

A. BLACK, JEDEDIAH SMITH, AND THE LOCATION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY PACK TRAILS IN NORTHWEST OREGON IN 1828

Second Draft and Outline

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" . . . On the 14th July, Mr. Smith had left the Encampment in order to search out a road, the country being very swampy in the low lands and woody in the mountains, and on his arrival at or near the Encampment, he and others which were with him, were fired on by a party of Indians, but fortunately made their Escape; the Camp and property was all in possession of the Indians, 15 of the men killed, one only made his Escape, (a black.) The Indians who made the attack were very numerous; they entered the encampment and massacred the men with their knives, axes, &c. Mr. Smith then made his way to Fort Vancouver. . ."

-From a report to General William Clark by
the firm of Smith, Jackson, & Sublette.
Probably written by Jedediah Smith in
St. Louis, Missouri on December 24, 1829.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Summary	2
Introduction	3
Purpose	3
Need	3
Scope	4
Methodology	5
Sources of Information	6
Authorization	8
Description of Northwest Oregon in 1828	9
Basic Geography	9
Basic History of Northwest Fur Trade	9
Indian Tribes Encountered By Smith In Northwest Oregon	9
Siuslawan	11
Kelawatset (Lower Umpqua River)	11
Siuslaw (Siuslaw River)	11
Yakonan	11
Alsi (Alsea River)	11
Yacona (Yaquina River)	11
Coast Salish	11
Siletz (Siletz River)	11
Tillamook	11
Nechesne (Salmon River)	11
Nestucca (Nestucca River)	11
Killamaux (Trask River)	11
Kalapuyan	11
Yamel (Yamhill River)	11
Tualati (Tualatin River)	11
Pudding River (Multnomah Falls)	11
Santiam (Calapooia River, Lane County)	11
Lontombuff (Long Tom River)	11
Calapuya (Calapooia Mountains)	11
Yoncalla (Calapooya Creek, Douglas County)	11
Chinookan	11
Multnomahs (Sauvies Island)	11
Clackamas (Clackamas River)	11
Iroquois, Abanakas, and Kanakas (Fort Vancouver)	12
Athapascan (Upper Umpqua River)	12
Western Oregon Indian Plagues	9
1776-1780 Smallpox	10
1830-1834 Malaria	10
Narrative	13
1. The Umpqua Massacre: July 14, 1828	13

Specific Causes	14
Poor Camp Management	16
Sexual Harassment	15
The Stolen Axe	16
The Horse Ride	16
The Troublemaker	16
Territorial Rights	16
Massacre Location	18
Beginning Points	18
Arthur Black	18
Smith, Turner, and Leland	18
2. The Escape North Along The Coast	21
Reaching The Siuslaw Drainage	22
From The Siuslaw To The Yachats River	22
From The Yachats To Alsea Bay	22
From Alsea To Yaquina Bay	22
From Yaquina To Siletz Bay	22
From Siletz To The Salmon River	22
Cascade Head	22
From Salmon River To The Nestucca River	22
3. Crossing The Coast Range To Reach Fort Vancouver	25
Siuslaw River	25
Yachats and Alsea Rivers	25
Yaquina Bay-Siletz River Pass	25
Yamhill Gap	25
Nestucca River	26
Trask and Wilson Rivers	27
4. Return To The Massacre Site	28
The Willamette Valley: September 6-October 4, 1828	29
The Umpqua River, October 5-28, 1828	34
5. From The Massacre Site To Fort Vancouver	39
Siuslaw To Tenmile, October 29 to November 10	39
The Umpqua River, November 11 To November 28	39
The Willamette River, November 29 to December 14	39
Appendixes	40
Appendix A: Maps	41
1. 1986 USDA/NPS Jedediah Smith Map (spliced/ rev.1987)	41
2. 1841 Wilkes Map (detail)	42
3. 1845 Fremont-Gibbs-Smith Map (detail)	43
4. 1966 Metsger T.21 S. R.12 W.W.M. (detail/ rev. 1987)	44
5. 1983 Phoenix/ZTM Oregon Coast Range Regions Map	45
6. 1987 Phoenix/ZTM Umpqua Region (w/ abbrev., 1828 Trails)	46
7. 1984 Phoenix/ZTM Willamette Region (w/abbrev., 1828 Trails)	47
Appendix B: Geographical Abbreviations and Tables	48
Table 1. Drainage Abbreviations and 1828 Indian Locations	48
Table 2. Abbreviations of Other Locations	48
Table 3. Rivers and Landmarks	49

Table 4. Modern Counties, Cities, and Highways	50
Appendix C: Biographical Summaries and References	51
Arthur Black	51
William Cannon	51
Michel La Framboise	51
Richard Leland	51
Little Chief	51
Thomas McKay	51
Alexander Roderick McLeod	51
John McLoughlin	51
Peter Skene Ogden	51
George Simpson	51
Jedediah Strong Smith	51
St. Arnoose (Old Chief)	51
John Turner	51
Appendix D: Journals, Reports And Correspondence	52
Robert Haswell; Coast: August, 1788	52
John McLoughlin; Vancouver: August 8-10, 1828	NA
Alexander R. McLeod; Coast: June-August, 1826	55
Donald Manson; Willamette Falls: May, 1826	61
Alexander R. McLeod; Nestucca Pass: May and August, 1826	62
Alexander R. McLeod; Return to Massacre Site: Fall, 1828	66
Alexander R. McLeod; Umpqua to Vancouver: Late Fall, 1828	NA
George Simpson; Vancouver: December 26, 1828 and March 1, 1829	NA
Theodore Talbot; Coast: August-September, 1849	77
References	78
Journals, Reports, and Correspondence	78
Consultants	79
Organizations	80
Maps	81
Books	83
Articles	88

ABSTRACT

Public Law (P.L.) 90-543, The National Trails System Act, was passed by Congress in 1968 to "promote the development of trails in both urban and rural settings for persons of all ages, interests, and backgrounds." This act defined three categories of trails: National Scenic Trails, National Recreation Trails, and Connecting and Side Trails. In 1978, this act was amended (P.L. 96-625) to include a fourth category--the National Historic Trail.

The purpose of the Historic Trails Act was for the "identification and protection" of "nationally significant routes of travel." In 1983 another amendment, P.L. 98-11, was added to the National Trails System Act in order to study the feasibility of adding the Jedediah Smith Trail to the system--in either the "Scenic" or the "Historic" category.

The "Jedediah Smith Draft National Trail Study," was published by the National Park Service in April, 1986 as authorized by P.L. 98-11. The "Smith Draft" concluded that the trails followed by Smith "did not become historic routes of travel." Further, the various maps included with the report carried the legend "Route between Fort Vancouver and Umpqua River not known."

This report is meant to supplement the 1986 Smith Draft. As such, it details the separate routes of American trappers Smith and Arthur Black following the "Umpqua Massacre" of 1828. These routes extended

between the Umpqua River, on the Oregon Coast, and Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River.

SUMMARY

On July 14, 1828, an expedition of beaver trappers led by Jedediah Smith, of the American firm "Smith, Jackson & Sublette" (SJ&S), was attacked and massacred by Kelawatset Indians. The attack took place at the junction of the Smith and Umpqua rivers on the Oregon Coast, and is commonly referred to as the "Umpqua Massacre." Four men, including Smith and an employee, Arthur Black, survived the attack and escaped to Fort Vancouver. The Fort was owned and controlled by a competing British fur-trading business, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Between September 6 and December 14, 1828, the two men took part in an HBC expedition to the Umpqua to search for SJ&S survivors and to recover stolen articles.

Until now, the separate routes taken by Black and by Smith and his group have never been examined in detail. These trails, connecting the old Spanish roads of California and the newly-constructed HBC routes of Northwest Oregon, have directly developed into the "historically significant" Applegate Trail, Interstate 5, Highway 99, Highway 101, and the Southern Pacific line connecting California to the Pacific Northwest. This report examines and maps the routes traveled by Black and Smith for the 5 month period between the time of the massacre and the return to Fort Vancouver.

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to examine and map the probable routes taken by the survivors of the July 14, 1828 Umpqua Massacre as they escaped to the safety of Fort Vancouver, Oregon (the historic site of modern-day Vancouver, Washington). These routes, when coupled with the subsequent expedition taken to search for survivors and to recover stolen furs and horses, form the first important explorations by land of the Oregon Coast and Willamette Valley by American citizens. These explorations can be shown to have led directly to the settlement of western Oregon (and also California) by U.S. citizens,

Need

The need for an examination of Black's and Smith's trails can be summarized by the negative findings and conclusions of the Smith Draft. It is hoped with the completion of this report that the Jedediah Smith Trails can be reexamined for possible inclusion in the National Trails System. Such designation would help preserve and protect the trails for the study and enjoyment of future generations of western travelers. It would also bring to public attention the often unrecognized importance of Smith's accomplishments in directly

contributing to the settlement (and acquisition) of the West by Americans.

In addition to recognizing the historical significance and locations of Smith's Oregon travels, there is also much useful information to be derived by historians and anthropologists regarding the various Indian tribes he encountered during that time. As will be noted later in the report, most of the Indians that Smith met and observed in Oregon were dead within a few years. The plagues that destroyed many complete families and tribes in Oregon and northern California between 1830 and 1834 had profound effects upon the settlement of this region by European-Americans. They also destroyed most of the remnants of tribal cultures that had existed here since in prehistoric times.

Scope

This project has two serious limitations: time and money. Due to the necessity of meeting a deadline, many important details have had to be briefly summarized or referenced for later examination. The lack of funding (other than on a limited, private basis) has also contributed to a certain lack of detail regarding many of the elements of Black's and Smith's exploits. It is anticipated that a more detailed report will be prepared for publication at some future time.

Methodology

Contemporary accounts, modern resources and personal observations are used in an attempt to recreate the routes taken by Arthur Black (who was separated from the other survivors) and the Smith, Leland, and Turner group as they fled to the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company. The return trip in the fall to the massacre site is also examined in detail, principally relying on the daily journal maintained by the HBC employee (Alexander R. McLeod) that headed the recovery expedition.

In order to arrive at reasonable conclusions, contemporary journals, reports, and correspondence are used as primary references to modern and historic maps, aerial photos, and surveys. These sources are supplemented with correspondence and conversations with acknowledged experts, and with on-site examinations of most portions of the known routes.

In constructing this report, I have attempted to use two pieces of advice given to me by Raymund F. Wood, President of the Jedediah Smith Society and author of Monuments to Jedediah Smith (1984):

. . . If you are concerned with the track from Umpqua to the Fort, you should start at the very beginning, and show how the two parties, Black alone, and the other group of three, started out. . .

and--

I was taught the hard way, as I earned my doctorate in medieval history. "Justify and document everything," was the rule.

"There are no generally accepted facts," my professor once told me.

Sources of Information

The sources of information referred to in the section regarding "Methodology" are many and varied. Although a major reliance must be placed upon contemporary journals, historic maps, and personal observations for most of the final conclusions in the report, other sources of information have been necessary and vital in order to reach those stages.

Many individuals have been extremely helpful in providing essential information or insights toward completing this research. Of particular note are Dorothy O. Johansen, who accurately interpreted McLeod's journals in the early 1960's--and then graciously agreed to discuss her conclusions by telephone a few months ago; John C. Jackson, who first provided me with a copy of the Gibbs-Burr map--and then spent several hours knowledgably discussing Smith, his travels, and his business; Ruth Stoller, who originally provided me with copies and information regarding the movement of the HBC in the Willamette Valley; Kenneth Munford, whose articles and conversations have sparked my interest and added to my understanding of the topic; and Addie Dyal, who allowed me free rein of the reference books at the Oregon State Library "after hours." Others, many of whom were just as helpful as those mentioned here, are listed alphabetically in the "Reference" section.

Any work on Smith must necessarily be based upon the published books and articles of Dale Morgan, Maurice Sullivan, and Harrison Dale. Less well-known (but even more essential for a report of this nature) are the writings of Alice B. Maloney and Lancaster Pollard. These references are all vital for anyone wishing to learn anything of value regarding Smith and his journeys.

So far as historic maps are concerned, George Gibbs' efforts have been particularly useful, although he gives most of the credit to Smith, himself (in 1851, commenting upon the confusion regarding the location and names of the Rogue and Klamath rivers, he noted, "The (1831) manuscript map of Oregon and California, by Jedediah S. Smith, which was till lately the best source of information as to this part of the country, [is] in general singularly accurate, considering the extent of the region traversed . . ." (Davies, K.G., 1961: pg. lxv).

The most helpful modern maps have been USGS Quadrangle Maps for western Oregon, and Metzger County Maps for the same region. Although the Metzger's are notoriously innaccurate in many regards, they do accurately depict legal boundaries to the nearest square mile, and often show out-dated roads and ownerships as well. GLO surveys, aerial photos and other maps (particularly state and county road surveys) have also been of use at various points.

Finally, none of this could have even been attempted if it hadn't been for the individuals who recorded these events in the first place: Harrison Rogers, John McLoughlin, Jedediah Smith, St. Arnoose, David Douglas, and, in particular, Alexander McLeod. Without their efforts

our knowledge of Northwest Oregon in the 1820's would be greatly diminished.

Authorization

This report has been authorized by Mr. Barry Lawler of the Department of English at Oregon State University in Corvallis, Oregon. It is submitted to partially satisfy ~~to~~ the requirements of his Fall Term, 1987 WR 327 class.

Description of Northwest Oregon in 1828

Basic Geography

Basic History of Northwest Fur Trade

Summary

The above information will be summarized from Carey, Irving, and other standard sources, into just a few paragraphs.

Indian Tribes Encountered By Smith In Northwest Oregon

Although Indians were the principal cause of Smith's and Black's problems, they also proved to be the salvation of the four survivors--ultimately hand delivering them to McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. Another (major) consideration is that the routes of the men would have been very greatly affected by the location, population, and disposition of the various tribes that they encountered, particularly along the Oregon Coast.

Although the McLeod Appendix adequately covers the coastal routes traveled by the men, the Haskins and Talbert sections are primarily concerned with changes in tribal sizes and attitudes before and after contact with Smith's men.

Western Oregon Indian Plagues

Haswell remarks upon the signs of small pox on the Indians he encounters near the Salmon River in Lincoln County in 1788. In 1805, Lewis and Clark make several observations regarding the apparent large loss of population in several tribes along the Columbia. In 1814, Henry comments further upon the decimated villages he encounters. All reports seem to agree that sometime around 1780 diseases introduced by whites were responsible for severely affecting local Indian populations.

Between 1830 and 1834, thousands of Oregon and northern California Indians more died. This corresponds exactly to another plague along the Columbia (quite possibly malaria introduced by sailors), and to initial Indian contacts with white traders from that region.

In 1826 McLeod traveled along the coast between the Siuslaw and the Nestucca with a group of trappers suffering from a large variety of physical illnesses. This may have been the starting point for the decimation of those tribes. When Smith traveled the same route in 1828, it may be that he encountered tribes with serious health difficulties--although there is no record of that being the case. By 1849 (Talbot's visit) the coastal tribes were in a serious state of decline. That makes the timing of Smith's Oregon travels of serious interest to many anthropologists; from that point thereafter Indian populations were severely affected by European contact and their populations and cultures were forever altered or eliminated.

1776-1780 Smallpox

Alexander Henry: Sunday January 23, 1814 (Perrine, 1924: p.308)

[Lewis & Clark]

1830-1832 Malaria

(Townsend, 1978: p. 223)

Thursday April 3, 1806 Illiam Clark: . . . I provailed on an old man to draw me a sketch of the Multnomar [Willamette] River and give me the names of the nations resideing on it which he readily done, and gave me the names of 4 nations who reside on this river two of them very neomerous. The first is Clark-a-mus [Clackamas] nation reside on a small river which takes its rise in Mt. Jefferson and falls into the Multnomar about 40 miles up. this nation is noumerous and inhabit 11 towns. the 2nd is the Cush-hooks who reside on the N.E. side below the falls, the 3rd is the Char-cowah who reside above the Falls on the S.W. side neither of those two are very noumerous. The fourth Nation is the Cal-lar-po-e-wah (Kalapuya) which is very noumerous & inhabit the country on each side of the Multnomar from its falls as far up as knowledge of those people extend. (Perrine, 1924: p.298) [MN]

By 1841, Wilkes was able to estimate the living members of the above tribes at only a few hundred. By 1900, there were no more descendents of any of them.

