

## JASON LEE AND OREGON COLONIZATION

Since both Great Britain and the United States laid claim to Old Oregon and were unable to agree as to the location of the boundary line, they signed a Treaty of Joint Occupancy on October 20, 1818, which was subject for reconsideration if an agreement had not been reached within ten years.<sup>1</sup> During the following twenty-eight years, 1818–1846, the two powers found themselves engaged in a contest for title. The main question was—where was the dividing line to be drawn? The Hudson’s Bay Company, the unofficial arm of the British Government, wanted it at the Columbia River. The United States, having become aware by 1839 of the strategic and economic importance of Puget Sound for naval and commercial harbors, insisted upon a more northern line.

During these critical years, 1838–1846, the debate over the location of the boundary was carried on in many circles; in the British Parliament and in the halls of Congress; in diplomatic conferences and in the press; in the councils of the Hudson’s Bay Company and in its Oregon trading posts; and especially after 1838 in the embryonic American settlements along the Willamette and Columbia Rivers. Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in Old Oregon were drawn into the controversy.

A question which has perplexed scholars, who have studied the life of the Rev. Jason Lee, is whether he became more interested in colonizing the Willamette Valley with Americans than in evangelizing the natives. His interest in American colonization was linked with his desire to have the United States extend its jurisdiction over a large part of Old Oregon. After weighing the evidence, the historian H. H. Bancroft was convinced that after 1838 we must "regard Jason Lee less as a missionary than as an American colonizer." Cornelius Brosnan, an authority on Lee, took the opposite point of view; he insisted that the reenforcement sent out by the Methodist Missionary Society in 1839, consisting of fifty men, women, and children, "was not primarily a colonizing enterprise, but distinctly a missionary expedition."<sup>2</sup>

The question can be restated: Did Jason Lee ride East in 1838 to save Oregon for the United States, or was he primarily interested in securing a missionary reenforcement to assist in evangelizing and civilizing the rapidly diminishing tribes in the lower Columbia River basin? Instead of accepting the now discredited theory of Whitman riding East in 1842 to save Oregon, might it not be possible that Lee was the one who made such a ride in 1838? Let the facts speak for themselves.

### LIEUTENANT WILLIAM A. SLACUM, U.S.N., VISITS OREGON

Our review of background events must begin with a Boston school-teacher and Oregon enthusiast, Hall Jackson Kelley, who as early as 1829 founded a society to promote an American settlement in the disputed Columbia River country. He repeatedly presented memorials to Congress and made numerous appeals to prospective settlers, all for the purpose of insuring the extension of United States jurisdiction over a part of Old Oregon.

In 1833 Kelley started out for Oregon via New Orleans, Vera Cruz, thence across Mexico to San Diego, California. There he met and joined forces with an American trapper and explorer, Ewing Young.<sup>3</sup> These two, with sixteen men and a band of from eighty to one hundred horses, worked their way north into Oregon, arriving in the Willamette Valley in October 1834. Kelley called on the Lees at their mission near what is now Salem, Oregon.

Unfortunately for Kelley and Young, Governor José Figueroa of

California wrote to Dr. McLoughlin accusing the men of being horse thieves. The large band of horses which they drove into Oregon lent some credence to the report. On the basis of this information, McLoughlin gave the men a cool reception at Fort Vancouver and also refused to extend to them the privileges of trade. Later McLoughlin learned that the report sent by Governor Figueroa was false, but the damage had been done. Both Kelley and Young harbored a deep hostility against Dr. McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company. Young settled in the Willamette Valley, but Kelley returned to the States in 1835.

When Kelley got back to Boston, he wrote an account of his visit to Oregon which was published in a government document.<sup>4</sup> Kelley claimed that the few American settlers in Oregon were suffering from the monopolistic practices of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was most critical of Dr. McLoughlin and claimed that the Company was flagrantly violating the terms of the 1818 Treaty of Joint Occupation.<sup>5</sup> This outburst against the Hudson's Bay Company only corroborated similar reports which had been coming to the attention of the United States Government.

President Andrew Jackson, who is remembered for his expansionist policies, directed John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to send someone to Oregon to investigate. Forsyth commissioned Lieut. William A. Slacum, then a purser in the U.S. Navy, "to proceed to the Northwest Coast of America and to the River Oregon [i.e., Columbia], by such means as he should find best, and there ascertain the truth of Kelley's story."<sup>6</sup>

Slacum began his journey on June 1, 1836. He crossed Mexico and after some delays was able to sail from La Paz on October 10 for Honolulu. Although Slacum might have secured passage to the Columbia River on a Hudson's Bay Company's vessel, he felt it wise to be independent. He chartered the American brig, *Loriot*, for \$700.00 a month and set sail for Oregon on October 24 taking with him a small cargo of items for the Indian trade. When Slacum arrived at Fort Vancouver on January 2, 1837, he was politely received by Dr. McLoughlin, who naturally inquired as to the object of his visit. Since he had so little cargo, it was evident that his main objective in visiting Oregon was not trade. Slacum said that he was on a private fact-finding expedition. Dr. McLoughlin was not fooled. To him Slacum was a spy, a government agent of the United States.

For some thirty years after the return of the Lewis and Clark party from the Pacific Coast, the United States Government had remained strangely indifferent to its rights to the Old Oregon country. With the single exception of United States Commissioner, J. B. Provost, who visited Oregon in 1818 to receive back Fort George (Astoria), which had been sold to the British by the Americans in 1813 because of the War of 1812, Slacum was the first government official to visit the Pacific Northwest after Lewis and Clark.

Some of the early reports on Oregon indicated that the country was not favorable for colonization. Wilson P. Hunt, who had led the overland expedition to the Pacific Coast sponsored by John Jacob Astor in 1810–12, stated in a memorandum to a member of Congress, the Hon. Edward Bates, dated February 15, 1828: “The nature of the country on the N.W. coast is such as *forever* to prevent agriculture.”<sup>7</sup> So Slacum was really sent on a mission of rediscovery.

