironstone ware, which the Meakin Brothers and others in England turned out in quantities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Floor I resulted when Marion Swegle enlarged the old cellar and moved most of the Moore house from the site in 1912, building a sixteen-room house in its place. The importance of these occupation floors is that they enable us to date the types of artifacts found on each. For instance, we should be able, eventually, to distinguish the pottery of the Eells period from that of the mission period.

The rear walls of the mission house were first to be uncovered. Having Munger's ground plan to work from, as soon as we found a corner and determined the orientation of the walls, location of remaining corners was fairly simple. Since the mission house was on relatively high ground there was less flood deposition over its walls, which were in places less than six inches below the ground surface. The building had apparently been laid out with a compass, for it was oriented approximately with magnetic north. Except for length the dimensions check fairly well with those given in Munger's sketch, though room "A" at the south end of the "T" front was never constructed. The building was sixty feet ten inches across the front, which was nineteen feet three inches wide. The stem of the "T" was twenty-two feet wide, but apparently the Whitmans had added more rooms than originally intended, for instead of being seventy feet long the stem was eighty feet long. Counting a small "T" at the rear (the privy), the total length of the building was one hundred eight feet. With three exceptions the adobe walls were eighteen inches thick. The twenty-inch thickness of the west wall may be due to its being worn down to the foundation which was thicker than the upper wall. The rear (east) wall was only nine inches thick and that of the privy twelve inches. Corner posts had been located in the extreme southwest and southeast corners, just inside the walls. These probably gave added support to the floor sills. It is likely that subsequent excavation will reveal such post holes in all inside corners. Though there is some indication that a frame was buried within the adobe walls, excavation is not far enough advanced to allow a description at this time. In fact, the major part of the excavation has yet to be carried on in this ruin-only the tops of the walls having been exposed at various points. Work so far done on this ruin indicates that it will be the richest in cultural material."



I took this in the early 1990s while working in that area. Note the Walla Walla sweet onion field in the background.



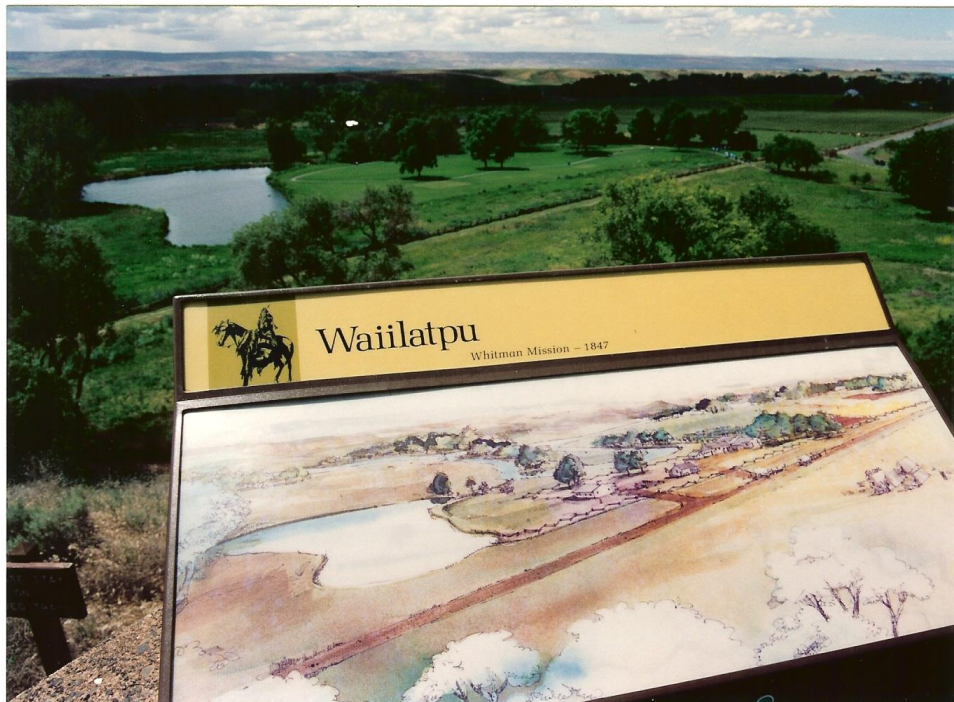
This photo shows the rye grass that gave Waiilatpu its name. It was taken by me in the early 1990s.



Waiilatpu and the site of the Whitman Mission, taken by me in the early 1990s.