My plan is to give a brief description (or reference) to each of the following tribes by Ruby and Brown, and by Berreman.

Siuslawan

Kelawatset (Lower Umpqua River)
Siuslaw (Siuslaw River)

Yakonan

Alsi (Alsea River)
Yacona (Yaquina River)

Coast Salish

Siletz (Siletz River)
Tillamook

Neches (Salmon River)
Nestucca (Nestucca River)
Killamaux (Trask River)

Kalapuyan

Yamel (Yamhill River)
Tualati (Tualatin River)
Pudding River (Multnomah Falls)
Santiam (Calapooia River, Lane County)
Lontombuff (Long Tom River)
Calapuya (Calapooia Mountains)
Yoncalla (Calapooya Creek, Douglas County)

Chinookan

Multnomahs (Sauvies Island)

Clackamas (Clackamas River)
Iroquois, Abanakas, and Kanakas (Fort Vancouver)
Athapascan (Upper Umpqua River)

The Iroquois, Abanakas and Kanakas (Hawaiians) were brought to Fort Vancouver by the HBC, and to Oregon by the Northwest Company and by Astor before them. The Iroquois and Abanakas were more like "Mountain Men" than Indians, and may not have been able to say much in their native tongues, having spent several generations trapping in the wilds of eastern Canada. They probably spoke French and English, and undoubtedly spoke the Chinook jargon (based partly on the Chinookan dialect spoken along the lower Columbia).

NARRATIVE

1. The Umpqua Massacre: July 14, 1828

On November 5, 1826, Hudson's Bay Chief Trader Alexander R. McLeod wrote John McLoughlin a letter from his base camp on the Umpqua, which was located about 27 miles upstream from the Pacific. After first complaining about the local scarcity of beaver and the great difficulty in moving any further westward with horses, he described his just-completed exploration to the south of the Umpqua:

. . . we descended this River to the sea and proceeded along the beach to the next stream and so on to the next where we found a Country seemingly calculated to favour our views and the natives well disposed towards us to cement our intercourse the more strongly a brisk trade ensued and as long as their means permitted continued with satisfaction to both parties I shall not intrude on your time by a recital of the astonishment our unexpected intrusion caused these Children of Nature suffice it to say that if any danger ever existed in going among this people no further apprehension need be entertained. . . (Davies, K.G., 1961: pp.221-22) [UQ]

McLeod then goes on to remark that, "our Scalpers are of such an inferior quality that the natives prefer knives of their own manufacture to those imported for trade."

How could it be that the Hudson's Bay Company could safely travel and trade among the Umpqua, Siuslaw, and Coos Indians in 1826, while Smith and his men were harrassed and butchered in the same locations less than 2 years later? Although it is the principal object of this report to determine the courses of the survivors after the occurrence

of the massacre, there are at least two good reasons to closely examine the causes and printed accounts of the event itself:

First, by establishing the contradictions among students and scholars concerning the causes and circumstances of the event, it becomes possible to eliminate many sources from further consideration.

Second, after the more consistent and reliable sources have been identified, a relatively accurate idea as to Black's and Smith's beginning points can be determined. Once these locations have been established, it becomes a much easier task to identify their probable routes of travel in the days and weeks to follow.

Specific Causes. Of the several dozen accounts that exist of the Umpqua Massacre, six basic themes or incidents can be identified as having directly caused the event to occur. These are: the poor management of the American party; the sexual harassment of the local Indian women; the harsh treatment of an Indian concerning a stolen axe; the humiliation of another over the unauthorized use of a horse; territorial and trade protection; and instigation by a local troublemaker. Oddly, the most obvious reason for the massacre--the theft of thousands of dollars worth of furs and animals--is rarely mentioned or discussed.

The fact that the survivors were able to go to Fort Vancouver (operated by the records-conscious HBC) resulted in a large amount of primary source material being recorded and preserved. If they had escaped to Russian Fort Ross, Mexican San Francisco, or American Jackson's Hole, it is unlikely that any verifiable contemporary

records would have been created at all. As it is, we are left with several excellent accounts that can be used to corroborate one another for many details.

In order to reconstruct the circumstances that directly led to the massacre, I have relied most heavily upon the following sources:

Barry: At this point I have had to begin summarizing my information:

Secondary Sources

Victor (1869), Dale (1918), Carey (1922), Maloney (1940), Morgan (1953), Beckham (1977)

Primary Sources

McLoughlin (August 10-12, 1828 letter), Simpson (December 26, 1828 letter and March 1, 1829 report), Smith, Black, Rogers, and St. Arnoose (See the Appendix for October 10-12, 1828)

Sexual Harassment

Lewis & Clark Chinook Quotes

Ross 1814 Quotes

Harrison Rogers, May 1828

Simpson, March 1, 1829

McLoughlin Memoir

McKay speculation

Curiously, Simpson's March 1, 1829 account adds that the attack was precipitated by Rogers' attempt to "force a Woman into his Tent", a circumstance not alluded to by any of the other sources, including "St. Arnoose", the credible Umpquah Chief quoted by McLeod. This theme was later adopted by McLoughlin, and most recently by Beckham.

"Dr. McLoughlin later learned that the fur trappers attempted to carry off some of the Indian women in a village near the junction of the Smith and Umpqua rivers. The Indian men fought back. They killed fourteen of the American trappers." (Beckham: p.108)

Stolen Ax

Rogers, July 12, 1828

St. Arnoose, October 11, 1828

McLoughlin, August 12, 1828

Saturday July 12, 1828. Harrison Rogers: We commenced crossing the river early and had our goods and horses over by 8 o.c. then packed up and started a N.E. course up the river and traveled 3 mi and enc. Had several Inds. along; one of the Inds. stole an ax and we were obliged to seize him before we could scare him to make him give it up. Capt. Smith and one of them caught him and put a cord around his neck, and the rest of us stood with our guns ready in case they made resistance there was about 50 inds. present but did not pretend to resist tying the other. . . [UQ]

Poor Organization

McLoughlin, 1826 instructions to McLeod

Simpson, December 26, letter

Ermantinger, 1829 letter

Horse Incident

Same sources as "Stolen Axe"

Maloney Story

(Maloney, 1940)

Trade Protection

St. Arnoose, October 11, 1828

Smith had just breakfasted, and was occupied in looking for a fording-place for the animals, being on a raft, and having with him a little Englishman and one Indian. When they were in the middle of the river the Indian snatched Smith's gun and jumped into the water. At the same instant a yell from the camp, which was in sight, proclaimed that it was attacked. Quick as thought Smith snatched the Englishman's gun, and shot dead the Indian in the river.

To return to the camp was certain death. Already several of his men had fallen; overpowered by numbers he could not hope that any would escap, and nothing was left him but flight. He succeeded in getting to the opposite shore with his raft before he could be intercepted, and fled with his companion, on foot and with only one gun, and no provisions, to the mountains that border the river . . .

Of the men left in the camp, only two escaped. One man named Black defended himself until he saw an opportunity for flight, when he escaped to the cover of the woods, and finally to a friendly tribe farther north, near the coast, who piloted him to Vancouver. The remaining man was Turner, of a very powerful frame, who was doing camp duty as cook on this eventful morning. When the Indians rushed upon him he defended himself with a huge firebrand, or half-burnt poplar stick, with which he laid about him like Sampson, killing four red-skins before he saw a chance of escape. (Victor, 1983: v. I p. 34)

. . . Smith with a couple of Men and an Indian, went in search of a favorable route for their Horses, leaving 16 Men in the Camp which was surrounded by a large body of Indians, who appeared to be on a friendly visit to them, but who at a given Signal attacked the camp, and destroyed the whole party, except one Man who saved himself by darting into the Woods.--Smith, on his return in a Small canoe fortunately discovered before landing, that the Massacre had taken place, otherwise he would have shared the fate of his comrades; but with his two Men paddled to the opposite of the River, and saved themselves by flight into the Woods.--The Man who escaped the dreadful camp scene, fell into the hands of Friendly Indians, by whom he was conducted to this Establishment, and Smith and his two followers made their appearance here a few Days afterwards, on the 10th of August, where they were received with every kindness and hospitality.-- (Sullivan 147)

-- Simpson letter to HBC Mar 1, 1829

Black, as it happened, had just finished cleaning and loading his rifle, when the attack came. Three Indians had leaped on him. He shook them off and, seeing all his comrades struggling on the ground and the Indians stabbing them, had fired into the crowd and rushed to the woods with several of them in hot pursuit. Fortunately he succeeded in eluding them. Turner's escape had

been due to his enormous size and strength. He had been doing his duty as camp cook that morning and, when the Indians rushed on him, seized a huge firebrand with which he laid about him valiantly till he had knocked down if not actually killed four of them. (Dale pp. (273-274)

As we can see by the quoted sources, there are several variances in the different accounts- most involving dead Indians. All reliable witnesses and accessories (including Smith, McLeod, Black, and McLoughlin) agree; the cause of the massacre was the humiliation of two Indian men in incidents involving Smith, an axe, Black, and a horse.

Massacre Location. The location of the massacre (N. 1/2, S.E. 1/4, Sec. 26, Tsp. 21 S., Rng. 12 W.) is well covered in an article by Lancaster Pollard in the June, 1944 Oregon Historical Quarterly.

Beginning Points. You may be interested in the map of the massacre site that I have enclosed, along with the possible escape routes used by Black and Smith. I have used McLoughlin's assumption that Black "fell on the Ocean about (by his description of the place) two Miles North of the Umpqua", as that coincides very well with the surrounding terrain. The "opposite bank" paddled to by "Mr. Smith & his two men" was likely the east bank of Smith River. The route to the other side of the Umpqua is blocked by several islands, and would have subjected the men to easy pursuit by the attacking Indians. Also, from the opposite bank of the Smith River he could have readily "ascended a Hill from whence he saw his Camp distinctly." From there I believe the survivors followed the approximate routes that I have outlined in my report.

. . . I think more important to the history is a discussion of precisely where each of the four survivors was at the moment of the massacre. As I see it, based on the Simpson and McLoughlin accounts (Victor and Dale are secondary writers, for our present purpose), the events were as follows: Smith sets out early that day (July 14) with "two companions" in a canoe or raft. However, one companion must have been an Indian; the other was Leland. At the scene of the massacre all are killed except two--Black, who escaped early in the fight by rushing into the woods (not across the river), and who believed he was the sole survivor; and Turner, who also escaped, but perhaps later than Black. Later, Smith arrives by water, with Leland and the Indian (McLoughlin says "Smith and his two men," but this is probably an error). The Indian snatches Smith's gun and dives into the river, at a signal from an Indian companion on shore. Smith takes Leland's gun and shoots the Indian. Smith now realizes that a massacre has taken place; the Indians on shore are armed; he and Leland pull for the farther shore and safety. He does not know that Black has escaped. He does not know that Turner has also escaped. But Smith and two compnaions show up later at the Fort. The other companion is Turner. How did Turner rejoin Smith, and

when? Did Turner hide, and from his hiding place see Smith coming down river? Did he hail him? Did he swim out to him? Or did he join him after Smith paddled to the farther shore and started north?

These are questions which cannot be answered with any degree of certitude; but from a study of the lay of the land certain conjectures can be made. If you are concerned with the track from Umpqua to the Fort, you should start at the very beginning, and show how the two parties, Black alone, and the other group of three, started out. . . .

As you can see from the above conjecture and questions I am making with regard to the massacre, I myself have fallen into error in the matter. Relying too much on the sentence "Smith and two companions ..." as it appears twice in McLoughlin's accounts, I assumed that the man with Leland was Turner. Dale Morgan falls into the same trap. On page 267 he says "... taking with him Leland and Turner, with one of the natives as a guide." So I am in good company. But if Victor is correct, and Dale also, Turner was camp cook that morning. How could he have been in a canoe with Smith? So the question is, how authoritative are Victor and Sullivan? What sources do they use? What is the exact wording of Simpson's letter of 1829? Does Sullivan quote it in full? (I don't have access to either at the moment). These are significant matters Either Turner was off in a canoe being fired upon by hostile Indians from the river bank, or he was in the camp, defending his life with a firebrand, and possibly killing four Indians with it before making his escape and rejoining his chief. You can't have it both ways.

-- From an August 14, 1987 letter to the author from Raymund F. Wood, President of the Jedediah Smith Society and author of Monuments To Jedediah Smith (1984).

[Note: The Turner story actually took place 5 or 6 years later, in the Siskiyou Mountains in southern Oregon. Meek combined the two stories when he told them to Victor. Dale quotes Victor's version.]

"At the moment of attack Mr. Smith was off with two men in a Canoe to ascend & examine Bridge River, a stream that flows into the Umpqua, to see if he could find a road to take his Horses- a short time after Mr. Smith's departure, their being about a hundred Indians in the Camp & the Americans busy arranging their arms which got wet the day previous, the Indians suddenly rushed on them, two got hold of his (Blacks) Gun to take it from him, in contending with them he was wounded on the hands by their Knives & another came with an axe to strike him on the head, which he avoided by Springing on one side & received the blow on the back. He then let go his Gun & rushed to the woods, as he was coming away he saw two Indians on one Virgil, another, Davis was in the

water & Indians were pursuing him in a Canoe, a third was on the ground & a band of Indians were butchering him with axes--

Mr. Smith arrived with the two men who were with him in the Canoe, he was as I already stated gone with them to examine the Banks of the River; after proceeding a few miles he returned & when within sight of his Camp seeing none of his people at the place, it struck him with surprise & while looking about to see where his people could be, an Indian from the shore spoke to an Indian with him, the latter immediately turned round, seized Mr. Smiths Rifle & dived in the River, & at the same time natives that were in the Bushes fired on Mr. Smith & his two men, who escaped by paddling to the opposite bank; . . . (McLoughlin: pg 69)

2. The Escape North Along The Coast

After fleeing the site of the massacre, both Black and the Smith party were left with several options. However, each circumstance held different possibilities. Black was without his rifle, seriously wounded, and without food. He was also completely alone in an alien world and undoubtedly both grief- and terror-stricken.

By contrast, Smith, Turner, and Leland were left without wounds, in a group, and with weapons for hunting and defense.

Although there seems to be several different opinions concerning the route(s) taken by the survivors of the massacre, it is difficult to say how that occurred, as the facts were fairly well known from the beginning and, with the exception of some embellishments apparently added by Black and Simpson, there seems little reason for the confusion.

The men went directly from the Umpqua to Fort Vancouver, where McLoughlin (an accurate reporter, albeit with strong opinions and occasionally hasty judgements) wrote down what he was told. There seems to be no good reason to contradict his account, except to entertain, excuse, or justify. When McLoughlin writes:

"he ascended a Hill from whence he saw his Camp distinctly, but seeing none of his people & from none of them coming forward when he was fired on though within reach, he naturally concluded they were all

cutt off, shaped his course for the ocean & fell on it at Alique River," we can assume that the account is accurate except that if Smith had "shaped his course for the ocean" he would have arrived at the Siltcoos or, at the furthest, the Siuslaw.

There is no way that McLoughlin could have had more than a very general knowledge of the coastline, and therefor may have assumed that the coastal rivers were nearly as narrow as the relative short distances that separated their estuaries. As an experienced Mountain Man, much less a rational human being, Smith and his two men, probably armed with at least 2 guns, 3 knives, and an axe, would not have plunged into the head-high salal, salmonberry, huckleberry, and ferns that cover the Coast Range. Particularly since there were no known trails bisecting the river drainages at that time. McLoughlin had to be right about the men angling toward the ocean. He just made a poor estimate (prbably aided by McLeod or one of the trappers) as to which river Smith first arrived at.