Slacum remained at Fort Vancouver from January 2 to the 10<sup>th</sup>. McLoughlin cooperated fully in supplying information about the activities of the Company and its resources. Slacum then called on Jason Lee at its mission, near present-day Salem, Oregon, where he arrived on the 14<sup>th</sup>. Slacum spent about two weeks in the Willamette Valley, largely if not exclusively in Lee’s company, and in his official report stated that he had called on all of the thirty American settlers.<sup>8</sup> He listened with sympathetic ears to the many complaints made by the Americans against the monopolistic practices of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Especially objectionable was the refusal of the Company to sell cattle to the settlers even though the Company’s herds at Fort Vancouver numbered over a thousand head. It was well known that cattle could be purchased in California for \$3.00 a head.

Under the leadership of Lee, and with Slacum’s enthusiastic backstage endorsement, a meeting of the settlers was held at Champoege with forty-one present, including thirteen French Canadians, former servants of the Hudson’s Bay Company. At that time<sup>9</sup> the Willamette Cattle Company was formed with all forty-one men signing the Articles of Agreement. Slacum offered to take a party to California on his ship to buy cattle which could then be driven into the Willamette Valley. Out of their meager financial resources, the settlers pledged \$900.00. Jason Lee invested \$400.00 for the Methodist Mission and Slacum added

another \$500.00, which probably came from some government funds placed at his disposal by President Jackson.<sup>10</sup> With a \$1,800.00 on hand, the newly organized company expected to buy about six hundred head of Spanish cattle.

After Slacum had returned to Fort Vancouver and had told Dr. McLoughlin what the settlers had done, McLoughlin, much to Slacum's surprise, asked to be included in the project and contributed \$900.00. This act of Dr. McLoughlin's indicates that he was not in sympathy with the Company's refusal to sell cattle, a policy which had been dictated by his superiors. Strange to say, Slacum made no mention of McLoughlin's contribution in his official report to Congress, thus revealing Slacum's bias against the Hudson's Bay Company.

Lee accompanied Slacum back to Fort Vancouver and conducted a farewell service for the departing cattlemen aboard the *Loriot* on January 21. The cattle drive was an outstanding success. Evidently some additional funds had been raised as about eight hundred head of cattle were purchased at \$3.00 each and forty horses at \$12.00 a head. The drive ended in mid-October. Nearly two hundred head of cattle were lost along the trail. These losses, together with other expenses, brought the final cost per head upon delivery in Oregon to \$7.67. The success of this cattle drive of 1837 opened a new era in Oregon's history. It made the settlers, as far as cattle were concerned, independent of the Company's stranglehold on a basic element in Oregon's economy.

When Slacum returned to the States, he carried with him a petition, addressed to the United States Congress and signed by the American settlers in the Willamette Valley. The Americans begged that Congress would "recognize them in their helpless and defenceless state, and extend to them the protection of its laws, as being, or desiring to become citizens."<sup>11</sup> The last clause may have had reference to some French Canadians who had also signed with the Americans. This was the first of several petitions forwarded to Congress by Americans living in the Valley, each of which asked for the establishment of their government's jurisdiction in Oregon. Actually, any unilateral establishment of such an authority was not possible under the joint Occupation Treaty of 1818. The boundary issue had to be settled first.

## THE OREGON BOUNDARY ISSUE

The location of the boundary which would separate that part of Old Oregon which would come under the jurisdiction of the United States from that which would be under the British flag, was becoming increasingly controversial by 1837. The British Government wanted the Columbia River to be the boundary. A variation of this proposal is to be found in a letter Governor Simpson wrote to Dr. McLoughlin on June 21, 1843, in which he suggested that the boundary start from the summit of the Rockies at the 49° parallel, continue south to the route followed by Lewis and Clark, then down the Clearwater, the Snake, and the Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>12</sup> Such a dividing line would have given to Great Britain a large slice of what is now northwestern Montana, all of the panhandle of what is now northern Idaho, and all but the southeastern corner of what is now Washington.

Slacum, as a Navy officer, was quick to see the strategic value of having Puget Sound as a part of the United States. "I beg leave to call your attention to the topography of 'Pugitt's sound'," he wrote in his report, "and urge, in the most earnest manner, that this point should never be abandoned. If the United States claim, as I hope they ever will, at least as far as 49 degrees north latitude, running due west from the 'Lake of the Woods,' on the above parallel, we shall take in Pugitt's Sound. In a military point of view, it is of the highest importance to the United States."<sup>13</sup>

Slacum also pointed out that it was the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to encourage their retired servants to settle on the Cowlitz River "as it lies to the north of the Columbia." Slacum explained: "The reason he [i.e., McLoughlin] assigns is, that the north side of the Columbia River will belong to the Hudson's Bay Company." Feeling that such an attitude posed a threat to American rights, Slacum wrote: "If one side of the river is claimed, with the same propriety they might claim both sides." To Slacum, the establishment of the border at the 49° parallel was vital to the best interests of the United States of Puget Sound as providing harbors for the Navy and for commercial shipping. It was the only good harbor site along the whole Pacific Coast north of San Francisco Bay.

But how was that goal to be achieved? By war? That was unthinkable. The alternative was by diplomacy, but before diplomacy could be effective,

there had to be a good bargaining base. To Slacum the trump card for the Americans would be the presence of a large colony of its citizens in Old Oregon.

Reasoning backwards from events which took place after Slacum left Oregon, we can conclude that Slacum convinced Lee of the importance of increasing the number of American citizens in Oregon. There was no other person so strategically situated as Lee to promote such a project. Judging by evidence, which will be given subsequently, Slacum assured Lee that the United States Government would subsidize the cost of chartering a ship to carry a company of settlers, who could be called missionaries, to Oregon.

Since such a move would arouse the suspicions of the British Government, Slacum no doubt stressed the need for secrecy. Instead of advertising the political advantages of having more Americans settle in the Willamette Valley, the emphasis could be placed on the missionary aspects. Those recruited could go out under the auspices of the Methodist Missionary Society. As to personnel, let the emphasis be on farmers, mechanics, and artisans, rather than on ordained men.

Bancroft, in his *Oregon* (p. 166), suggests that Lee might have been dreaming of being a colonizer for Oregon when he met Kelley late in 1834, but the evidence for this theory is not strong. "There can be little doubt," wrote Bancroft, "that the scheme took form on being encouraged by Slacum to look for the support of government in sustaining American supremacy south of the Columbia." No doubt Slacum urged Lee to return to the States with him in order to get the reenforcement as soon as possible. Lee, however, felt that he could not leave at that time. He had but three assistants—Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and Philip P. Edwards.<sup>14</sup> Lee may have assured Slacum that if a reenforcement for his mission arrived in 1837, he would leave for the States the following spring.