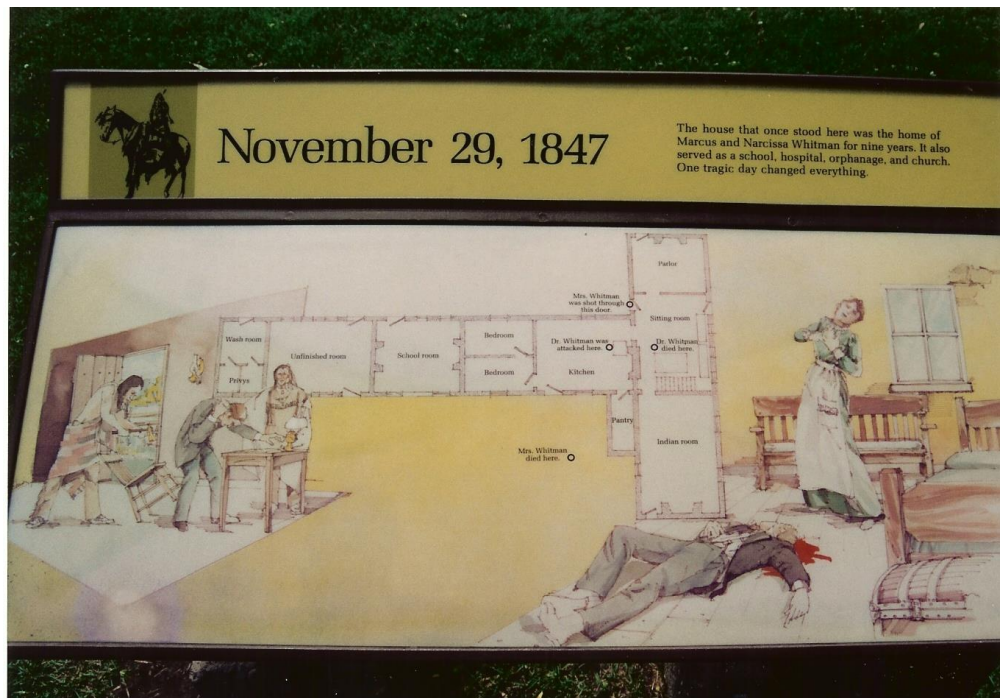
The Oregon Trail at Waiilatpu as it looked in the early 1990s.



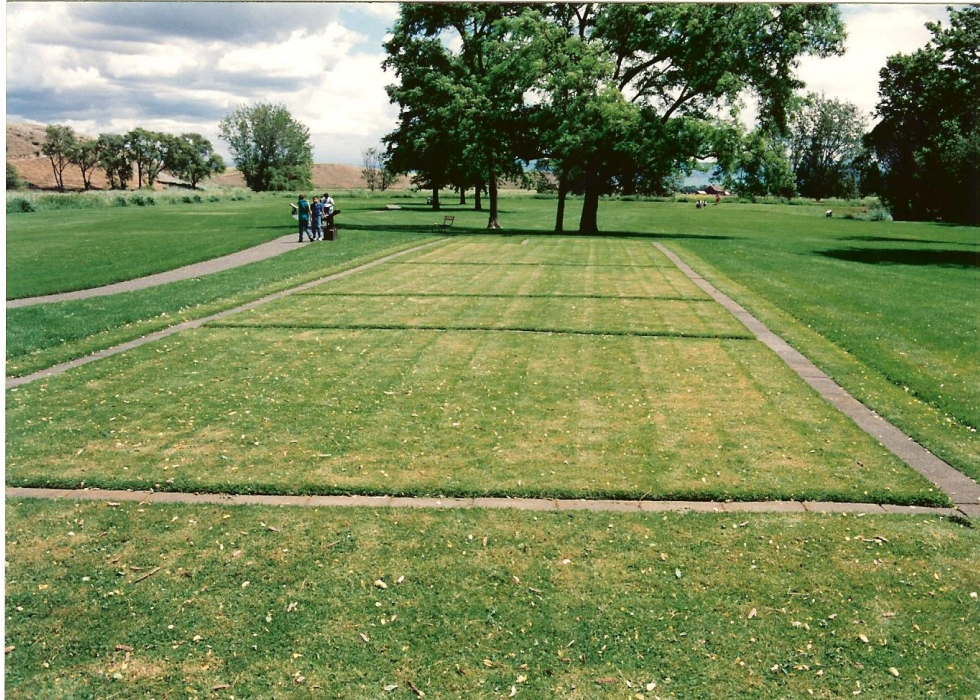
Waiilatpu, Whitman Mission in 1847. 1990s



This plaque says: "Marcus Whitman built this whitewashed adobe house in the mission's third year. Pine boards for floors and woodwork were whipsawed in the mountains. Like the other buildings, the roof was made of poles covered with grass and mud. With its painted trim window panes, and fireplaces, it was an island of civilization in a wild land." Taken in the early 1990s by me.



The Whitman home.



As I stood on the spot where Narcissa Whitman was murdered it was sad and awe inspiring and I felt the sense of the tragedy. I visited the site in the early 1990s while working at Milton-Freewater, Oregon pouring concrete.