Concerning Black:

To return to the camp was certain death. Already several of his men had fallen; overpowered by numbers he could not hope that any would escap, and nothing was left him but flight. He succeeded in getting to the opposite shore with his raft before he could be intercepted, and fled with his companion, on foot and with only one gun, and no provisions, to the mountains that border the river . . . Of the men left in the camp, only two escaped. One man named Black defended himself until he saw an opportunity for flight, when he escaped to the cover of the woods, and finally to a friendly tribe farther north, near the coast, who piloted him to Vancouver.

so long as Black or Smith's group followed the shoreline, food would be no problem. Due to the time of year, the types of food to be prepared, and the location of the men, it was not particularly

necessary to build fires. For the most part, though, there was no particular reason for Smith and his men to forego the comfort and security of nightly campfires. Black was another matter. He was running scared, and said so.

Having been wounded in the massacre, and with no gun, he was robbed by the first Indians he met. Thinking himself the only survivor, and justifiably terrified of the Indians, he skirted the coast line, avoiding human contact. Whereas Smith and his men probably went up the coast along the beach, Black may have followed the deer and elk trails along the timberline. According to most accounts, he finally gave up and, entering an Indian camp unexpectedly, threw himself upon their mercy. This may have been at the Tillamook camp along the Salmon River, where it was situated against the imposing base of Cascade Head. Further south, and he may have been transported north to that point. Perhaps the Indians assumed he was being pursued by Smith and, for that reason, Smith and Black remained ignorant of each other's having survived. Or maybe Smith knew of Black before arriving at Vancouver.

The journal entries made by McLeod that are included in the Appendix (as he led the first HBC brigade down the coast in 1826) demonstrate both the magnitude of the trail being constructed, as well as the general location, population, and countenance of the local Indian populations. This journal, when combined with the Dicken (1978) book, modern USGS maps, and the first GLO surveys, is the information I used to construct the maps of Smith's and Black's trails.

The June 2, 1826 "Rivulet coming out of a Lake" is the best clue that McLeod was not on the Tillamook River, but had entered by way of the Big Nestucca. That would make the lake the current sight of a Christian camp built upon an old town site called "Winema". The lake, also called Winema (its 3rd name this century), is so small that it doesn't appear on most maps. A history of this area (which contains no references to McLeod) has recently been written by a local resident and printed to 500 copies.

Part 3. Crossing The Coast Range To Reach Fort Vancouver

Summary

Siuslaw River

This drainage can be discounted by McLeod's conversations with Little Chief in 1826, and by reference to modern geographical considerations concerning steepness and brush.

Alsea River

Talbot September, 1849 quotes (from Appendix) regarding the lack of a trail "within 25 or 26 miles" of the Coast.

Yaquina Bay-Siletz River

Talbot August, 1849 quotes regarding the initial construction of this trail in the early 1840's by Kilickitat Indians. Also quotes from early inhabitants in September, 1849 regarding the fact that they had never been to the willamette Valley.

Yamhill Gap

Reference to Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map, and similarity to modern routes. Also, Frost (1841) quotes regarding this trail, and Munford summaries.

Strong possibility of Smith and/or Black use.

Nestucca River

Along with Yamhill gap, only other reasonable crossing point for Smith & Black. Will closely follow Manson's and McLeod's 1826 venture:

Beginning near the town of Newburg, Township 3 South, Range 2 West, Section 18 or 19, McLeod had taken "four whites, three Iroquois and Abenakis, three Owyhees and three Natives of this place", several women, probably some children, three dozen horses, and traveled about 25 miles due west in a little over a week. The portion of this trip contained in Yamhill County extends from the eastern-most edge of Range 3 W. to the western-most edge of Range 6 W. During the entire course, the route is almost completely contained in the north half of Township 3 South and continues nearly due west, no matter where precise locations are actually situated.

McLeod's assertion that he had reached the "Kellymoux River" has confused scholars for years. He had actually followed the Big Nestucca, so near as can be determined, which was populated by "Kellymoux" Indians.

After locating Winema Lake (3 miles south of the Big Nestucca), where McLeod seems to have camped on his trip along the Coast, I contacted Dorothy O. Johansen, who did much of the research for the Davies book, and wrote its introduction. Although she claimed that her trail location research had mostly taken place from her "armchair", her conclusions seem remarkably accurate when checked on the ground. The

route outline above, then, was the first trail constructed across the Coast Range of which I'm aware, and was quite probably used by one or more of the Umpqua Massacre survivors- none of whom was likely to pass this beaten track and continue north to Tillamook Bay, as has been often assumed in the past.

Trask River

Quotes regarding lack of trail as late as 1854.

PART 4. RETURN TO THE MASSACRE SITE

After Smith arrived at Fort Vancouver, Dr. McLoughlin seemingly took every reasonable step that could be taken to aid him. On August 26 he sent Michel La Framboise, stepson Thomas McKay, and six other servants to the Umpqua to search for survivors and to recover the American's stolen property (Nunis, 1968: pg. 27). At the time of Black's appearance, McLoughlin had been preparing a hunting brigade of nearly forty men to trap the Umpqua region under the command of Alexander McLeod. When the extent of the Americans' problems became known he quickly altered the objectives of the September 6 expedition.

According to George Simpson's November 17, 1828 report to London headquarters, McLoughlin directed McLeod to:

pass with his party by the place where Mr. Smith's People were cut off to recover the stolen property if possible and to punish the Murderers if when he acquires further information on the subject he considers it expedient to do so (Merk, 1931:pg. 299).

During the course of the expedition, McLeod kept two separate journals (from September 6 until October 17, and from October 17 until December 10), and both he and Smith corresponded by courier with McLoughlin, who remained at Fort Vancouver. A lightly-edited version of McLeod's account is included in the Appendix. This account, when coupled with the 1845 Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map, forms the most accurate record available of Black's and Smith's second journeys through Northwest Oregon.

The quotes from the following summary, unless otherwise noted, are from McLeod's journals and letters.

The Willamette Valley, September 6 to October 4, 1828

At four o'clock on a pleasant September 6 afternoon, McLeod left Fort Vancouver "in a Boat with Six Men having a Canoe in Company, both much incumbered with Baggage, the Boat so indifferent as to require a Man Constantly Employed baling out Water" and set his course for the Willamette River, where the men "fixed our Camp for the Night on the 1st Point of its entrance on the East shore" (present-day northwest Portland, Oregon). Although he states that "Mr. J. Smith accompanies us," it is unclear as to whether Smith shared the same leaky boat, or not.

From their campsite at the mouth of the Willamette, the men left about 5:00 the following morning and arrived by boat at Willamette Falls around 4:00 in the afternoon. With help from the local Indians, baggage for the journey was carried over the 300 yard portage by dusk, where another boat had been left for their use. By 6:00 the next morning all of the baggage had been placed into the second boat and the men paddled to Champoege, where they met up with Thomas McKay and Michel La Framboise, who had just arrived from their assignment at the "Old Fort" (1) on the Umpqua. Some of Smith's property--a few skins and a horse--had been recovered by La Framboise and were immediately given to Smith at this time.

The Indian interpreter accompanying La Framboise, Nasti, had taken a message to the Upper Umpqua Chief, St. Arnoose, who reportedly seemed "still to value our support and seems exasperated at the late action of the Keliwatset Indians who defeated Mr. Smith's Party." The Chief

also reported that "all the Property furs as well as other things is dispersed over the Country."

Both McLeod and Smith sent letters to John McLoughlin with La Framboise as he returned to Vancouver. McLeod noted that from "La Framboises report Mr. Smiths case appears more gloomy than you anticipated or himself conjectured--he is in full possession of all information brought us on the Subject, and I believe writes you about it." Smith offered that "should you think it necessary for the benefit of your Company to punish these Indians you would confer a favour on your humble Servant to allow him and his Men to assist" (Morgan, 1964: pg. 275).

McLeod's lengthy journal entry for the day (September 8) concluded with "of late the fire has committed such ravages that Scarcely any feeding is left for our Animals- Gave the Men their Regale-." On the 10th he observed that many of the men were "unable to do any job, from the effects of the Liquor." By the following day, though, he was "glad to observe that little Liquor now remains in their possession." The combination of scattered horses--due to the burned range and Indian molestations--and drunken men (due to the traditional HBC Regale) had added at least two day's time to the preparations for departure.

On the 12th "Mr. Smith shot a Small Deer, which happened very oportunely as we had no Venison," but departure was again delayed; this time by heavy rains. On the 13th La Framboise returned to camp with messages from McLoughlin concerning Smith's offers to aid in punishing the Kelawatsets and McLeod's obligations regarding the

recovery of Smith's property. McLoughlin's directions remained unchanged.

Due to the continued stormy weather, McLeod did not leave camp until after noon on the 15th, when he proceeded "with a Party, leaving others (including two of Smith's men) with Mr. McKay, to endeavour and find the Strayed horses." It is impossible to tell whether either of these men was Black because McLeod rarely referred to any of "Smith's men" by name. For this reason, and also because the routes of Smith and Black were virtually identical (except near the massacre site) for the rest of 1828, little effort will be made to separate their courses for the remainder of this report.

McLeod's "route led Southward, [where] the Want of Grass, made us go till 9 P.M. when we reached a Small River where there is a little Picking for our Animals". His letter of September 18th to McLoughlin estimates that they had traveled "not above" 15 miles, which would place them 4 or 5 miles northwesterly of present-day Silverton. If so, the "Small River" would be either the Pudding or the Little Pudding. The pack trail they were following had been likely established by Finnan McDonald (accompanied by McKay, McLeod and David Douglas) in 1825, and approximated--or improved--by Ogden in 1826.

It is of some interest to review McLeod's letter to McLoughlin for his comments concerning John Turner, which are excerpted in the Appendix. For students of McLeod or McLoughlin, reference to the complete letter (Nunis, 1968: pp.11-12) provides some valuable clues regarding McLeod's early, and unpopular, December return to Vancouver.

Because of bad weather, the party didn't move again until the 21st, when they traveled due south about 12 miles and crossed the "River Chembukte," which was possibly Mill Creek in, or near, present-day Salem. McLeod set up camp at "the little River, near half ways over the Point of high land," which would be along the same creek in (or near) the modern town of Turner.

. . . In the Afternoon Gervais, D'Epatis, Louis & Jacques, Met us at our Camp, they bring us unfavourable accounts of the Umpqua Indians, it is the common report of other tribes, that the former are ill disposed towards us, having received large presents from the Kelewasets, who defeated Mr. Smiths People, are now resolved to support them, elated with their late success, they expect to make an easy capture of us, as soon as we enter their Country, it is said they are mustering Strong to way lay us in the woody parts of the Country, Pillage is their object unmindful of the Consequences, this is the substance of the report brought us by the free Men, and they got it from the Lamali [Long Tom Kalapuya] Indians who have visited the Umpquas. . .

Although the weather was much better on the 22nd, camp was moved only 8 miles, to "River Sandiam" (named after a local Kalapuyan Chief) "where we encamped, the Water being Still high for our horses to ford the Channel, loaded, and the water falling fast, induc[ing] us to wait till to morrow." The decision proved to be a wise one, and the expedition was able to safely cross the following morning and to continue 18 miles further south, where they camped on the north bank of "River Coup'e" (Calapooia River), a few miles south and east of Corvallis.

The 24th was also fine weather, and the men traveled southwest another 12 miles, where they crossed the Willamette in "Knee deep Water" a few miles easterly of Monroe. Here, three loaded horses were startled by some younger, unbroken members of the herd, which cause them to rush into deeper water. Two of the horses drowned and were swept

downstream. Camp was then made on the west bank and efforts were undertaken to locate the packs of the missing animals, as they contained valuable traps and lead. Local Indians were encouraged to aid in the search, and provided the use of their canoes.

The following day an Indian (possibly a Hudson's Bay servant) was able to locate 19 of the 20 missing traps, and claimed a blanket and an ax as remuneration. Efforts to locate the lead proved unsuccessful, even though McLeod directed his men to continue the search for a second full day. On the 26th Smith left camp on a hunting excursion, returning the next day with a deer to help feed the searchers. It is interesting to speculate what he might have thought of the whole procedure.

On Sunday, the 28th, the local Indians demanded the return of their canoes so that they could "go in Quest of their food." At this point McLeod became so desperate to find the missing lead that he had the men divide into 3 separate crews and construct 3 canoes to aid in the search. Finally, after 8 days of fruitless searching by the 42 men, several passing freemen, and dozens of local Indians, McLeod made the decision to proceed.

On October 1 the expedition traveled south and southwest on the western bank of the Long Tom River, along a route pioneered by McLeod almost exactly 2 years previous (October 1-8, 1826). After moving about 15 miles, the men "forded the River and Encamped on the East Shore." The following day they traveled 9 miles south along the eastern banks of the same river, the brigade of over 40 armed men and

dozens of horses making such a "forcible impression" on the local Indians that they hid themselves in the woods.

After traveling another 15 miles on October 3, the expedition entered the headwaters of the Siuslaw near present-day Lorane. From there they apparently followed the basic route of today's "Territorial Road" through Anlauf, arriving on "a fine Plain" near the town of Drain. Camp was established along Elk Creek October 5, in an area previously used by McLeod.

The Umpqua River, October 5 to October 28, 1828

Despite the rumors of Indian hostilities brought by the freemen on September 21st, brigade members had not seen any Indians since entering the "woody parts of the Country" on October 3. This area, "the Elk Mountains," was usually heavily populated with Kalapuyans on the north and with Upper Umpquas on the south. Finally, on October 7, some "vestiges of a late date," thought to be left by Indian spies, were noted near the Drain camp.

Gerald Bacon, a 68-year-old lifelong resident and rancher in Douglas County, believes that this camp was probably located just west of Drain in an area now called Putnam Valley. Both his great-grandfather and his great-great grandfather had settled in the Umpqua Valley; the first arriving in 1851 over the Applegate Trail. In talking with his older relatives and with other local residents, he has determined that Putnam Valley (previously known as "Tin Pot") used to be a 1000-2000 acre plain that was well-known and used by stockmen traveling south.

from the Willamette Valley in the nineteenth century. This location fits in very well with McLeod's journal entries.

On the 8th McLeod received word that the Upper Umpquas had assembled near the Old Establishment with their Chief, St. Arnoose. They were also said to possess horses belonging to Smith; apparently the "large presents" given to buy their support by the Kelawatsets. The brigade moved 18 miles south on the same day and set up camp along a branch of the Umpqua coming in from the northeast. According to Bacon, they probably traveled from Drain to Rice Hill along the route of Highway 99, and from Rice Hill to Pollock Creek along Goodrich Highway. This also corresponds closely to the journal entries.

On October 9th the expedition traveled another 11 miles and camped near the site of the Old Establishment, at the mouth of Calapooia Creek. On the following day they sent word to St. Arnoose to meet with them, and also heard a rumor that four of Smith's men were being held captive by the Coos Indians on the Coast. These men would not have been survivors of the massacre, however, but would have been men that had separated from Smith before he left California. A very strong indication of McLeod's trust in St. Arnoose is his statement that "if the Old Chief confirms the report [it] will remove my doubts on the Subject." Most Indians were not to be trusted--far fewer could be taken literally.

On October 11 and 12, St. Arnoose met with McLeod and discussed with him the causes of the massacre. The Old Chief's detailed account was subsequently corroborated by both Smith and Black, as outlined in the first part of this narrative. This remarkable conversation is both

the best existing indication of St. Arnoose's veracity and perceptiveness, as well as the most accurate record available of the circumstances that immediately preceeded the murder of Smith's men.

Although St. Arnoose couldn't substantiate the rumor regarding the Coos captives, he did agree to aid McLeod in the recovery of Smith's property. On the 12th he departed with one of the HBC servants, and on the following day he returned with 10 more horses. When McLeod gave him several articles in payment for his services, he immediately distributed them in an equitable manner to members of his tribe. Without being asked, he then offered to accompany the expedition to the Coast to further assist in the recovery of the stolen property. At McLeod's request, he also agreed to return on the 16th with six canoes, to be rented to the brigade for a total of 3 axes.