#### ARRIVAL OF METHODIST REENFORCEMENTS

Two parties of Methodist missionaries reached Oregon in 1837, both having come by sea. The first with twelve persons arrived in May; the second with seven, the following September. The combined personnel included five men, seven women, and seven children. In the first group was Dr. Elijah P. White, the first physician to join the Willamette Mission. After serving for three years, because of serious difficulties

with Jason Lee, Dr. White withdrew from the Methodist Mission and returned to the States. In the second reenforcement was the Rev. Henry Kirk White Perkins who, shortly after his arrival in Oregon, married Miss Elvira Johnson, a member of the first party. The couple was assigned to the Methodist station at The Dalles, also called Waskopum.

In Slacum's report to Congress, he stated that the total Indian population of the Willamette Valley was only 1,200, including the membership of five tribes. Slacum said that disease had "swept off no less than 5,000 to 6,000 souls" since 1829.<sup>15</sup> The Methodist reenforcements, including that which reached Oregon aboard the *Lausanne* in May 1840, brought the total number of men, women, and children sent out by the Methodist Missionary Society to about seventy-five, of which number fifty were adults. If the Indian population had remained constant and if all adults worked in the Willamette Valley, there would have been one adult missionary for every twenty-four natives! Actually, several stations were opened outside of the Valley, such as the one at The Dalles where there were more than a thousand Indians. But even so, the overconcentration of missionaries for so few natives, who were rapidly dying off, shows that the primary emphasis of the Methodists had become one of colonization and not Indian evangelization.

### LEE LEAVES FOR NEW YORK

After the arrival of the reenforcements of 1837, Lee felt that it would be possible for him to leave for the East in the spring of 1838. It is not known to what extent he shared with his colleagues any assurance given him by Slacum that the government would subsidize the chartering of a ship to carry a large reenforcement to Old Oregon. Contemporary Methodist records merely indicate that the Oregon missionaries felt a reenforcement was desired in order to reach untouched tribes and that laymen were needed to relieve ministers of secular duties.<sup>16</sup>

Before leaving for the States, Lee with the assistance of P. L. Edwards and David Leslie (a member of the second reenforcement), prepared a memorial to be submitted to Congress. This was the second appeal to be drawn up by residents of the Willamette Valley, the first having been carried East by Slacum. Lee called a meeting of the settlers for March 16, 1838, at the Methodist Mission when the memorial was presented for their approval.

The document adopted was another plea for the United States Government “to take formal and speedy possession” of Oregon. It did not specify where the boundary line was to be placed. The memorialists pointed out that the harmonious relationships then existing between the little colony of American settlers and the Hudson’s Bay Company might not continue if the settlement increased in population. The Americans claimed that they were living in a land without law. They stressed the need for some official government authority in Oregon “to secure the execution of all laws affecting Indian trade and the intercourse of white men with the Indians.” The memorial was signed by all nine male members of the Methodist Mission, eighteen American settlers, and nine French Canadians. Lee carried this memorial with him on his journey to the States.<sup>17</sup>

On March 26, 1838, Lee bade farewell to his wife<sup>18</sup> and associates and left for Fort Walla Walla. With him were P. L. Edwards, who had gone out to Oregon with the Lee party in 1834; F. Y. Young, who was returning to his home in the States;<sup>19</sup> and two Indian boys named Thomas Adams and William Brooks, whom he was taking with him as prime exhibits of the work of the Methodist Mission school.<sup>20</sup>

### WHITMAN AND SPALDING REQUEST 220 ADDITIONAL WORKERS

On Saturday, April 14, 1838, the day after arriving at Fort Walla Walla, Lee rode out to Waiilatpu to see the Whitmans. There he remained for five days before starting for Lapwai. No records remain of the subjects that Whitman and Lee discussed, but it takes little imagination to fill in the general outline. Lee must have told Whitman about Slacum’s visit and of his strong conviction that the final border must be at the 49° parallel in order to give Puget Sound to the United States. Neither Whitman nor Lee discussed the location of the border in any of their known writings, but it appears that both men were in agreement with Slacum’s recommendations. Lee must have told Whitman about the promise of a government subsidy to charter a ship and probably also referred to some “Secret Service” fund mentioned by Slacum. We do know that Whitman in later correspondence referred to Lee’s intention to charter a ship, and also then made mention of the availability of financial assistance from a “Secret Service” fund.

A main subject of conversation between Lee and Whitman must have been the former's desire to get a large reenforcement for his mission which would be the nucleus of an expanding American colony in the Willamette Valley. They must have agreed on the importance of the United States securing title to much of Old Oregon, and on the strategy for accomplishing this goal. The method was to secure the presence in Oregon of Americans—thousands of them—to outvote any residents who might be under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company when a provisional government would be established. This, Lee must have explained to Whitman, was the primary reason why he was going East. He wanted to persuade the Methodist Missionary Society to send out a colony of missionaries and, no doubt, he urged Whitman to write to the American Board and ask it to do likewise.

Whitman was not only a sympathetic but also an enthusiastic listener. Undoubtedly he told Lee of how, just a few weeks earlier, he had persuaded Tom McKay to send his son, William, to an American school rather than to one in Scotland because of his conviction that Oregon would surely belong to the United States. No doubt Whitman reminded Lee of the fact that he and Spalding had taken their wives over the Rockies. The overland gateway to Old Oregon had been opened for women; they did not have to be sent by sea around South America. In this respect, the United States, because of its proximity to Oregon, had a great advantage over Great Britain if the Oregon emigrants would take the overland route. With the exception of a few colonists entering Oregon from what is now western Canada, British subjects would have to take the long sea voyage around Cape Horn.

Having won full and sympathetic support for his plan from Whitman, Lee went to see Spalding. He arrived at Lapwai either late Friday evening, April 20, or early the next day. After explaining his plan to Spalding, Lee found him as enthusiastic about the desirability of securing American sovereignty over Oregon as Whitman had been. Spalding agreed that an appeal should be made to the American Board to send a colony of missionaries to the upper Columbia River Valley.

On Saturday, April 21, 1838, Spalding began what was evidently intended to be a joint letter from him and Whitman to the American Board, for he opened his letter by writing: "We, the undersigned..." After reviewing the length of their residence on the field, their acquaintance

with the country, the promising outlook for work among other tribes, and the favorable reception which had been given them by the natives, Spalding then made the following amazing request: "To occupy these fields immediately, we ask as the least possible number which God & our conscience will admit us to name, for 30 ordained missionaries, 30 farmers, 30 school teachers, 10 physicians, & 10 mechanics, with their wives."<sup>21</sup> This meant a reenforcement of 220 adults!!!

As to the route such a reenforcement should take to go to Oregon, Spalding suggested that they go either by sea around Cape Horn "or the Mountain route, as you may think proper ... with all possible dispatch." In long involved sentences and with his characteristic flowery language, Spalding fortified his request with pious sentiments about the thousands who would "take their leave of this world & pass beyond the borders of hope, leaving the blood of their souls in the skirts of somebody, before the laborers can arrive on the ground..."

Regarding the expected return of Gray that fall, he wrote: "We expect that a good number of these laborers are now, or will be soon on their way with brother Gray." On that date, April 21, Gray with his bride, three other newly-wedded couples, and a single man were at Westport, Missouri, waiting for the American Fur Company's caravan to start for the Rendezvous.

Being completely ignorant of the fact that the United States had experienced a minor financial depression in 1837 which left the American Board with a debt of over \$40,000.00, in spite of greatly curtailed activities, Spalding unrealistically suggested: "You have only to make the request known & the men & money are at your command at once."<sup>22</sup>

The total number of missionaries under appointment by the American Board in 1837 was 360.<sup>23</sup> Spalding was asking that this number be increased by two-thirds and all of the new appointees be sent to Old Oregon! Jason Lee had oversold his project!

As to where these new missionaries were to serve, Spalding listed tribes to the north of Lapwai including the Coeur d'Alenes, and others to the west as far as Puget's Sound, and then looking to the east and southeast, he mentioned the Snakes, the Bannocks, and the Utahs. The whole appeal of the letter was based on the importance of evangelizing the red men. Nothing was said of any political aspirations or of

the Oregon boundary or of Lee's ambitious designs to establish a large American colony in the Willamette Valley.

### THE REQUEST FOR SUPPLIES

This letter of April 21, 1838, included a long list of supplies which were then needed for Waiilatpu and Lapwai and possibly for some of the expected reenforcement of 1838. With the exception of some items needed to be given as compensation for Indian labor or for trade, the list was reasonable. Requested items of clothing included: "6 pr female shoes, No. 7; 6 pr. male shoes, No. 8, 9 & 10; and 12 palmleaf hats."<sup>24</sup> Household needs were: "2 cook stoves, 6 box stoves,... 12 candlesticks;" and an assortment of dishes and crockery as "4 doz dining plates," and other kinds of dishes in proportion, "1 doz chambers with covers," tools, kitchen utensils, knives, forks, spoons, lanterns, and kettles.

The request for two cook stoves indicates that both Narcissa and Eliza were still cooking over an open fire in a fireplace. When an archaeologist examined the soil where the Whitman house once stood, he found fragments of chinaware, "at least half of which is beautiful English pictorial ware—Spode, Staffordshire, Copeland and Garrett there was very little plain undecorated earthenware or utility china. What must have been the everyday ware had an attractive blue border."<sup>25</sup> Since Narcissa had no opportunity to go shopping for chinaware after leaving Fort Vancouver in the fall of 1836, such patterns must have been selected for herself by others from the stores at the Fort, or possibly secured by an order placed by the American Board through an English firm. It may be assumed that the Spaldings had similar dishes.

Supplies needed in their contacts with the Indians included: "Five hundred yards of striped or checked cotton for shirts to be made by native girls," and books and school supplies "for two English schools of 50 scholars each." Evidently, Spalding was still dreaming of teaching the natives the English language. Spalding also asked for machinery and tools for a blacksmith shop and a gristmill. Needed for the blacksmith shop were "several tons" of iron and steel. Spalding wanted to make hoes, hundreds of them, for the natives. A gristmill would have saved money for the missionaries, as they were paying \$10.00 per hundred pounds of flour purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. A gristmill could also have given encouragement to the Indians to raise wheat.

Spalding also requested “50 gross Indian awls” which were much desired by the natives in sewing their buckskin garments, but “50 gross” totaled 7,200 awls!

Another amazing request that Spalding made was for: “2,000 gunflints... 100 doz scalping knives,” and for a quantity of powder and ammunition. The scalping knife was a utility tool used for many purposes, all perfectly legitimate. Greene honored most of the requests for supplies contained in this letter, but not for tons of iron and steel, the excessive number of awls, gunflints, scalping knives, and ammunition. Regarding the latter items, Greene wrote on March 31, 1839: “Our Committee have never... consented to send to any mission... [such items as] balls, powder, gunflints, scalping knives, etc., nor does it seem to me proper to send them [to you] to be used in trade with the Indians. Would you feel satisfied to see one tribe for some slight provocation, or perhaps in a war party got up for the sake of plunder, using the balls, powder, & flints which you sold them, upon their unhappy neighbors? What would be said of you & the cause of Christian missions, should it be known that you traded with the Indians in such articles as these?”<sup>26</sup> Undoubtedly Spalding was thinking more of the Indians’ needs for the hunt for wild game than for war.

### WHITMAN’S INVOLVEMENT

Spalding went with Lee on his return trip to Waiilatpu on Monday and Tuesday, April 23 and 24. We have no contemporary evidence to show just what Whitman thought of Spalding’s extravagant request for 220 additional workers except a statement in his letter of May 8 to Greene: “I have had the pleasure of signing a joint letter to yourself prepared by Brother Spalding & of filling a blank with supplies...” Whitman added a request for “three hundred hoes & fifty ploughs.” There is some mystery about Whitman’s statement about “filling a blank with supplies.” The original correspondence in the Board’s archives in Boston shows that the letter of April 21, including the request for supplies, is in Spalding’s handwriting.<sup>27</sup>

About two years later, when strained relationships existed between Whitman and Spalding, Whitman wrote to Greene repudiating the letter of April 21, 1838, which he had signed with Spalding. He stated: “I feel to regret the joint letter sent by Mr. Spalding & myself in 1838 as

containing a forced view of things calculated to excite hopes not to be realized. This I have wished to avoid in all my correspondence. The letter was written in Mr. S's peculiar style for which I do not feel responsible [Letter 74]." Marshall, in his *Acquisition of Oregon* (II:36), accused Whitman of "playing the baby act" by trying to shift the blame for the letter to Spalding.