A day after the Old Chief's return--October 17--McLeod, La Framboise, Smith, one of Smith's men (Black is a good possibility, as he had close personal ties to Smith), and 16 servants departed for the Coast. McKay remained behind with the others to tend the camp and remaining horses. A local Indian was put in control of each canoe under the direction of St Arnoose, while McLeod took charge of the pack train that would return with Smith's property. Due to his proven abilities as a hunter and as a horsemen, it is likely that Smith accompanied McLeod, rather than traveled by canoe. That day the animals gained about 15 miles, probably passing to the west of Tyee Mountain, which was four miles north of the Old Fort.

On the 18th the men traveled another 12 miles to the west, following the banks of the Umpqua in many stretches. The following day, making

8 miles on a northwesterly course, they encountered the carcasses of several of Smith's horses. St. Arnoose confirmed that they had been killed and eaten by Indians, having been personally involved in the process.

On Monday, October 20, the brigade made another 15 miles, passing the location of present-day Elkton, which had been used as a trading site by McLeod in the past. The next day they reached the "termination of the Open Country," and came within 1 1/2 miles of a well-populated village. St. Arnoose went ahead of the main party in order to request the return of Smith's property that was located there.

In the next 2 days 588 beaver skins, 47 otter skins, several firearms, books, pencils, medecines, and 1/2 dozen pencils with paper were returned. Also, some "Charts," which are not further identified. Perhaps these were a partial basis for the missing Smith maps used by HBC, Wilkes, and others. The following three days were used to pack the recovered materials and send them back to the Old Establishment. "One of Mr. Smiths Men" accompanied the returning pack animals, so at that point Smith was left entirely in the company of HBC personnel, Upper Umpqua tribesmen, and the individuals that had butchered his employees only 15 weeks before.

On the 27th, the remaining 16 members of the party (exactly the same number that had been attacked by the Kelawatsets) proceeded downstream in 3 canoes and positioned themselves across the river from the "Second Village," where they recovered a few more articles.

On October 28 the brigade:

Stoped at the entrance of the North Branch, where Mr. Smiths Party were destroyed, and a Sad Spectacle of Indian barbarity presented itself to out View, the Skeletons of eleven of those Miserabl Sufferers lying bleaching in the Sun, after paying the last Service to their remains we continued forward and made the Coast, no Indians in the Vicinity, contrary to their former Custom as several Villages used to be about this place. . .

(1) In the past, there has been some contention as to the date of establishment and to the location of the "Old Fort" on the Umpqua. General consensus now places it at the mouth of Calapooia Creek, 7 or 8 miles southeast of Sutherlin, and a Douglas County Park has been created at that spot. It is also referred to as the "Old Establishment," and as "Old Fort Umpqua," in other parts of McLeod's records. It may have been established as early as 1819 by Thomas McKay while he was employed by the North West Company--predecessor to the Hudson's Bay Company in western Oregon. The Gibbs-Burr Map, in fact, refers to the location as "Ft. McKay," a depicts it as the southern-most point of Smith's travels in the Umpqua Valley.

Part 5. From The Massacre Site To Fort Vancouver

Summary

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Part 5. is, essentially, a continuation of Part 4. After returning to Vancouver, Smith apparently constructed a map of his travels for McLoughlin, Ogden, and McLeod. Information that Smith provided the HBC caused them to immediately begin planning trips to northern California--the HBC's first purposeful trespass on Mexican soil.

Although this map has never been discovered, it was apparently referred to by several American visitors to Vancouver, including Wilkes in 1841, and Gibbs, in 1851. Shortly thereafter, it was misplaced.

Geo. Gibbs (1851), writing about previous confusion regarding the location and names of the Rogue and Klamath Rivers:

The (1831) manuscript map of Oregon and California, by Jedediah S. Smith, which was till lately the best source of information as to this part of the country, [is] in general sigularly accurate, considering the extent of the region traversed . . . (Davies, K.G., 1961: pg. lxv)

APPENDIXES

STUDY ROUTE

JEDEDIAH SMITH TRAIL FEASIBILITY STUDY

MAP 1

Route between Fort Vancouver
and Umpqua River not known

Fort Vancouver
National Historic Site

Mouth of
Umpqua River

1826-1827 EXPEDITION
1827-1828 EXPEDITION
Trail Route
Crosses Public
Lands
PROBABLE SMITH + BLACK
ROUTES 8/21/2/87

Origin of 1826 Expedition

Terminus of 1826
Expedition and
Origin of 1827 Trip

Mission San Jose

*the place the mouth of
the Callapoya has 43
Parakab*

Small
Lagoon

Chimote
200 warriors

Kitamuhe Head

Fort Vancouver

WALAMUTTE
SALMON RIVER

TALBOT
CREEK
SALMON

NESTUCKA?
Kallamuk R.
SALMON?
SILETE?

Kinamules

Yacoma R.

Alas C.

Sewanak

Umpqua R.

Ko Kaposh

dam R.

Champany

Mc Kenzie

Callapoya
350 warriors

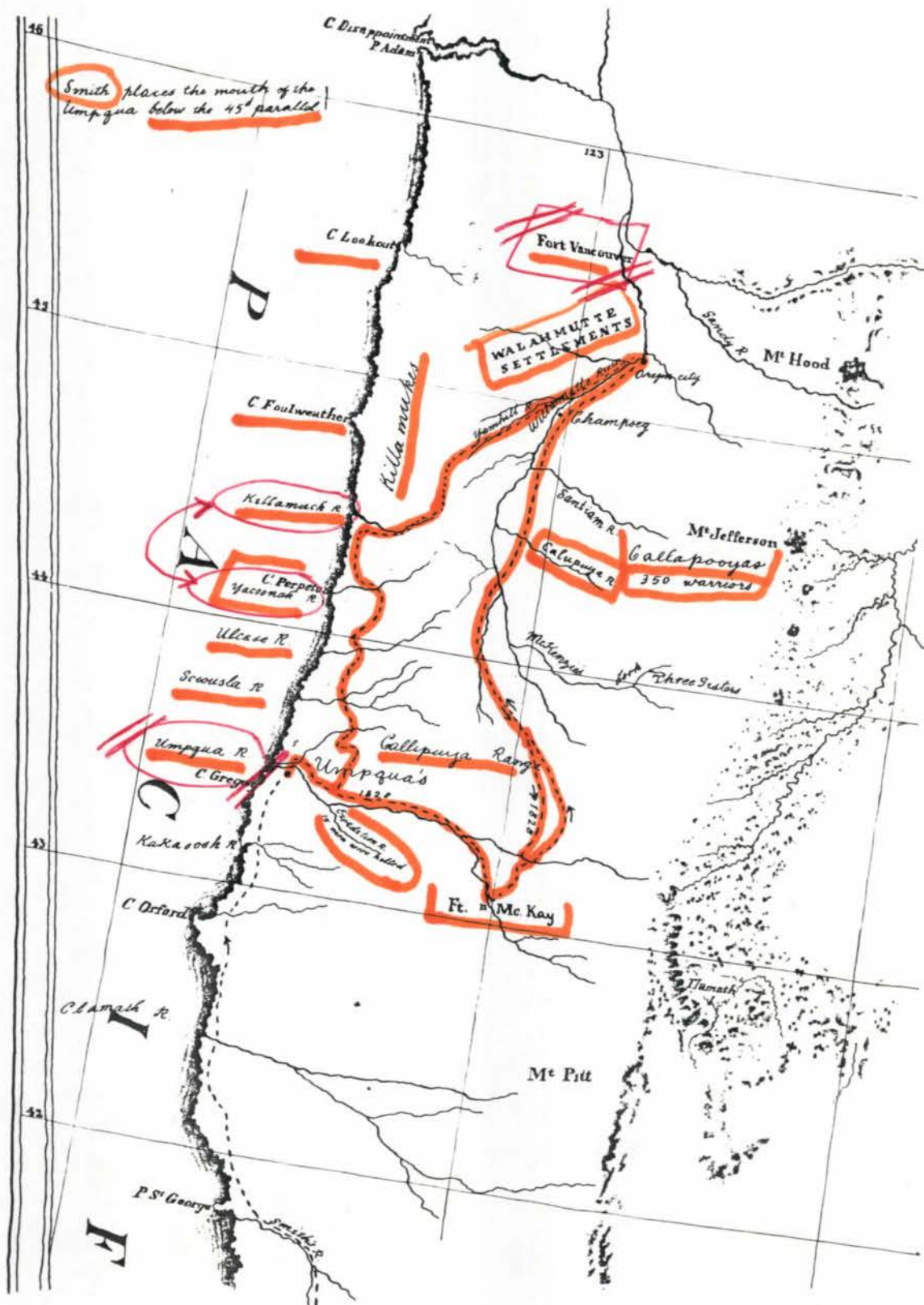
Three Sisters

Callapoya River

Mc Kay

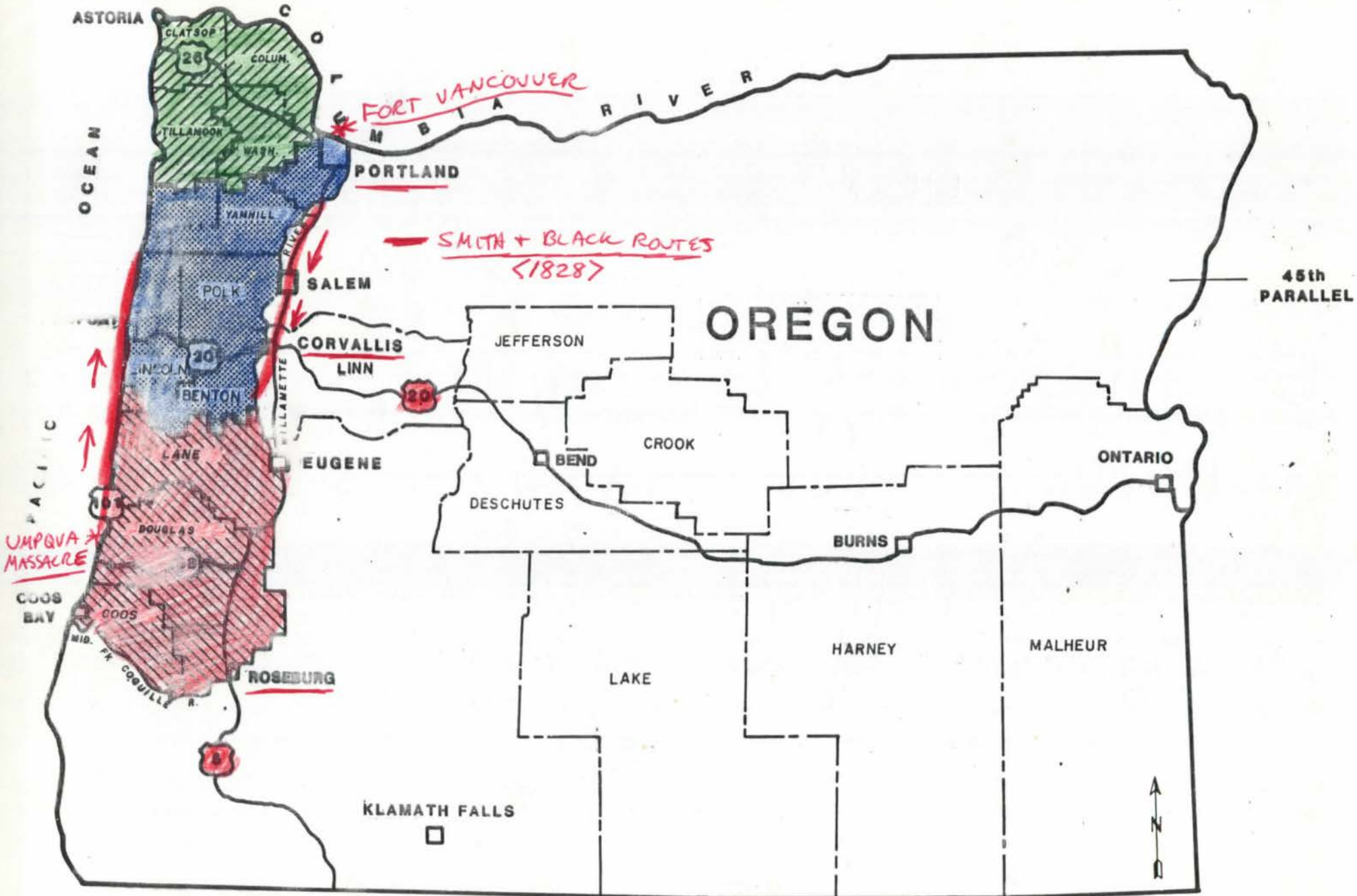
Mc Pitt

blama
500 warriors

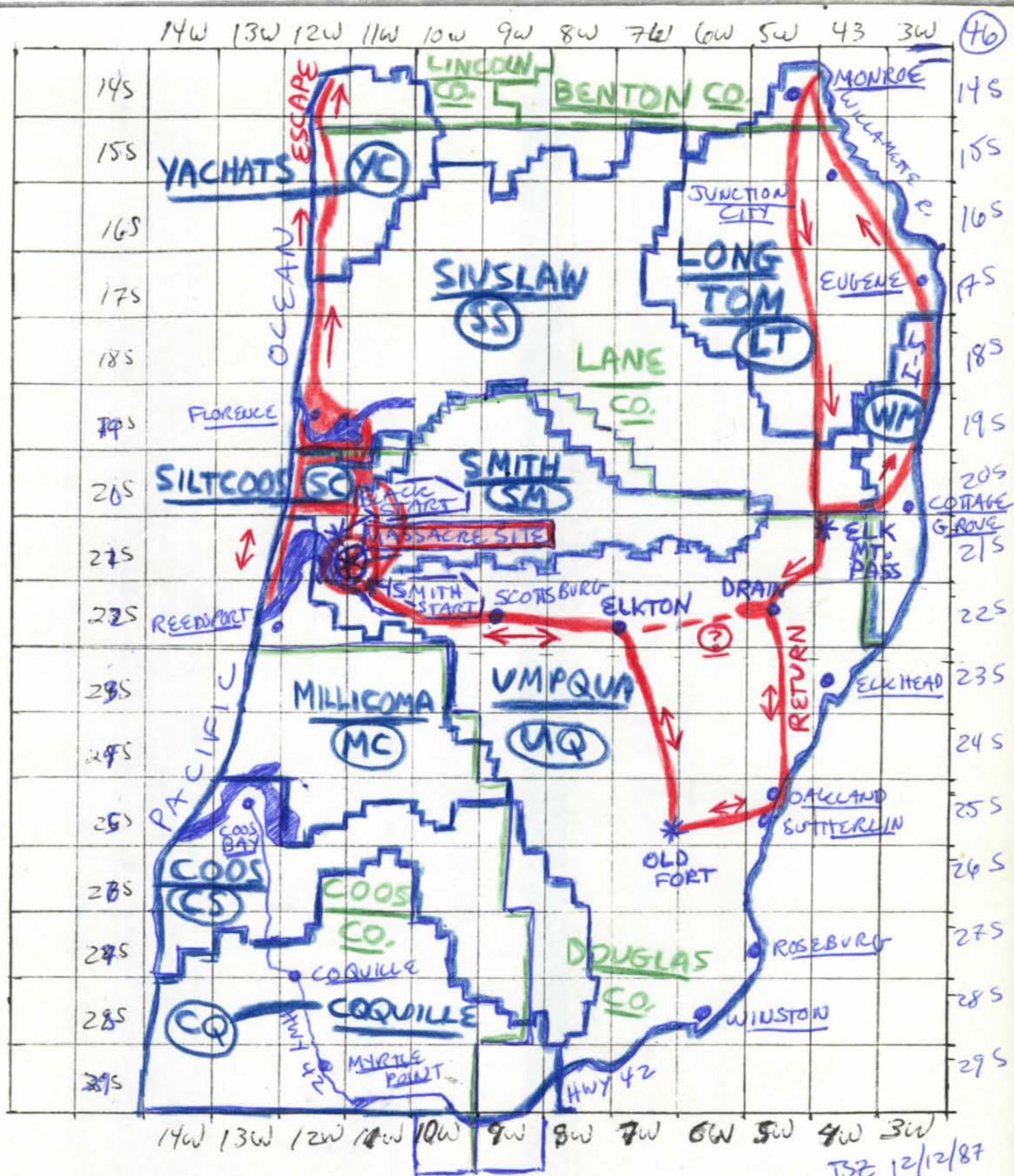


Map of the Jedediah Smith route to Fort Vancouver from the Umpqua River in 1828. Map by Kevin Kadar based on the Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map of 1845 (see Appendix 1).





EDMOND PRECISION GRAPHICS
11/3/83



Appendix ^B: Geographical Abbreviations

Table 1. Oregon Coast Range River Drainage Abbreviations
(with major 1828 populations).

Abbv.	Drainage	1828 Tribe	Language	1987 County	Map	Map #
AL	Alsea	Alsea	Yakonan	Lincoln	WM	08
CK	Clatskanie	Clatskanie	Athapascan	Columbia	CO	01
CQ	Coquille	Lower Coquille	Kusan	Coos	UQ	07
CS	Coos	Coos	Kusan	Coos	UQ	06
LC	Lewis & Clark	Clatsop	Chinookan	Clatsop	CO	03
LK	Luckiamute	Luckiamute	Kalapuyan	Polk	WM	10
LT	Long Tom	Longtonguebuff	Kalapuyan	Lane	UQ	10
MC	Millicoma	Hanis Coos	Kusan	Coos	UQ	05
MH	Multnomah	Multnomah	Chinookan	Multnomah	WM	13
MY	Marys	Chepenafa	Kalapuyas	Benton	WM	09
NC	Necanicum	Tillamook	Tillamook	Clatsop	CO	04
NH	Nehalem	Nehalem	Tillamook	Tillamook	CO	05
NS	Nestucca	Nestucca	Tillamook	Tillamook	WM	03
SA	Salmon	Nechesne	Tillamook	Lincoln	WM	05
SC	Siltcoos	Siuslaw	Siuslawan	Douglas	UQ	03
SM	Smith	Kelawatset	Siuslawan	Douglas	UQ	04
SS	Siuslaw	Siuslaw	Siuslawan	Lane	UQ	02
SZ	Siletz	Siletz	Tillamook	Lincoln	WM	06
TH	Three	Nestucca	Tillamook	Tillamook	WM	04
TL	Tualatin	Tualati	Kalapuyan	Washington	WM	12
TM	Tillamook	Tillamook	Tillamook	Tillamook	WM	02
UQ	Umpqua	Lower Umpqua	Siuslawan	Douglas	UQ	08
WM	Willamette	Calapooia	Kalapuyan	Lane	UQ	09
WS	Wilson	Tillamook	Tillamook	Tillamook	WM	01
YC	Yachats	Alsea	Yakonan	Lincoln	UQ	01
YG	Youngs	Clatsop	Chinookan	Clatsop	CO	02
YH	Yamhill	Yamel	Kalapuyan	Yamhill	WM	11
YQ	Yaquina	Yacona	Yakonan	Lincoln	WM	07

Table 2. Other Locations.

Abbv.	Location	Abbv.	Coast Range Region Map
EOR	Eastern Oregon	CO	Columbia Region
EWA	Eastern Washington	WM	Willamette Region
IDA	Idaho	UQ	Umpqua Region
NCA	Northern California		
RMT	Rocky Mountains		
SWO	Southwestern Oregon		
WWA	Western Washington		

Table 3. Rivers and Landmarks

Columbia Region Map

<u>Drainage</u>	<u>Abbv.</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Landmark #1</u>	<u>Landmark #2</u>	<u>Map #</u>
Lewis & Clark	LC	Clatsop	Saddle Mountain	Pacific Ocean	CO 03
Necanicum	NC	Clatsop	Neahkanie	Pacific Ocean	CO 04
Nehalem	NH	Tillamook	Pacific Ocean	Pinochle Peak	CO 05
Clatskanie	CK	Columbia	Columbia River	Tuality Mts.	CO 01
Youngs	YG	Clatsop	Columbia River	Wickiup Mt.	CO 02

Willamette Region Map

<u>Drainage</u>	<u>Abbv.</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Landmark #1</u>	<u>Landmark #2</u>	<u>Map #</u>
Wilson	WS	Tillamook	Twin Rocks	Pacific Ocean	WM 01
Tillamook	TM	Tillamook	Pasturage	Pacific Ocean	WM 02
Nestucca	NS	Tillamook	Pacific Ocean	Bald Mountain	WM 03
Three	TH	Tillamook	Mount Hebo	Pacific Ocean	WM 04
Salmon	SA	Lincoln	Cascade Head	Devils Lake	WM 05
Siletz	SZ	Lincoln	Cape Foulweather	Siletz Gorge	WM 06
Yaquina	YQ	Lincoln	Yaquina Head	Baber Mountain	WM 07
Alsea	AL	Lincoln	Table Mountain	Pacific Ocean	WM 08
Marys	MY	Benton	Marys Peak	Willamette R.	WM 09
Luckiamute	LK	Polk	Applegate Trail	Salt Creek	WM 10
Yamhill	YH	Yamhill	Yamhill Gap	Erratic Rock	WM 11
Tualatin	TL	Washington	Tuality Plains	Hagg Lake	WM 12
Multnomah	MH	Multnomah	Sauvies Island	Columbia River	WM 13

Umpqua Region Map

<u>Drainage</u>	<u>Abbv.</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Landmark #1</u>	<u>Landmark #2</u>	<u>Map #</u>
Yachats	YC	Lincoln	Klickitat Mt.	Pacific Ocean	UQ 01
Siuslaw	SS	Lane	Dunes	Sea Lion Caves	UQ 02
Siltcoos	SC	Douglas	Dunes	Pacific Ocean	UQ 03
Smith	SM	Douglas	Massacre Site	Roman Nose	UQ 04
Millicoma	MC	Coos	Dunes	Myrtle Grove	UQ 05
Coos	CS	Coos	Cape Arago	South Slough	UQ 06
Coquille	CQ	Coos	Seven Devils	Pacific Ocean	UQ 07
Umpqua	UQ	Douglas	Dunes	Elk Creek	UQ 08
Willamette	WM	Lane	Elk Mountain	Calapooyas	UQ 09
Long Tom	LT	Lane	Spencer Butte	Fernridge	UQ 10

Table 4. Modern Towns and Highways

CLOSEST TOWNS
BY OR

##	County #1	County #2	Town #1	Town #2	Hwy #1	Hwy #2
MY	Benton	Lincoln	Corvallis	Warrenton BURNT WOODS	Hwy 20	Hwy 101
LC	Clatsop	ALL CLATSOP?	Seaside	Warrenton	Hwy 101	Hwy 26
NC			Cannon Beach	Necanicum	Hwy 101	Hwy 26
YG			Astoria	Olney	Hwy 30	Hwy 101
CK			St. Helens	Clatskanie	Hwy 30	Hwy 47
MC	Coos	Douglas	North Bend	Lakeside	Hwy 101	Hwy 38
CS		Douglas	Coos Bay	Charleston	Hwy 101	Hwy 42
CQ		Douglas	Coquille	Bandon	Hwy 42	Hwy 101
SC	Douglas	Lane	Siltcoos	Dunes City	Hwy 101	Hwy 38
SM		Lane	Gardiner	Wooley	Hwy 37	Hwy 101
UQ			Roseburg	Reedsport	I-5	Hwy 38
SS	Lane	Douglas	Florence	Mapleton	Hwy 101	Hwy 126
WM		Douglas	Cottage Grove	Creswell	I-5	Hwy 99
LT		Benton	Eugene	Monroe	Hwy 99	Hwy 126
YC	Lincoln	Lane	Yachats	Tenmile	Hwy 101	Hwy 34
SA		Tillamook	Lincoln City	Otis	Hwy 18	Hwy 101
SZ		Benton	Siletz	Depoe Bay	Hwy 101	Hwy 229
YQ		Benton	Newport	Toledo	Hwy 20	Hwy 101
AL		Benton	Alsea	Waldport	Hwy 34	Hwy 101
MH	Multnomah	Clark	Portland	Vancouver	I-205	I-5
LK	Polk	Benton	Monmouth	Falls City	Hwy 99	Hwy 22
NH	Tillamook	Columbia	Manzanita	Vernonia	Hwy 101	Hwy 26
WS		Washington	Garibaldi	Bay City	Hwy 6	Hwy 101
TM		Washington	Tillamook	Pleasant Valley	Hwy 101	Hwy 6
NS		Yamhill	Pacific City	Beaver	Hwy 101	Hwy 22
TH		Yamhill	Neskowin	Oretown	Hwy 101	Hwy 22
TL	Washington	Multnomah	Forest Grove	Hillsboro	Hwy 26	Hwy 47
YH	Yamhill	Polk	McMinville	Newburg	Hwy 99	Hwy 18

LOCATE YELLOW STARS

2N → 9N

2W → 11W

Appendix B: Biographical Summaries and References

Arthur Black

(Maloney, 1940: p.322)
(Camp, 1966: pp.79-80)
(Morgan, 1964: p.440)

William Cannon

Michel La Framboise

(Hafen, 1968: vol. V, pp.145-70)

Richard Leland

(Maloney, 1940: p.321)

Little Chief (Davies: 171 & 184)

(Davies, K. G., 1961: p. 171)
(Davies, K. G., 1961: p. 184)

Thomas McKay

(Hafen, 1968: vol. VI, pp.259-77)

Alexander Roderick McLeod

(Hafen, 1968: vol. VI, pp.279-97)

John McLoughlin

(Hafen, 1968: vol. VIII, pp.235-45)

Peter Skene Ogden

(Hafen, 1968: vol. III, pp.213-38)

Jedediah Strong Smith

(Hafen, 1968: vol. VIII, pp.331-48)

St. Arnoose (Old Chief)

(Douglas, 1959: pp.224-28)
(Work, 1923: p.259)
(Davies, K. G., 1961: pp. 183-87)

John Turner

(Stewart, 1960: p.75)
(Maloney, 1940: p.322)
(Wilkes, 1845: p.230)

Robert Haswell: October 4 to October 16, 1788

Monday October 4, 1788. . . . These people were in a canoe of a most singular shape it was hued from a tree of vast bulk it was very wide and carried its breadth nearly equal fore & aft . . . the most clumsy shape in the world . . . they were clothed chiefly in deerskins and they were ornamented with beads of European manufacture.

I am apt to think they have sometimes intercourse with the Spaniards at Monterey which is but three or four degrees to the Southward of them . . . [NCA]

Tuesday October 5, 1788. . . this Country must be thickly inhabited by the many fiers that we saw in the night and culloms of smoke we would see in the day time but I think they can derive but little of their subsistence from the sea but to compensate for this the land was beautifully diversified with forests and green verdant lawns which must give shelter and forage to vast numbers of wild beasts . . . I was in Lat'd 42° 3' N the Variation 13° 50' E't. [Oregon and California border]

Wednesday October 6, 1788. . . the people were very anxious to come onboard they paddled after us an amazing distance . . . but we had at this time a good wind and pleasant weather . . . appeared a delightful country thickly inhabited and clothed with woods and verdure with many charming streams of water gushing from the valleys most of the inhabitants as we passed there scattered houses fled into the woods while others ran along shore with great swiftness keeping abreast of us many miles Cape Mendocin [Elliot thought Blanco] bore North distant about 5 leagues . . . [SWO]

Thursday October 7, 1788. . . . we passed a bared inlet where there appeared not to be sufficient water for our vessel . . . in Lat'd 44° 20' N and Lon'd 122° 0' W from Greenwich . . . vast numbers of the natives they appeared to be a very hostile and warlike people they ran along shore waving white skins these are skins of moose deer . . . not penetrable by arrows . . . they would some times make fast their bows and quivers of arrows to their spears of considerable length and shake them at us with an air of defiance every gesture they accompanied with hideous shouting . . . [Alsea Bay: AL]

Friday October 9, 1788. . . at 11 A M there came alongside two Indians in a small canoe very differently formed from those we had seen to the southward it was very sharp at the head and stern and extremely well built to paddle fast . . . we made them understand that skins was the articles we most wanted . . .

there Language was entierly different from those we had first
fell in with . . . in Lat'd 45o 0' No. [Salmon River: SM]

Sunday October 10, 1788. . . . there came alongside two
Indion Canoes the one contaning two and the other 6 People among
them were our yesterdays friends they brought with them several
sea otter skins and one of the best peces I ever saw . . .

. . . they had both Iron and stone knives which they allways kept
in there hands uplifted in readiness to strike . . . two or three
of our visitors were much pitted with the small pox.

. . . I observed in Lat'd 45o 2' No. [Salmon River: SM]

Monday October 11, 1788. . . . Latitude 44o 58' No . . .
[SM]

Tuesday October 12, 1788. . . . at 3 P M we came to anchor
within half a mile of the shore hoisted the long boat and went to
a small inlett where there was not suffishant water for the Sloop
to enter we took of two loads of wood and then hove up and came
to sail with the wind favourable we saw while the boat was
onshore one of the Natives who were of on Sunday last, the place
had been inhabited but was deserted no doubt as late as when they
saw the boat coming onshore. . . " [SM?: Lincoln County? First
known landing of Americans - or whites - in Oregon]

Wednesday October 13, 1788. . . . at Noon I observed in
Latitude 45o 56'8 N . . . [Tillamook Head: LC or NC]

Thursday October 14, 1788. . . . in the Anchoring place I
observed my Lat'd to be 45o 27' N and Longi'd 122o 19' W the
variation by Azmith was 14o 26' E't . . . [TM]

Friday October 15, 1788. . . . but they allways kept
themselves armed and never ventured nigh us but with there knives
in there hands uplifted reddy to strike this we imputed to there
being such total strainers to Europeans. [TM]

Saturday October 16, 1788. . . . while our boat was loaded
with grass and shrubs for our stock we took all the people in the
Boat who were affected by the scurvy our number in all amounted
to seven the disposition of the people seemed so friendly we went
worse armed than ordinary we had two Muskets and three or four
Cutlasses we boath too our swards and each of us a pistol on our
first landing we visated there Houses and such vietles as they
eate themselves they offered to us bu they are so intolerably
filthey there was nothing we could stumac except the frute.

They then amused us shewing there dexterity with there arrows and
spears they then began a war dance it was long and hedious
accompaneyed with frightfull howlings indeed there was something
more horrid in there song and the jestures which accompanied it
than I am capable of descibing it chilled ye blud in my vains . .
. in hopes to find some clams while we were digging for these

shell fish a young Black man Markus Lopeus a native of the cape de Verd Islands and who had shiped Captain Grays servant at St. Jago's being employed careing grass down to the boat, had carelessly stuck his cutlas in the sand one of the natives seeing this took a favourable oppertunity to snatch it at first unobserved and run off with it . . .

'Twas the hollowing of our people that first roused our attention and we immediately flew to know the cause, we were informed of the sercumstances adding that the Black boy had followed him in spite of everything they could say to the contorary.