This joint letter of April 1838 has long puzzled students of the WhitmanSpalding story. The request for 220 additional workers seems altogether unreasonable for such a limited field as that part of Old Oregon not then occupied by the Methodists. Hulbert, in his *Overland to the Pacific* series (VI:302), called it "the notorious joint epistle written by the latter (i.e., Spalding) but signed by Dr. Whitman for some reasons unknown." In my *Marcus Whitman, M.D.* (p. 192), I advanced the theory that perhaps Whitman and Spalding, after learning of Lee's ambitious plans for a large reenforcement, had become envious; not wishing to let the Methodists outdo them, they asked for a reenforcement of 220 for their field. In support of such a view, one could quote from Whitman's letter to Greene of May 8, 1838: "I hope we may not be left unsupported while our Methodist brethren devise so liberal things..."

After reviewing the implications of Slacum's visit to Oregon and Lee's grandiose dreams of establishing a large American colony in the Willamette Valley in order to strengthen the claims of the United States for a large share of Old Oregon, we need no longer say that Whitman signed the joint letter for "some reasons unknown." It is reasonable to believe that he, along with Spalding, had been persuaded to petition the American Board to act in unison with the Methodist Society in sending out a colony of settlers, who could be called missionaries, for political as well as religious purposes. If the two missionary boards would work together, the claims of the United States Government to Old Oregon would be immeasurably enhanced. Since Lee agreed to carry the joint letter of April 21 to Boston with the hope that he might have a personal visit with Greene, Spalding wrote: "Revd. Jason Lee of the Willamette mission, who is the bearer of this, should he visit Boston, can give you more information in relation to this subject, than we can by writing." Here is the suggestion that both Spalding and Whitman felt it wise to refrain from writing about any political matters related to final settlement of the Oregon boundary. Lee was to supplement what had been written by a verbal report.

Neither Whitman nor Spalding added his name to the memorial Lee was carrying which had been signed by the Willamette Valley settlers on March 16, 1838, including all male members of the Methodist Mission. They may have felt that this was something which applied particularly to the residents of the Willamette Valley. Possibly they remembered the advice of Secretary Greene, given in his farewell instructions to them, not to become involved in secular or political affairs. After receiving the joint letter of April 21, Greene answered on October 17, 1838, saying in part: "It is not at all unlikely that a movement will be made by the Government of the United States for taking possession of the Oregon country, and establishing jurisdiction over it." This indicates that Greene had read between the lines of the letter that Spalding and Whitman had signed and also, possibly, that he had talked with Lee. Greene was fearful that if the United States did establish its jurisdiction over a part of Old Oregon, there would be a rush of "speculators & adventurers, making it a theatre for all kinds of wickedness, leading to the corruption and oppression of the Indian tribes beyond anything that has yet been seen on our borders." He strongly advised the two missionaries "from taking any political stand."<sup>28</sup>

### THE METHODISTS RECEIVED A GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY?

There is evidence that when Jason Lee was at Waiilatpu and Lapwai, he fully expected to obtain a subsidy from the U.S. Government to help pay the cost of chartering a ship, and that the Methodist Missionary Society could be persuaded to recruit a colony of "missionaries." On May 8, four days before Lee left Waiilatpu to continue his eastward journey, Whitman wrote to Greene: "It is expected by him that the Methodists will send a *ship* directly to the Columbia River."<sup>29</sup> Notice those words—"a ship!" Here was news unknown at the time to the Methodist Missionary Society. How could Lee have been so certain that he would be returning by ship unless this was part of the promise made to him by Slacum?

The Hudson's Bay authorities at Fort Vancouver also heard rumors about Lee's expected return to Oregon with a shipload of colonists and merchandise. James Douglas, who was serving as Chief Factor at the Fort during the absence of Dr. McLoughlin, in a letter to the headquarters

of the Company in London dated October 18, 1838, wrote: "I fear that the Methodists nourish secret views at variance with your interests. The Revd. Mr. Lee, their superintendent, returns this summer by the overland route to the United States to make arrangements for importing goods. A *vessel* is, therefore, expected in the course of next year freighted by the missionary society, solely or in part, with other adventurers who may be deceived by false hopes of gain."<sup>30</sup>

Here is the second reference to the probability of Lee returning with a company of "adventurers" in a ship. The date of the Douglas letter was several weeks before Jason Lee had an opportunity to meet with the Methodist Missionary Society and present his request for a large reinforcement and a ship. Douglas, sensitive to the exclusive trade privileges then being enjoyed by his Company, was more concerned with the threat of trade competition from the Methodists than with the effect that an enlarged American colony in Oregon might have on political issues.

Douglas also wrote: "It is difficult to anticipate their real intentions and perhaps unfair to question them, but I am naturally anxious about the designs of a body of men, who have the power of seriously injuring our business and whose conduct may justify suspicion. It is my opinion they will engage directly or indirectly in trade and their interference will be more detrimental to our interests than the efforts of the most active commercial body." He made it clear that his suspicions were directed only against the Methodists and not against Whitman and Spalding. "My remarks," he added, "apply solely to the Methodists and have no reference to the Calvinist missionaries, who voluntarily came forward and pledged themselves not to trade furs."

Lee arrived in New York on October 31, having traveled from the frontier by way of Chicago, Detroit, and possibly Boston. One of the Indian boys, Thomas Adams, became ill and had to be left with a kindly family in Illinois. Lee, the second Indian boy, and the three McKay boys, were in Utica, New York, on October 28. Since Fairfield Medical College and its preparatory academy were located about twenty-five miles from Utica, we have reason to believe that Lee took William McKay there and saw that he was properly enrolled. Possibly, Lee then continued on to Wilbraham, Massachusetts, where he left the other two McKay boys. He was then near Boston and perhaps felt it advisable to deliver the letters he had been carrying from Whitman and Spalding to

Greene in person. If this assumption is correct, then Lee would have had an opportunity to explain why their missionaries had requested a reenforcement of 220 men and women for the Oregon Mission.