I was struck by the daingerous situation the ladd was in . . . ordering the boat to keep abreast of us we ran toward the village we mett several chiefs persons whose friendship we had taken every oppertunity to obtain by kinde youseage and liberal preasants . . . Mr. Coolidge offered several articles to them of great value to bring the man back unhurt, this they refused . . . I now remarked to Mr. Coolidge that all the natives we saw were unusually well armed having with them there bows and arrows & spears however we proceeded still further and on turning a clump of trees that obstructed our prospet the first thing which presented itself to our view was a very large groop of the natives among the midst of which was the poor black with the thief by the colour loudly calling for assistance saying he had cought the thief, when we were observed by the main boddy of the Natives to haistily approach them they instantly drenched there knives and spears with savage fuery in the boddy of the unfortunate youth . . . [TM]

1826 Hunting Trip Between The Nestucca and The Siuslaw Rivers

Alexander R. McLeod: June 2 to August 10, 1826

Friday June 2, 1826. . . . Beaver being the object of our researches and La framboise knowing a place to the North of us where he saw many vestiges in the winter which gives him hopes of success, I directed him to proceed thither with the six ablest men of the party and to use every exertion to obtain Beaver, while I would go with the remainder of the Party and heavy Bagage, in the opposite direction, there not being employment for all hands. . . early in the morning Laframboise and party crossed their Horses 14 in number over the River, and we disburthened ourselves of some heavy articles and 7 horses which we have here in charge of an Old Indian at La framboise recommendation and promised a proportionable reward for his services this settled we parted and shaped our Course along the Coast to the Southward two or three miles and put up for the night nigh a Rivelet coming out of a Lake . . . Country as far as we can see in the direction we are going is hilly and except a short distance covered with thick woods to the Beach . . . [NS]

Saturday June 3, 1826. . . . continued our progress along the Beach for about 3 miles and came to a River about a hundred and fifty yards wide . . . we took measures to obtain a Canoe to ferry over baggage we got a promise of one from an Indian said to be the principal individual inhabiting this Stream, seemingly his followers are few and scattered along the Coast in small detached Parties. . . [TH]

Sunday June 4, 1826. . . . by ten A.M. we got over the River and went about the same distance as yesterday and encamped by the side of a River . . . a treat was made to get the loan of a Canoe, but without success, these people are poorly provided with Craft and no wood fit for the purpose can be found in this vicinity nothing but dwarf Trees covers the Banks bordering on the Coast. . . [TH]

Monday June 5, 1826. . . . in course of the Day several Indians visited us and after staying some time returned to their habitations they appear very peaceably disposed. . . [TH]

Tuesday June 6, 1826. . . . we have the road to cut through very thick woods for some distance forward . . . the description of the Country as stated by the Indians proves very incorrect . . . some Indians from the next Village ahead of us came to us and report they had a visit from Depatey the Freeman, who came down the Umpqua River, on a Trading and hunting excursion, finding no

encouragement he made but a short stay and traced back his steps.
[TH]

Thursday June 8, 1826. . . . four miles over a very hilly Country, had to cut our way through as we went forward, tho' lightly loaded our horses were much fagged, some of our late visitors proved serviceable and voluntarily assisted. . . [TH]

Friday June 9, 1826. . . . having to cut our way through a difficult pass, it was midday when that Job was accomplished and fairly in motion, after going about a mile and a half we encamped . . . treated the Indians in our company to a small share of our late hunt which was very exceptable. . . [SM]

Saturday June 10, 1826. . . . some Indians visited us more to get a bit of meat than for any other reason they are poor and miserable fellows. [SM]

Sunday June 11, 1826. . . . We have got through a rough piece of Country within these few days, being situation in the vicinity of an Indian habitation, we were visited by the owners . . . [SM]

Monday June 12, 1826. . . . late in the evening Indians arrived from the next Village on our route, curiosity brought them to see us, being the first Europeans their eyes ever beheld - we endeavoured but in vain to get two sea otter skins that an Indian has, they have no other Furs in their possession. [SM]

Tuesday June 13, 1826. . . . the roughness of the road makes it too labourous a task for our Small Party to proceed . . . Indians come regularly to us . . . but as yet we have seen none of the Leading Characters to whom the others refer . . . [SM]

Wednesday June 14, 1826. . . . we had further discussion with the Indians on the subject of Canoes . . . indeed our defective means of communicating our Ideas is much against us and occasions much delay and disappointment - hopes exist that we will obtain a couple of Crafts, at the first river, we come to, from Indians stationed there it being the residence of a Chief of some influence confirms the opinion that we will succeed. [SM]

Wednesday June 15, 1826. . . . proceeded about five miles. Chiefly on a sandy Beach at the first point we came to, erected our Camp, it being well stocked with Grass, and famed among the Indians as a resort for Deer, exactly answered our purpose, as it afforded us an opportunity of making a trial for Beaver in a Small Lake within the immediate Vicinity of the place where Indians have successively failed in their attempts to kill them . . . as intelligence of us is gone forward to the Chief whose Village is not far off we are led to anticipate a formal visit from him to morrow. [SM]

Friday June 16, 1826. . . . Chief of the first Village before us with twenty of his attendants came to our Camp, after the Pipe went briskly round for some time and that they had partaken of some victuals we gave them, the Leader gave us an instance of his influence, by dispatching his attendants immediately at the word of Command he himself remained with others that were here before us. . . the Chief gave us to understand that he had a sizable Canoe at our service while we were settling these matters the remainder of our Party hove in sight which stopd further discussion . . . La framboise and party have had no success six Beaver is all they got, where he led us to anticipate an abundant hunt which evidently proves his erroneous judgement - such indians as we have had intercourse with invariably represent their Country as poor and unproductive, and their wretched appearance confirms their assertions . . . [SM]

Saturday June 17, 1826. . . . La framboise went to the Indians habitations to examine the Canoes intended for our future progress, which are of the largest size, these Indians possess - still rather defficient for our purpose . . . more over the unanimous opinion of the Indians does not tend to favour the project, for they positively assure us the impracticability of proceeding with canoes any distance that they themselves never dared to attempt beyond a river this side of the Umpqua and add, that it is much safer by Land the route they generally make choise of the greatest difficulty we have to surmount with our horses is a point we see ahead of us about 18 or 20 miles from hence, after which, we are told that the beach is fine and free from Rocks . . . prudence would dictate to continue by Land . . . [SM]

Sunday June 18, 1826. . . . reach'd the River above alluded to (called by the Indians Econne) and erected our Camp on the south Shore, at the low tide the Horses had no difficulty to swim over - this River is very shallow tho about 1500 yards broad - having obtained encouragement to seek up and in the neighborhood of this river, for Beaver, we accordingly bespoke Canoes which the Indians promised to bring us early to morrow two small Deer were killed to Day one entirley white. [YQ]

Monday June 19, 1826. . . . the people are dispersed in different directions so as not to annoy each other, having no cause to apprehend the Natives, admits of the men having more scope, for Trapping. . . seemingly the Natives possess but few shellfish and some Rasberries they also brought us and obtained trifles in return. [YQ]

Tuesday June 20, 1826. . . . we had several visits from Indians up this River attended with nothing of importance . . . [YQ]

Friday June 23, 1826. . . . In the afternoon two canoes containing four & Twenty Indians of both sexes arrived from the Killimoux Village. . . [YQ]

Saturday June 24, 1826. . . . P. Charles with an Indian started for the Killimoux Village to bring some Traps we left en Passant . . . [YQ]

Monday June 26, 1826. . . . A Party of Indians arrived from the southward where they have been on a visit they gave us no news of consequence further than confirming what we have often heard, that there is Beaver in that direction . . . [YQ]

Tuesday June 27, 1826. . . . the arrivals of yesterday took leave of us. [YQ]

Wednesday June 28, 1826. . . . the horses were happled ready for the morrow to move . . . [YQ]

Thursday June 29, 1826. . . . continued the usual route by following the Beach about 6 miles and encamped on the banks of a Small River in which a good many Beaver have been caught . . . a few Skins were Traded from the natives . . . to disencumber ourselves of unnecessary articles we pack'd them up in a case and left them in charge of the Chief of the Village also a bag of corn as a precautionary measure against our return. [AL]

Friday June 30, 1826. . . . Some Traps missing they are in quest of them an old Indian was accused by one of the Men of having stolen his Traps but the loss was soon cleared up to the Satisfaction of both parties and the suspicion proved to be ill founded I availed myself of the opportunity and acquainted the accuser Jeaudoin to be more cautious in future and not attach blame without sure grounds of complaint and in any debate with the Natives not to allow their passion predominate over their Judgement so as to avoid unnecessary difficulties thus might arise and not to proceed to violence without my being previously acquainted with the circumstances and concluded by observing that they should appeal to me and say nothing to the Indians . . . [AL]

Saturday July 1, 1826. . . . Traded four Beavers from a Party of Indians that came from the first River ahead of us. . . [AL]

Tuesday July 4, 1826. . . . three Beavers seen swimming in the River Nackito on whose we are encamped P. Charles Jeaudoin & Joyalle departed for the purpose of Trapping in the next River, call'd by the Natives Alciyeh about six miles distance from hence . . . [AL]

Thursday July 6, 1826. . . . sent one of our Indians up River Econne to obtain intelligence of seven of our party

employed Trapping about the source of said Stream Indian visitors
 . . . [AL]

Friday July 7, 1826. . . . the sight of fresh Venison attracted the attention of several Indians who had apid us a visit and having obtained a tasting thereof they speedily departed. [AL]

Saturday July 8, 1826. . . . the knowledge we now possess of the Country Justify's the Plan of Continuing our further progress by means of horses, otherwise many tributary Streams that contain Beaver would be passed unnoticed were we to proceed by water therefore I have abandoned the Idea of Canoes, besides we have not time to penetrate any distance as the period for our return is drawing near . . . [AL]

Sunday July 9, 1826. . . . P. Charles and Joyalle arrived having been up River Alciyeh as far as it was navigable no sign of much Beaver . . . the Indian we sent four days ago up River Econni returned today with Dick . . . [AL]

Monday July 10, 1826. . . . made the necessary preparations to rise Camp to morrow having the Old Chief about us we again intrusted him with the charge of more of our effects, so as to disburthen ourselves for our future movements which otherwise would be much impeded nothing more can be done about here . . . the six men that were Trapping up River Econni cast up after an absence of twelve days in which time they only caught Twenty four Beavers poor prospects for a new Country that was seldom if ever hunted . . . [AL]

Tuesday July 11, 1826. . . . proceeded most part of the day on the Beach, past River Aleiyieh which made us loose much time to procure Canoes this River is about the breadth of the last one we past. Encamp'd at the foot of a very high point which from appearances, does not seem practible for horses and the interior as far as we could see is no better, we have therefore resolved on examining the Country before we venture farther with Horses and Indians who was with Jeaudoin trapping joined us to Day ill luck made him return, the other having better chance remains for the night and likely will come to morrow he is now in our Rear up a Small River past Two Indian Camps thinly inhabited. [YC]

Wednesday July 12, 1826. . . . a few men remained to guard the Camp while the others went to seek a route to pass our horses, I accompanied them and witnessed the impractibility of such a measure being carried into effect with any prospects of safty unless a passage can be found through the interior, our progress with horses must terminate here had we time to spare no doubt exists of finding a pass across this mountainous piece of Country as it does not exceed 9 miles in the direction we are going afterwards a sandy Beach continues as far as the Indians about us are acquainted we interrogated many Indians on the subject of the interior Country but seemingly their knowledge of

it is very limited or else they wish to leave us to conjecture for we could not obtain any information of any consequence. . . [YC]

Thursday July 13, 1826. . . . La frambroise with a Party of men went to River Econni for two Canoes with which they returned in the evening from Indians within the vicinity of our Camp we have had a promise of a third, which will enable us to proceed forward by water leaving our horses hereabouts a place very appropriate for the purpose . . . Traded the value of a Plus from Indian passants. [YC]

Friday July 14, 1826. . . . it is all a lottery- for no certainty appears of success, and the whole party cannot find employment to any advantage so we have no alternative but to divide ourselves into as many Parties as circumstances and our own safty will warrant as the only plan favourable to our persuit Every pre[p]aration is made to avail ourselves of the first Calm day to proceed. [YC]

[July 15th through August 10th still require transcription.]

Nestucca River Route Between Fort Vancouver and The Oregon Coast

Donald Manson: May 5 to May 16, 1826.

Alexander McLeod's first independent assignment after being delegated to the Columbia District was to establish a commercial trade route to the Oregon Coast. While McLeod traveled to Walla Walla to obtain sufficient horses to complete the enterprise, Donald Manson was given the job of preparing the brigade for departure. This seems to be the first instance of a significant number of horses being assembled on the west side of the Willamette and, as such, constitutes the first instance of a pack trail establishment in that region.

Friday May 5, 1826. . . . I took my departure about 4 P.M. in a Boat with the property, accompanied by the Interpreter, 5 Servants and three Indians, one of these brought by Michel [La Framboise] the Interpreter on his voyage to the South last winter and who is now on his way to rejoin his friends, my Instructions are to proceed to the Falls of the Wallamette and there await Mr. McLeod, in the mean time making every necessary preparation in my power prior to his arrival with the Horses, in consequence of the rain was obliged to put ashore at the entrance of the Wallamette at 6 P.M. where we encamped for the night. [MN]

Saturday May 6, 1826. . . . the water appears high but the current is not Strong Seals are numerous in this River but so very shy that we cannot approach them, from the number there are of them I am inclined to believe fish are numerous at the Falls, . . . [MN]

Sunday May 7, 1826. . . . arrived at the Chutes at 7 A.M. when commenced getting the property accross the portage imediatly so as to be removed some distance from the Indians who are all encamped at this end when I made Michel tell those Indians who have horses to bring them here and that I should pay them well for whatever number they might dispose of . . . they say the water is too high for the Fishery, and that they can scarcely take enough to feed themselves. . . [MN]

Monday May 8, 1826. . . . towards evening the Indians brought us four Small Salmon which was Traded for 2 doz. brass Rings; they also told us that those who have Horses to trade will be here to morrow,

the Horse trade in this quarter has been spoilt by the Freeman who never hesitate a moment in giving what they possess when I fine horse is in question. . . [MN]

Tuesday May 9, 1826. . . seeing the Indians are not inclined to bring their Horses here sent Michel to their Camp which is only on the opposite side of the River and told him to endeavour and get as many as possible, he was not absent above three hours when he returned and told me they would dispose of only one for which they asked a 2nd hand Gun and a fathom of Strouds, but the truth is they do not want to part with any of them as when offered the price he found fault with the stouds saying it was too short. . . [MN]

Thursday May 11, 1826. . . Lucier the Freeman arrived on his way to Fort Vancouver, but on finding we were bound to the Southward in quest of Beaver, he changed his mind and returned with us to the Old Fort. . . [MN]

Friday May 12, 1826. . . arrived at the Old Fort . . . [YH]

Monday May 15, 1826. . . about Midday Mr. McLeod arrived accompanied by an Indian, having left Mr. Annance & Men with the Horses at the Chutes, the latter being so much fagued that he considered it proper to leave them there for a few days so as to recover their strength, there being now (in consequence of the Fall of the water in the River) a fine Fishery at that place, Mr McLeod says the Country which he passed is very bad that he was under the necessity of keeping along the Borders of the Mountain, which runs parallel with the Wallamatte in consequence of the Heavy Rains, we have had lately, has almost entirely inundated that low tract of Country. [YH]

Tuesday May 16, 1826. . . Mr. McLeod has purchased 10 Horses and Mares and 2 Colts, from Lucier the Freeman who upon an average Costs him L 1-14, at 6 P.M. Jeaudoin arrived with two Letters, from the Fort for Mr. McLeod containing instructions to send Mr. Annance and myself thence immediately. [YH]

Alexander R. McLeod: May 17 to June 1, 1826

Wednesday May 17, 1826. . . Messrs. Manson and Annance took their departure for Fort Vancouver . . . the object the party have in view is to collect Beaver, but where to Shape our course with any prospects of success is a query, as yet we possess no information to ground any hopes upon, than what Laframboise asserts from Indian report obtained on the Coast on a Trip he made to that quarter in course of last Winter which is further supported by his own personal observations, for he states to have seen many vistiges of Beaver in two Small Rivers that flow into the Sea whose sources are not far remote from the Sea Coast- to that quarter we shall direct our Course. [YH]