On March 21, 1839, Greene answered the Whitman–Spalding letter of April 21, 1838. “You are quite mistaken, Dear Brethren,” he wrote, “when you assert in your letter that the Board have only to make their wants known, and funds & men will be furnished without delay, and only a short experiment in the situation in which the Committee are placed would have led you to seriously modify the language which you use on this point. The Committee have no such control over the churches; or the men or the funds of the Christian community...” As gently and yet as firmly as possible, Greene said that the Board would do what it could to send additional workers but that the expectations expressed in their letter were “too high.”<sup>31</sup>

### THE QUICK RESPONSE OF THE METHODIST SOCIETY

The promptness and generosity with which the Methodist Missionary Society responded to Lee’s request for a large reenforcement for Oregon and a ship would be inexplicable if considered apart from Lee’s political designs. Lee called on Dr. Nathan Bangs, Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, in New York as soon as possible after his arrival in the city. Bangs was so impressed with the urgency of Lee’s appeal that he called a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the Society for November 14. In a letter to Henry B. Brewer, who was a member of the Methodist reenforcement of 1839, Lee on November 21, 1838, wrote: “Mr. Slacum called on me and seemed very glad to see me.”<sup>32</sup> Since Slacum was with Lee frequently during the following months, often appearing with him on public platforms when making appeals for men and money, it may not be idle speculation to suggest that he had been in touch with the Missionary Society before Lee arrived.

According to the minutes of the Board of Managers’ meeting for November 14, the proposal of chartering a ship to carry a large reenforcement to Oregon was discussed. At that meeting Lee asked for twenty-six men; if they were married, it would mean a reenforcement of fifty-two adults. A second special meeting of the Board was held on November 21, just a week later, and still a third on December 6. After

the November 21 meeting, Lee visited Washington, D.C., where he met several members of Congress including Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri and Representative Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, both of whom were much interested in Oregon. Lee submitted his memorial to Cushing, who had it published, together with other documents, as *House Report, No. 101, 25th Congress, 3d Session*. Here is further evidence of Lee's involvement in politics.

At the December 6 meeting, the Methodist Board made an initial appropriation of \$35,000 which was later increased by another \$5,000. This totaled more than one-third of the Society's entire budget for one year. Such a relatively large appropriation stands out in sharp contrast to the \$1,000 which the American Board had budgeted for its Oregon Mission for 1838.<sup>33</sup> At its December meeting the Methodists authorized the appointment of a reenforcement of thirty-four adults. Never before had any mission board in the United States appropriated so much money and authorized the appointment of so many missionaries for a single mission as this action by the Board of Managers of the Methodist Missionary Society. The fact that the Board held three special meetings in the late fall of 1838 and that it granted practically all of Lee's requests, indicates its recognition of the importance and urgency of Lee's appeal.

The inevitable publicity given to the sending of such a large reenforcement to Oregon raised questions and aroused criticism. Some people asked why so many were being sent to this mission when there were so few Indians in Oregon? Others boldly asked if this were not a colonizing scheme disguised as a missionary enterprise?

Secretary Bangs published an answer to such criticisms in the April 29, 1839, issue of the *Christian Advocate*, in which he declared: "We have nothing to do with planting a colony in Oregon. Our business is to send the Gospel to those who may be there, either now or hereafter, whether native or otherwise." Bang's answer is ambiguous. Although denying that the Methodist Church was sponsoring a colonizing project, yet he admitted that the large company of missionaries to be sent to Oregon would be ministering to settlers who were already there or who might arrive later.

## THE LAUSANNE CHARTERED

Arrangements were made with the P. J. Farnham Company of Boston early in 1839 for the chartering of the four hundred ton *Lausanne*, a three-masted sailing ship. The financial records of the Missionary Society show that the fare for each passenger over the age of fifteen for the nearly eightmonth voyage from New York to Oregon was \$250.00, with a smaller sum for younger children. Freight was carried for \$25.00 a ton. The *Lausanne* was gone for eighteen months before returning to her home port. The full amount paid to Farnham Company by the Missionary Society was \$9,427.55, which seems a small sum for such a long voyage and for a ship with a crew of sixteen in addition to Captain Josiah Spaulding.<sup>34</sup>

Did the United States Government pay a subsidy directly to the shipping firm to supplement what was paid by the Methodist Missionary Society? The best evidence for the affirmative is the testimony of the Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, a member of the *Lausanne* party, who was interviewed by the historian, H. H. Bancroft, at Salem, Oregon, on July 15, 1878. Parrish testified: "I was told [later] but I knew nothing of it then... I understood after I had been to Oregon seven years [i.e., by 1847] that the Government paid Fry Farnham & Co. 50 dollars a head from the secret treasury... The Government had an eye to the settlement of the boundary question;... I have no doubt that the reinforcement was the settlement of the [boundary] issue."<sup>35</sup>

Bancroft, commenting on this testimony, stated: "Lee kept the secret, and so did those who gave him money, until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain." After the boundary was fixed at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel in 1846, secrecy was no longer necessary; Parrish learned of the subsidy the following year, 1847. According to his figures, the shipping company would have received only \$2,500.00 which, when added to the sum known to have been paid by the Methodist Society, still seems much too low for a ship of that size for a voyage of eighteen months.

Another estimate as to the amount of the subsidy supposedly paid is found in the testimony of the Rev. Harvey Kimball Hines, a younger brother of the Rev. Gustavus Hines who was one of the passengers on the *Lausanne*. In 1889, in his *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest* (p. 201), H. K. Hines wrote: "Such was the impression made by Mr. Lee upon the

Congress, the President and his cabinet... that the government out of the 'secret service fund' assisted in its outfit and expenses to the amount of \$5,000.00."

The references made by Parrish and Hines to a secret government fund recalls a similar statement found in one of Whitman's letters. On his return journey to Oregon, after a trip to Washington, D.C., and Boston, Whitman wrote to his brother-in-law, Jonas Galusha Prentiss, on May 28, 1843: "You will be the best judge what can be done & how far you can exert yourself in this matter & whether the *secret service fund* can be obtained. It is now decided in my mind that Oregon will be occupied by American citizens." Endeavors fail to find some record in government archives of such a fund at the time or of such a payment.<sup>36</sup>

### THE LAUSANNE REENFORCEMENT

The *Lausanne* sailed from New York on October 10, 1839, with fifty or more members of the Methodist reenforcement for their Oregon Mission. Included were fourteen men, eighteen women, and at least eighteen children. We cannot be certain as to the exact number of children, as the contemporary records are vague. Also on board was Thomas Adams, the Indian boy, and a Presbyterian family—the Rev. and Mrs. S. Dibble and their children, appointees of the American Board, on their way to Honolulu. Among the passengers was Jason Lee's second wife, the former Miss Lucy Thompson, whom he had married the previous July 28.

Only six of the fourteen men, including Jason Lee, were listed as ministers. This does not include two who had been ordained but subsequently had turned to secular pursuits. One of the ministers had an M.D. degree. Among the other eight men were a doctor, two farmers, three carpenters, a blacksmith, and a business manager. The last was George Abernethy who in 1845 would become the first Provisional Governor of Oregon. Four of the five single women were listed as teachers, the sixth was a stewardess. A layman, David Carter, joined the party at Honolulu on April 11, 1840. The *Lausanne* arrived at Fort Vancouver on June 1 where the missionaries were given a cordial welcome by Dr. McLoughlin. A new era in Old Oregon's history began with the arrival of this large reenforcement.

## REACTION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Before Dr. McLoughlin left for England in the spring of 1838, he had encouraged retired servants of the Company to settle at Cowlitz Portage, where several thousand acres of land were available for cultivation. The site is near present-day Toledo, Washington. Since the Hudson's Bay Company was hoping that the Columbia River would ultimately be the border, it was to its advantage to have as many British settlers, including French Canadians, living north of the river as possible. When Sir George Simpson, the top official of the Company in Canada, and Dr. McLoughlin met with the Governor and Committee of the Company in London during the fall of 1838 and the following winter, it was decided to form a corporation, to be known as the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which would be separate from the Hudson's Bay Company but with an interlocking directorate. The establishment of this Agricultural Company was designed to encourage the settlement of retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and other British citizens at the Cowlitz Portage.

When Simpson was on his return journey, he happened to be in New York on October 1, 1839, a few days before the *Lausanne* sailed. There he met Jason Lee and from him learned the size of the Methodist reinforcement. Lee also told him of the activities of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, which had been organized at Lynn, Massachusetts, on August 30, 1838, with the primary objective of promoting the emigration of Christian people to Oregon. Beginning in October 1838, the Society published a monthly magazine called *The Oregonian and Indian's Advocate*.<sup>37</sup> The editor repeatedly stressed the advantages of overland travel to the Oregon country as preferable to the long and dangerous sea voyage. The first issue told of Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding who, as "delicate females," had successfully crossed the Rockies. The June 1839 issue carried an advertisement calling for "two hundred men with whatever families they may have," to make the overland journey to Oregon. By the time the editor was preparing his July number, he had learned of the successful crossing of the Rockies by the four missionary wives who were part of the American Boards' 1838 reinforcement for its Oregon Mission. The editor drove home his argument: if missionary women could cross the Rockies on horseback in safety and comfort, could not "a large company of families, who would move more slowly [and] be better provided... pass from Missouri to Oregon?"<sup>38</sup>

Simpson's reaction to all that he heard and observed in New York was immediate. He looked upon the Methodist reenforcement about to sail on the *Lausanne* as a thinly disguised colonization project. The advertised intentions of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society were disturbing. Simpson at once notified his superiors in London as to these new developments. On December 31, 1839, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote to Dr. McLoughlin: "Governor Simpson, on his way home from Canada this season, saw Mr. Lee, the American missionary at New York on the 1<sup>st</sup> Oct., who informed him he was then on the eve of sailing for the Columbia River, with about thirty other missionaries and their families, in a vessel called the *Lausanne*, especially chartered by the Missionary Society of Boston,<sup>39</sup> for the purpose of conveying these people, but without any merchandise intended for trade with natives or others in that quarter."<sup>40</sup> Evidently Simpson had specifically inquired of Lee as to possible intentions of the Methodists to engage in trade.

The Governor's letter to McLoughlin continues:

Mr. Lee further informed Mr. Simpson that a large party amounting to about 200 souls contemplated migrating from the State of Massachusetts next summer with the view of becoming settlers on the Wilhamet [Willamette] River. We doubt that so large a party will attempt this wild enterprise, but think it is possible many persons may be induced by the flattering reports given of the country to undertake the journey and although the influx of population may not be to the extent spoken of in public report, we are nevertheless apprehensive the settlement on the Wilhamet may be more rapid than desirable for the interests of the Fur Trade, especially so from the miscellaneous and restless character of the people who are likely to migrate thither.

Actually the plans of the Emigration Society to send a company of two hundred men with their families overland to Oregon in 1840 did not materialize, but the publicity that they gave to such a project may have contributed to the numbers who migrated in 1842 and following years. The possibility of a "miscellaneous and restless" people migrating to Oregon was alarming to the Hudson's Bay Company's officials in London. They shared Simpson's fears that if such a migration were realized and if these people combined with an enlarged Methodist colony in

the Willamette Valley, the commercial privileges which the Company so long had enjoyed at Fort Vancouver would be imperiled. The Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London comforted themselves by looking upon any overland emigration of large numbers of people from the States to Oregon as a "wild enterprise," most unlikely ever to be realized. These officials failed to realize that after 1836 the Rocky Mountains were no longer the barrier to overland travel they had once seemed.

In addition to the economic threat posed by the Methodist reenforcement of 1839, the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company recognized a political challenge. The Governor in his letter of December 31, 1839, to Dr. McLoughlin touched on this when he wrote: "With regard to Mr. Lee and his missionary Brethren, however much they may profess friendship and good will towards us, and notwithstanding the high eulogiums upon us for hospitality and kind offices, it is quite evident that they have promoted the present mania for emigration to the Columbia, which is likely to prove so troublesome and injurious to us; that they are influenced by other *objects of a political nature*, besides the moral and religious instruction of the natives and that they are employed as pioneers for the overflowing population of the New England States, who have it in view to repay us for our good offices by possessing themselves of the fruits of our labors, as soon as they may be in a condition to wrest them from us by main strength."