Friday May 19, 1826. It froze hard last night . . .water said to be very high in all the Rivers . . . [YH]

Sunday May 21, 1826. . . . in the afternoon we shifted our Camp and went forward about a couple of miles and encamped--Traded from an Indian a Mare and her Fold, four Mares with their Folds we left in charge of an Indian who has the care of Luciers horses . . . Thirty nine Horses compose the number we started with including Old and young. [YH]

Monday May 22, 1826. . . .distance about Seven miles Course Westerly. [YH]

Tuesday May 23, 1826. . . .we made a little progress forward, and encamped on the Banks of a little River about 100 feet wide and very deep in the present state of the water its Banks are to Steep . . . the Country is very open but hilly-- . . . [YH]

Wednesday May 24, 1826. . . .proceeded along the little River towards the high land on our right we came at last to a groupe of tall Trees one of which we fell accross the River over it our Bagage was carried to the opposite shore . . . a few Indians (Yamhil) cast up at our place of abode as they have several horses we imagine their object is to trade some. [YH]

Thursday May 25, 1826. [see August 14, 1826] . . .in our route crossed three Rivers over which by means of Trees the men carried the property and the Horses had to swim. Several Indians going and coming on our route some keep company with us, we got in sight of the Mountains over which we must pass to reach the Ocean--passed by the Yamhil Camp some horses offered but no Bargain concluded-- . . . I suppose we came about 13 miles to Day the face of the Country continues fine and open, Groupes of Oak Trees dispersed in every direction beautifies the scenery very much. . . [YH]

Friday May 26, 1826. . . .traded from our Indian visitors 2 horses and one Fold--and Laframboise having one of the Company's Rifles exchanged for another with an Indian who gave a horse to make up the difference. In course of to day passed several Indian habitations. . . we passed several small Rivers but none of any magnitude they created no delay--tolerable roads but our horses tho lightly loaded improve slowly I am afraid they will continue poor throughout the Summer especially those that came lately from Walla Walla and who compose the far greatest number we have. [YH]

Saturday May 27, 1826. [see August 13, 1826] . . . several Yamhil came to us with horses. [YH]

Sunday May 28, 1826. [see August 12, 1826] . . . we proceeded forward a few miles and formed a Camp more convenient for our purpose than the spot we lately occupied . . . We are now at the skirts of the Mountain through which we have to pass Indians tell us the Road is bad. [YH]

Monday May 29, 1826. [see August 11, 1826] Rain at intervals, remained in Camp men and women employed scraping skins and drying Meat. . . [YH]

Tuesday May 30, 1826. . . . proceeded forward entered the Mountain and followed a small stream which as we went forward encreased to 30 Yards in width this stream flows into the Ocean we had to cross it no less than ten times when we reach'd a small plain where we erected our Camp some very steep hills to ascend: underwood very thick. . . [NS]

Thursday June 1, 1826. . . about midday reach'd the Coast leaving the River we followed on our right, it now assumes a formidable appearance, and its junction with the sea and goes under the denomination of the Kellymoux River the Indians of that name inhabit this vicinity the report of a gun brought seven of these people to us, who were civilly recieved and liberally supplied with fresh meat which proved very exceptable to those poor people who seldom taste any . . . [NS]

Alexander R. McLeod: August 11 to August 17, 1826

Friday August 11, 1826. It rained in the night but ceased early in the morning . . . about Midday we got in motion entered the Mountain and put up at our Campment of the 29th May an Indian of the last Village who had been with us since Spring his services no longer required we left him with his friends after compensating him proportionately to his services . . . [NS]

Saturday August 12, 1826. Fine weather reachd our encampment of the 28th May and put up our horses much tired Cannon and Jos: Louis cast up in the evening no great Success the former killed a Deer, in Crossing the River Killimoux some furs got Wet. [YH]

Sunday August 13, 1826. Fine weather . . . at our encampment of the 27th May we put up for the purpose of hunting being informed by Little Ignace (Iroquois) whom we met, that there was no animals further on he has been at the Fort about fifteen days ago and has not killed an animal since . . . [YH]

Monday August 14, 1826. Fine weather, continued our route and put up at Yamhill Village . . . [YH]

Tuesday August 15, 1826. Fine weather before leaving our Camp Indians came to us . . . they made us an offer of horses for New Guns which we had not to give . . . [YH]

Wednesday August 16, 1826. [see September 17, 1826] Fine weather in course of day past many Indian habitations but few inhabited we encamped at a River where the Men had to carry every thing over . . . [YH]

Thursday August 17, 1826. Fine Weather past the Wallamette Mountains and reach'd a little Channel of the Same name, encamped opposite to a deserted Village, sent to the two villages for canoes from where some Indians came that we met on their return loaded with Salmon which they obtain in return for Camass. [MN]

Alexander R. McLeod: September 6 to October 28, 1828

Saturday September 6, 1828. Fine Weather--At 4 P.M. left Fort Vancouver, in a Boat with Six Men having a Canoe in Company, both much incumbered with Baggage, the Boat so indifferent as to require a Man Constantly Employed baling out Water--shaped our course towards the Wullamette River, and fixed our Camp for the Night on the 1st Point of its entrance on the East shore--Mr. J. Smith accompanies us-- [MH]

Sunday September 7, 1828. Fine Weather . . . at 4 P.M. reached the Chuttas [Willamette Falls], having come a distance of about five and twenty miles--i.e. four miles from the Entrance of the River to the junction of both Channels--seventeen to the first Rapid and four to the Portage of three hundred yards over which our heavy baggage was carried by dusk the Indians assisted and each [received] a bit of tobacco, it was considered ample remuneration--found a Boat which was left for us-- . . . --few Indians at this place the majority being up the Country. various reports of our horses, these people like the Generality in this Quarter are so subject to exaggeration that their assertions are entitled to little credibility therefore their stories treated with indifference.-- [TL]

Monday September 8, 1828. Fine Weather. . . reached Sampou yea [Champoeg] at 2 in the afternoon . . . [Michell] La Framboise . . . arrived to day from the Umpqua--he had no personal Communication with any of those Indians, he returned from near the Old Fort, Nasti who accompanied him, acted as Linguist carried a Message to the Principal Chief of that Tribe who seems still to value our support and seems exasperated at the late action of the Keliwatset Indians who defeated Mr. Smiths Party--some of the horses have been taken by the Umpqua Indians, who still possess them, all the Property furs as well as other things is dispersed over the Country--La Framboise on his return met with some of those Skins in the possession of a Wullamet Indian and could only recover them in the ordinary way of trade, from an other Individual of the same tribe he got one of the horses in the same way--all of which we delivered to Mr. Smith--Distance and courses as follows, 1 1/2 Mile S.S.W. a Small River [Tualatin] runing in from the West 1/2 Mile above the Falls [Oregon City], S.S.E. 1 Mile. S. 1 1/4 Mile. S.E. 1/4 Mile. S. 1 2/3 Miles. West 1 Mile. N.W. 1/2 Mile. W. 1/2 Mile. S.W. 1 Mile. N.N.W. 1/2 Mile. W. 1/4 Mile. W.S.W. 1/2 Mile. S.W. 1 1/2 Mile.- W.N.W. 1/2 Mile. S.W. 2 1/2 Miles. S.S.W. 1/4 Mile. S. 2 1/2 Miles. S.S.W. 2 1/2 Miles. S.W. 1 Mile. W.S.W. 1 Mile. S.S.W. 1/4 Mile. This days route from the Falls to the Site of the Old Establishment [Champoeg? Newburg?] where our peoples Camp is situated-- . . . --of late the fire has committed

such ravages that Scarcely any feeding is left for our Animals--Gave the Men their Regale.-- [EWV]

Letter To John McLoughlin At Fort Vancouver. . . . Some of Mr. Smiths Furs have found their way into the Wullameth in possession of Charles from whom La Framboise, traded them, also a horse from another Indian, both were immediately delivered to Mr. Smith, and the cost to be placed to his account. From La Framboises report Mr. Smiths case appears more gloomy than you anticipated or himself conjectured--he is in full possession of all information brought us on the Subject, and I believe writes you about it: the Freeman are some distance from hence, they have some skins which will be forwarded when your people will part with us: no Indians as yet brought horses, one only I believe was added to the number, four have been drowned, and two or three are missing, eight or nine days ago, besides some of the Band I left in march were not found, as yet, I have no correct statement, the ill usage our horses got from the Indians will I trust be a lesson to us, not to trust others again without a guard: . . . our progress will be dilatory owing to the Country being entirely burnt, poor as our animals are just now, in a short time hence they will be much more so, and I anticipate much delay from this circumstance.

Tuesday September 9, 1828. Fine Weather. . . the Men, such as were not too much affected with liquor, employed making Saddles-- [EWV]

Wednesday September 10, 1828. Fine Weather.--the Men employed as yesterday, many unable to do any job, from the effects of Liquor . . . Caisano and Suite proceeded to the Southward, on a visit-- [EWV]

Thursday September 11, 1828. Fine Weather. . .--the Men Still enjoying themselves, but I am glad to observe that little Liquor now remains in their possession. [EWV]

Friday September 12, 1828. In the forenoon Cloudy Weather and Rain succeeded in heavy showers--this circumstance effectually stoped our progress. Mr. Smith shot a Small Deer, which happened very oportunely as we had no Venison-- . . . all our Baggage is ready-- . . . [EWV]

Saturday September 13, 1828. the Weather continued over cast during the night, and cleared up after day light and continued fine the remainder of the day--Horses collected and distributed to each man . . . had to postpone our departure till tomorrow.--had the Weather permitted, we would have started a Party as feeding our Animals is very Scanty--at six P.M. M. La framboise & Party arrived from the Fort (handed me a letter from C.F. McLoughlin intimating a desire to use every means to warrant the restitution of Mr. Smiths Property-- . . .), No news of Consequence. . . [EWV]

Sunday September 14, 1828. Same Weather as yesterday, of course we could not move . . . [EWV]

Monday September 15, 1828. Light Rain at intervals . . . after Noon I proceeded with a Party, leaving others (including two of Smith's men) with Mr. McKay, to endeavor and find the Strayed horses our route led Southward, the Want of Grass, made us go till 9 P.M. when we reached a Small River [??] where there is a little Picking for our Animals. [EWV]

Tuesday September 16, 1828. Rainy Weather--Sent back Men and horses, to where Mr. McKay is as part of our baggage remained there . . . [EWV]

Wednesday September 17, 1828. Cloudy Weather--In the Afternoon Mr. McKay & his Party arrived, having found the Strayed horses, with the exception of four, that were not Seen Since my arrival and We suppose them Stolen by Indians inhabiting the Vicinity of Mount Hood-- Caisano arrived from Sandiam River and now proceeds to the Columbia . . . [EWV]

Thursday September 18, 1828. Rainy Weather, so we could not rise Camp. Caisano departed on his return to the Columbia, by him addressed a few lines to Chief Factor McLoughlin . . . [EWV]

Letter To John McLoughlin At Fort Vancouver. . . . tho' we made a move on the 15th Inst. we are not above 15 miles forward on our route: this delay is principally occasioned by our young horses continually straying alternately day after day and parties hunting them . . . We have had much rain of date with great indication of continuance. Mr. S[mith] I believe is undecided which route he will take--Turner seemingly declines exposing himself to further molestation from the hostile tribes of Indians over the Mountains, indeed I am much in doubt that the Trader will leave us, as he seems so unsettled. . . when the proper time arrives I shall do all I can that the whole party go together. La Framboise with a party of Men pass on the west side the Wullamette to endeavour and trade horses . . . all these Freeman have had much dealings with Indians from whom they have obtained Furs, some I have no doubt to a large amount-- . . . Grevais as usual will soon git discouraged . . . those people are not alive to enterprize, and nothing but decisive measures will ever make them leave their favorite country Wullamette . . .

Friday September 19, 1828. The rain continued at long intervals all day . . . Louis Shanagorate came from River Sandiam, having past the Night with us returned to his Camp this afternoon-- [EWV]

Saturday September 20, 1828. less Rain than yesterday, but our horses having Strayed in the Night, we lost the day to collect them . . . [EWV]

Sunday September 21, 1828. Flying Showers of Rain, Rised Camp Course South Distance Twelve Miles. past River Chembukte [Salem; Mill Creek?], In the Afternoon Gervais, D'Epatis, Louis & Jacques, Met us at our Camp, they bring us unfavourable accounts of the Umpqua Indians, it is the common report of other tribes, that the former are ill disposed towards us, having received large presents from the Kelewasets, who defeated Mr. Smiths People, are now resolved to support them, elated with their late success, they expect to make an easy capture of us, as soon as we enter their Country, it is said they are mustering Strong to way lay us in the woody parts of the Country, Pillage is their object unmindful of the Consequences, this is the substance of the report brought us by the free Men, and they got it from the Lamali Indians [?] who have visited the Umpquas. Encamped at the little River, near half ways over the Point of high land [Turner; Mill Creek?] [EWV]

Monday September 22, 1828. Fine Weather, Rised Camp Distance about 8 Miles, to River Sandiam, where we encamped, the Water being Still high for our horses to ford the Channel, loaded, and the water falling fast, induced us to wait till to morrow . . . some Indians brought Skins to trade, which we rejected, referring them to Laframboises Return . . . [EWV]

Tuesday September 23, 1828. Fine Weather--Continued our route, Course the Same distance 18 Miles--Encamped at River Coup'e [Calapooya River] on the North Bank-- . . . --Indians came to us with roots to trade-- [EWV]

Wednesday September 24, 1828. Fine Weather--Continued our progress, about 12 Miles. Course S. & W. Encamped on the West Shore of the Wullamette, fording the River about Knee deep Water, the Marrons caused three loaded horses to rush into the Deep, two were drowned loaded with traps & lead--the third loaded with Grain got safe across, every endeavour was made to recover the lost Articles without Success--Night put a stop to further exertion. the Indians seem shy of us-- [LT]

Thursday September 25, 1828. Fine Weather . . . a Blanket and an ax, was Stipulated as a remuneration to the Individual who would succeed in finding the horses or Property--In the Afternoon, one of the Indians, luckily found One, with 19 traps out of twenty, One supposed to have remained at the Bottom-- . . . [LT]

Friday September 26, 1828. Fine Weather, Men and Indians employed as yesterday, but with equal Success as the attempt proved fruitless . . . the Depth of Water may be about twenty feet, but in a particular place it exceeds that, Understanding that Gervais had a Slave that was famed for Diving I sent for him . . . the Stipulated reward was given to the Indian, that found the horse, this created further exertions . . . [LT]

Saturday September 27, 1828. Fine Weather, throughout the day persivered in our Search, but ineffectually . . . Mr. S. [mith] who past the Night from Camp returned with a Deer-- [LT]

Sunday September 28, 1828. Fine Weather. the Indians wishing to have their Canoes, to enable them to go in Quest of their food, left us without Means of Continuing our Search, consequently the Men were divided into three Parties, and directed to make three Canoes, at which they were employed all day-- [LT]

Monday September 29, 1828. Fine Weather--at Noon two Canoes being ready, reassumed the Sea[r]ch till Dusk, without any Success. . . [LT]

Tuesday September 30, 1828. Cloudy Weather--About Noon M. La Framboise & Party arrived, their delay was occasioned by the Indians being dispersed in detached lParties in various directions, remote from each other, and as the object of the Party was to obtain horses, as many as possible, much time was lost to visit the different Parties of Indians, and 8 horses only were traded rather at a more extravagant Price, than we expected, and only our present Situation could make us pay them so high, Still we require more to make us independent, as once out of this Section of the Country, no means exists of procuring any . . . Continued Searching for our lost property, but in Vain-- [LT]

Wednesday October 1, 1828. Fine Weather--Every endeavour to find our lost property proving fruitless, gave us all hopes, and rised Camp along River Nomtom ba [Long Tom], distance 15 Miles, Course S. & S.W. . . forded the River and Encamped on the East Shore . . . [LT]

Thursday October 2, 1828. Fine Weather, Continued our route, Course South distance 9 Miles, along the Banks of the Same River--D'Epatis & Gervais with their followers, are now attached to our Party, forming in all twenty Men, nearly as many Slaves, besides Mr. S. [mith] & his three Men, which in the Eyes of the Natives, makes a forcible impression if we can judge from the alarm a few Indians s[e]len in the course of the day, got. they instantly Sheltered themselves in the woods intrities of their Acquaintances appeased them and they came to us afterwards quit[e] composed . . . [LT]

Friday October 3, 1828. Fine Weather, Started at the usual hour, when our horses got fagged put up. Distance 15 Miles Direction South--Entered the Mountain, bad Water and no Grass--hunters traveled much no Success-- [SS]

Saturday October 4, 1828. Fine Weather, La Framboise with two Men, proceeded to the Eastward, to recover a horse belonging to Mr. Smith, Said to be in possession of Indians in that Quarter Proceeded Six Miles and encamped finding plenty of Grass and

Water for our Horses . . . no Indians seen in this Section of the Country, supposed to be occasioned by a general alarm among the different tribes . . . [SS]

Sunday October 5, 1828. Fine Weather, Continued our progress in a Southerly direction till over the Mountain La Biche then Westerly along the River of the Same Name, forded it and pitched our Camp on a fine Plain, where my Camp stood two months last Winter--Distance today 18 Miles, according to Indian report we were led to expect Seeing Indians in this Vicinity, it was even asserted and believed by some of our Party, that, they would way lay us, in Woods through which we past in course of to day but that like many other Indian stories proved Groundless as we have not discovered even late Vestiges . . . [UQ]

Monday October 6, 1828. Fine Weather . . . La framboise arrived and brought the horse he went for, the Property of Mr. Smith accordingly made over to him.--Indians La framboise went to, informed him that those of the Umpqua, hearing of the Strength of our Party, and supposing our intention hostile, got intimidated and were of[f] to the Mountains, this is a new version and likely without foundation. . . No Indians discovered as yet--La Framboise had to leave his horse on the Way. [UQ]

Tuesday October 7, 1828. Fine Weather. . . Indian vestiges of a late date Seen not far from our Camp, on the Mountains, supposed by Spies watching our movements . . . [UQ]

Wednesday October 8, 1828. Fine Weather, In consequence of late information Stating the Umpqua Indians to be collected, with the Chief at their head, and Stationed at the Site of the Old Establishment on Said River, and those people possessing horses belonging to Mr. Smith and our route being in that direction, we proceeded forward, Course as usual Southerly Distance 18 Miles, encamped on a Branch of the Umpqua, coming from the N.E.--in course of the day saw Some Indians a head who took to the woods as soon as they saw us, as it was of importance to our object to have a Communication with them an Indian of our party was sent to them with a suitable Message which had the desired effect and confirmed the former Story relative to the Indians being assembled at the Same place as above Stated--saw other Indians on the summit of the hills none came to us till after we were encamped their assertions tends to confirm what others told us with the exception of the residence of the Chief and Party who are Some distance to the Eastward of the site of the Old Establishment. they have some horses but the number our informants can not tell, Many have been killed by the Natives on the Coast and a loss sustained in conveying them Sea . . . [UQ]

Thursday October 9, 1828. Fine Weather--Continued our route Distance 11 Miles, Course South, Encamped on the Umpqua River, on the North Side near the Site of the Old Establishment Some Indians residing in the Vicinity fled at our approach, but were soon made to return, as their Countrymen accompanying us appeased

their fear--and they returned to their habitations treated them in the customary way . . . [UQ]

Friday October 10, 1828. Fine Weather--Sent a Message to the Chief to come to us and is expected in a day or two.--Indian intelligence purporting that four of Mr. Smiths Men are in the custody of Cahoose Indians, how these people escaped, we are left to conjecture, Several Indians affirm that they are in existence, if the Old Chief confirms the report [it] will remove my doubts on the Subject. two horses and a mule were brought to Camp being Mr. S[mith]'s Property--one of our lads States to have Seen an other while hunting on the South Shore . . . [UQ]

Saturday October 11, 1828. Fine Weather--the Umpqua Chief with a Dozen of his tribe arrived, they have brought 8 horses restored them to their owner Mr. Smith--had a conversation with this Leader, St. Arnoose, who has been in person on a visit to the Kellywasats after they defeated Mr. Smiths Party, and we enquired into the Cause that gave rise to that unfortunate affair, and the Old man Stated, that while Mr. Smiths people were busy fixing Canoes together by means of Sticks, to convey their Baggage over the Channel, an ax was mis[s]ed and suspicion led to suspect the Indians of having embez[z]led it consequently to recover the Property an Indian of that tribe was seized tyed and otherwise ill treated, and only liberated after the AX was found in the Sand, this Indian happened to be of Rank, of course much irritated at the treatment he met with, declared his intentions to his tribe, to retaliate on the offenders, but he was overruled, by an Individual higher in Rank and possessing greater influence, subsequently this same man wishing to ride a horse for amusement about the Camp took the liberty of mounting one for the purpose when one of Mr. Smiths men, having a Gun in his hand and an irritated aspect desired the Indian agrily to dismount, the Indian instantly obeyed, hurt at the Idea and suspecting the Man disposed to take his life he gave his concurrence to the Plain [Plan?] in agitation in which dicission, the Indians were much influenced by the Assertions of the other Party, telling them that they were a different people from us, and would soon monopolize the trade, and turn us out of the Country these Circumstances and harsh treatment combined caused their untimely fate, at a moment the[y] least expected it.--the property the Indians got is all disposed of along the Coast--Our Informant can't say anything possitive regarding the 4 Whites Said to be in the neighbourhood of River Shiquits or Cahoose, he having heard of it merely as a flying report, from that Quarter through the Interior--we requested him to endeavour and obtain what information he could Glean on the subject.--understanding, that Several horses were Still to be recovered in this Section of the Country, we defer[r]ed remunerating the Indians till we had got all--intimated our wish to the Chief to interest himself therein, which he promised to do, and proposed to start on the Morrow on that Mission--2 Bears & 9 Deer Killed-- [UQ]

Sunday October 12, 1828. Fine Weather. . . St Arnoose departed with one of our Young Men, agreeable to his promise of yesterday, various reports propagated by the Indians about here, relative to the Disposition and intention of the Kellywasat tribe, the Old Chief enquired if we intended to make war which we answered in the Negative, knowing his disposition towards them of old, he and his Nation would readily take arms against them more especially if supported by us to enhance his own merit--being told our wish was to Establish Peace and Quietness and recover what could be got of Mr. Smiths Property, and restore the Same, seemed to give Satisfaction, but privately with some of his intimate Acquaintances the Old fellow, entered more minutely into the subject, and expressed his surprise at our interference in aiding and assisting People that evinced evil intentions towards us, as he had been informed by the people who defeated the Party, they having communicated something about territorial Claim, and that they would soon possess themselves of the Country, makes the Natives about us very inquisitive not having ever heard such a thing before, and we avoid giving them any information, and treat the subject with derision. Mr. Smith when told of this, observed that he did not doubt of it, but it was without his knowledge and must have been intimated to the Indians through the Medium of a Slave boy attached to his Party, a Native of the Wullamette--he could converse freely with those Indians--as to the Origin of the Quarrel as Stated yesterday by the Old Chief Mr. Smith affirms to have tied an Indian and set him free when the ax was restored, but denies having used blows or any manner of violence except Seizing him--[Arthur] Black acknowledges to have seen a Chief mount a horse without leave and ordered him to desist but not in an angry tone neither did he present his Gun, but had it in his hand, and he adds the Indian immediately dismounted, shortly after the party was attacked and defeated-- [UQ]

Monday October 13, 1828. Fine Weather-- . . . the Old Chief returned with ten horses--Mr. Smith has received up to this date 26 Horses and Mules. . . [UQ]

Tuesday October 14, 1828. Fine Weather. . . the Old Chief got Several Articles as a remuneration for his Services, which he distributed among his followers, who assisted in bringing horses up from the Coast, they appeared satisfied and the Old Man unasked proposed to accompany us on our intended journey to the Sea Coast--and at our request promised to be here in two days with Six Canoes to convey the Party from the Verveau, to the Sea . . . the hire of each costs us a half Ax-- . . . [UQ]

Wednesday October 15, 1828. High Southerly Wind-- . . . a Messenger was dispatched with a letter to those people reported to be in the Neighborhood of Cahoose or Shiquits River, Mr. Smith is of Opinion that Logan & three other Men have not visited their Deposit last Season, and were proceeding towards his route, and possibly fell on his track and have come forward till their progress was arrested by the Natives, the probability of this Conjecture having some foundation, an Indian acquainted with the

route through the Interior, was hired to convey them information of our endeavours to afford them every assistance in our power, that our means will warrant--other Indians as well as the One we engaged to have heard the Same Account of those People as above narrated-- [UQ]

Thursday October 16, 1828. Some Rain . . . The Old Chief agreeable to promise arrived brought the Six Canoes as Stipulated--Five of Mr. Smiths horses got in to day and delivered to him--Preparations making to Start on the Morrow for the Coast Mr. Smith with a Man is to be of the Party making a total of Twenty--the others have enough to do about Camp under the Charge of Mr. T. McKay. [UQ]

Friday October 17, 1828. Left the Camp in charge of Mr. M. Kay and a Party of Men and Started with La framboise and Sixteen Men accompanied by Mr. J.S. Smith & one of his Men [Black?]-The two others left with Mr. M Kay to take care of the horses--our Canoes Navigated by Indians, the Old Chief volunteered to be of the party and took charge of the Crafts, we took horses to facilitate our return as by Water it would prove tedious and delaytory--Our route led over a Neck of Land, very hilly, Course Northerly, distance 15 Miles Encamped on the Main Umpqua River-- [UQ]

Saturday October 18, 1828. Continued our progress 12 Miles and Encamped, Course west of north, our track led along the River in many places Country hilly and occasionally thick woods. [UQ]

Sunday October 19, 1828. Raised Camp Distance 8 Miles--Course west of North Some Deer Killed. Saw the Carcasses of Several horses, Killed by the Indians a long time ago--the Chief and his followers came up with us about Dark, who confirmed our Conjectures about the horses, he was of the Party. [UQ]

Monday October 20, 1828. . . . heavy Rain . . . Raised Camp past River La Biche at tis junction with River Umpqua, Encamped below Grand Cote and availed ourselves of the leaves of trees for a Skreen against the Wet--Distance 15 Miles--Course Westerly [UQ]

Tuesday October 21, 1828. Heavy Rain Continued--proceeded about 12 termination of the Open Country, within about 1 1/2 Mile of the Village pretty populous, on observing a Couple of Graves newly erected excited our Curiosity an on enquiry of the Indians in Company, they told us it was two Individuals of the Ds-alel Indians Killed in the fray by the Party defeated by them--In the evening Sent a Message by the Chief, Starnoose, to the Village requesting restitution of the Property in their possession belonging to Mr. Smith-- [UQ]

Wednesday October 22, 1828. Constant Rain till in the afternoon it Moderated--Indians from the Village restored, 1 Rifle, 2 Pistol, 1 Musket, Some Books and other Paper, Charts, 2

Vials Medicines, 139 Large Beavers, 24 Small--22 Large Land Otters, 20 Small, 1 Com. Cotton Shirt--1 Russian Ditto--1/2 Doz led Pencils-- [UQ]

Thursday October 23, 1828. Weather fine--The following Articles restored viz 421 Large Beavers--4 Small--1 Large land Otter 4 Sea Otters.-- [UQ]

Friday October 24, 1828. Endeavoured to get Canoes and Indians to Convey the we have on hand [sic] to our Camp, but could not get any Sizable Craft-- [UQ]

Saturday and Sunday, October 25 and 26, 1828. Occupied in getting the furs &c lately recovered under way to our Camp under the Charge of ours and one of Mr. Smiths Men [Black?]- [UQ]

Monday October 27, 1828. With the remainder of our party forming a total of 16 we proceeded down Stream in three Canoes, took a position opposite to the Second Village--these people immediately restored what they possessed of Mr. Smiths Property to wit, 10 lb. Beads--1 Steel trap 1 Fowling piece, 1 Musket & a Cooking Kettle-- [UQ]

Tuesday October 28, 1828. Fine Weather--Proceeded to the Sea--Stoped at the entrance of the North Branch, where Mr. Smiths Party were destroyed, and a Sad Spectacle of Indian barbarity presented itself to our View, the Skeletons of eleven of those Miserabl Sufferers lying bleaching in the Sun, after paying the last Service to their remains we continued forward and made the Coast, no Indians in the Vicinity, contrary to their former Custom as several Villages used to be about this place, the Natives are now more Collected than formerly-- [SM]

Theodore Talbot: 1849

SUMMARY

Theodore Talbot took an extensive tour of the Coast in 1849--the first of record since McLeod's 1826 trip between the Alsea and Salmon Rivers. It is an effective reference due to its comments concerning the changes in Indian populations and life styles since the time of Haswell. Remarks concerning trail locations and vegetation are also pertinent to this report.

Although I have not summarized the applicable portions of Talbot's journal yet, I've included some references below to give you an idea as to how they're going to shape up:

October 5, 1849 Report To Persival Smith. In pursuance of your orders enclosing instructions from Division Headquarters of June 14, 1849, and directing me to carry out that portion of them relative to an examination of the Alsea river and the country adjacent, I proceeded from Fort Vancouver to Oregon City by water on the 14th of August, with a detachment, consisting of a sergeant and nine men. I was delayed here some days, in consequence of . . . the great number of parties constantly leaving for California having completely drained this place of those equipments. I engaged here Joaquin Umphraville, an expert French voyageur, as my interpreter, and to take especial care of the pack horses. . . [MN]

August 20, 1849. Having completed our preparations, we started for Oregon City on the 20th of August, traveling eighteen miles up the eastern side of the Willamette to Champoege . . . [EWM]

August 21, 1849. . . . we crossed the river at a ferry three miles above Champoege, and proceeded by easy marches up the valley of the Willamette, crossing the "Yam Hill" the "Richreol," (a corruption of the old French name "La Creole") and the "Little Luckiamute"--streams all tributary to the Willamette, and taking their rise in the Coast range of mountains.

The country through which we passed was moderately rolling about one-third being covered with timber, the rest prairie or open land. The forest consists principally of white and live oak, and with different species of cedar, pine, and fir. The soil of the bottom lands is a brownish loam mixed with blue clay; that of the uplands is loose and gravelly. Claims are located and more or less improved on nearly all advantageous site for cultivation; but at present evince general neglect, many of the farms having been altogether abandoned by their owners for the more rapid acquisition of wealth in the mines of California. [LK]

August 24, 1849. . . . we reached "King's Valley" a pretty plain some six miles in length, and from one to two miles in width, lying immediately at the foot of the Coast range, and separated to the eastward from the main valley of the willamette by a line of steep hills. It is watered by a stream called the "Big Luckiamute." Four families are settled here, and have well improved farms. The distance from Oregon City is estimated at sixty-five miles. From the best information which I could obtain, I selected this as favorable point at which to pass the Coast mountains.

August 25, 1849. Crossing the Luckiamute, which takes its rise further north, we took a nearly west course, following a small Indian trail., which led us over a succession of high, steep ridges, running nearly at right angles to our course, and covered with forests of pine and fir, and a dense undergrowth of brushwood and fern. We crossed several small streams, the headwaters of Mary's river, a tributary to the Willamette. The mountains were enveloped with such a dense mass of smoke, occasioned by some large fires to the south of us, that we could see but little of the surrounding country. These fires are of frequent occurrence in the forests of Oregon, raging with violence for months, until quelled by the continued rains of the rainy season. We met on the road a small party of Clasket Indians returning to the Willamette from a hunting expedition. The proper range of these Indians is on the east side of the Cascade mountains; but they have gradually encroached upon the hunting grounds of the other tribes to the west of them, until they have reached the very ocean itself.

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