Whereas Douglas at Fort Vancouver had been concerned about the threat that Lee's proposed reenforcement might offer to the Company's fur trade, Simpson, with keener insight, saw the political implications in the enlargement of the American colony in the Willamette Valley. He communicated his anxiety to the Governor and Committee in Lendo who in turn warned Dr. McLoughlin. Steps had to be taken to offset the threatened American population superiority in Old Oregon. Fortunately for the Hudson's Bay Company, the formation of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company had been authorized late in 1838. Here was a channel through which the Methodist threat could be checked, at least to some degree.

The Governor's letter of December 31, 1839, to Dr. McLoughlin contains the following: "With the view that our Settlement on the Cowlitz may not become overawed by the presence of so large an as-

semblage of strangers and as a means of protection to the depot [i.e., Fort Vancouver] and trade, we have... directed Chief Factor Finlayson to encourage migration of Settlers from the Red River Colony to the Columbia River, and the facilitating such migration by making advances and affording passage to persons... who may feel disposed to proceed thither.”<sup>41</sup>

Here is the background story of the migration of a colony of French Canadians, their Indian wives, and half-breed children which left Red River on June 1, 1841, for the Cowlitz Portage.

CHAPTER 12 FOOTNOTES

- 1 Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1931, p. 660, "Article III. It is agreed that any Country that may be claimed by either Party on the North West Coast of America, westward of the Stone Mountains shall . . . be free and open, for the term of ten Years from the date of the Signature of the present Convention . . ." This Treaty of Joint Occupancy was signed in London on October 20, 1818.
- 2 Bancroft, *Oregon*, I: 166; Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 147.
- 3 Kenneth L. Holmes, *Ewing Young, Master Trapper*, Portland, Oregon, 1967, gives a fine biography of Young.
- 4 *Congressional Record*, 25th Cong., 3d Session, House Report, 101, 60.
- 5 Dr. McLoughlin resented Kelley's report and wrote: "He published a narrative of his voyage, in which, instead of being grateful for the kindness shown to him, he abused me, and falsely stated that I had been so alarmed with the dread that he would destroy the Hudson's Bay Company's trade that I kept a constant watch over him." McLoughlin mss., 2 and 4, Coll. B.
- 6 Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:100.
- 7 A copy of the Hunt memorandum is in Coll. A. Italics are in the original document. Negative reports were also submitted to Edward Bates by Gen. Wm. H. Ashley on Feb. 20 and 29, 1828. Coll. A. See Drury, "Negative Reports on Oregon," *Westerners Brand Book*, No. 13, Los Angeles Corral, pp. 192 ff.
- 8 Slacum's Report appeared in *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 24, 25th Congress, 2nd Session*, December 18, 1837.
- 9 Contemporary accounts of when the meeting was held to form the Cattle Company are confusing as to the exact date.
- 10 Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 84.
- 11 Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:142.
- 12 HBC Arch., B/223/c.
- 13 See ante, fn. 8.
- 14 Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, p. 84. Edwards served for a time as treasurer of the Methodist Mission. He was one of the cattlemen who went to California in 1887.
- 15 Slacum's Report, p. 17.
- 16 Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*, IV:220 ff.
- 17 Brosnan, *Jason Lee*, 220 ff., gives the text of the memorial with the list of signers.
- 18 Mrs. Lee died in childbirth on June 26, 1838. News of her death reached Lee at the Shawnee Mission on the Missouri frontier, Sept. 8.
- 19 See Appendix I for listing of Whitman letters 42e & 46a, to Young.
- 20 Both Indian lads had flattened heads and their appearance in the States caused quite a sensation. William Brooks died on May 29, 1839, in Illinois. Thomas Adams returned with the Methodist reenforcement on the *Lausanne* which arrived at Fort Vancouver on June 1, 1840.
- 21 Italics are the author's.
- 22 Hulbert, *O.P.*, VI:305.

- 23 See Drury, *Spalding*, p. 203, for details regarding the financial situation of the American Board in 1837-38.
- 24 Temperatures in the Lapwai Valley sometimes rise to 1100 or more in summertime. The Walla Walla region is somewhat cooler, but even there 100° is not uncommon.
- 25 Thomas R. Garth, "A Report on the Second Season's Excavations at Waillatpu," *P.N.Q.*, XL (Oct. 1949), pp. 306 ff.
- 26 Greene to Whitman & Spalding, Hulbert, *O.P.*, VII: 155.
- 27 See Drury, *Whitman*, p. 193, where on the basis of this statement, credit was given to Whitman for filling out the list for supplies. Whitman may have made such a list which was then copied by Spalding, as the document in Coll. A. is in Spalding's handwriting.
- 28 Hulbert, *O.P.*, VI:329.
- 29 Italics are the author's.
- 30 HBC Arch., B/223/b/20. Italics are the author's.
- 31 Hulbert, *O.P.*, VII: 133.
- 32 Original in Coll. W.S.H.S.
- 33 See circular addressed to Spalding from the American Board, June 23, 1837, Coll. W.
- 34 These figures were secured by the author from a personal examination of the financial records of the Methodist Missionary Society in New York in the summer of 1966. The volume containing the records of receipts for the years involved in this study was missing. The records of the Bureau of Customs, Record Group 36, National Archives, Washington, D.C., provided information about the crew of the *Lausanne*.
- 35 Bancroft ms., "Anecdotes of Intercourse with the Indians," Coll. B. Also, Bancroft, *Oregon*, I:177.
- 36 The Secret Service, as now known, began at the time of the Civil War. Search was made for the existence of some other secret government fund which could have aided the Methodist project in the contemporary records of the Departments of State, Treasury, War, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 37 See Drury article, "The Oregonian and Indian's Advocate," *P.N.Q.*, LVI (Oct. 1965), pp. 159-167.
- 38 *Op. Cit.*, p. 164.
- 39 This letter was in error in saying that the headquarters of the Methodist Missionary Society was in Boston; it was in New York. The headquarters of the American Board was in Boston.
- 40 HBC Arch., B/223/c.
- 41 Italics are the author's.