

Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, and the Ungrateful Calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant Missionary. By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, Vicar General of Walla-Walla. New York: M. T. Cozans, 556 Broadway. MDCCCLIII.

#### PREFACE

Interesting

The following narrative was prepared by the Very Rev. Mr. Brouillet, vicar general of Walla-Walla at the time of the excitement consequent on the murder of Dr. Whitman by the Indians, and in answer to Mr. Spalding and other of Dr. Whitman's former associates. Although the immediate occasion has passed away, it is proper, still, to put the facts of the case on record; and these pages, which appeared recently in the columns of the New York Freeman's Journal, will form an interesting and authentic chapter in the history of Protestant missions.

J. A. McM.

New York, June, 1853.

A deplorable event signalized the autumn of the year 1847 in Oregon, and brought consternation to all hearts. The 29th of November Dr. Marcus Whitman, Protestant missionary among the Cayuses, his wife, and eight other Americans fell victims to the barbarity of the Indians, and three others shared the same fate a few days afterwards. For a time all the people apprehended that the fury of the savages would not stop there, but after having made new victims of the women and children who remained alive at the station, passing from tribe to tribe, it would excite suddenly all the neighboring Indians and bring them at once upon the Willamette settlements.

The bishop of Walla Walla and his clergy stationed in the neighborhood of the place of the disaster, together with the clerk in charge of Fort Walla-Walla and some other persons, were, however, fortunate as to quiet by degrees, through their influence and advice, and their repeated solicitations, the fury of the Indians, and save all lives of the widows and orphans, until Mr. P. S. Ogden, one of the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Vancouver, came up to Fort Walla-Walla, and having bought them from the hands of the Indians, had the consolation and glory of bringing them down in safety to the Willamette. The efforts of both of the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the clergy, had also the good effect of preventing for a time the Indians carrying their hostilities any further.

The causes, both remote and immediate, of the disaster were clear, and left no doubt in the minds of unprejudiced persons who knew the history of these countries, and the dispositions, prejudices, and superstitions of the Indians. It was evident that the ravages caused amongst them by the measles and dysentery, together with false reports and advices of a vagabond who was in the employ of Dr. Whitman, were the only motives that urged the Indians that act of atrocity, inclined, as they were, to believe these reports from the suspicions and dissatisfaction that they had been for a long time entertaining against Dr. Whitman in particular and the Americans in general.

But a certain gentleman, moved on by religious fanaticism, and ashamed of owing his life and that of his family and friends to some priests, began to insinuate false suspicions about the true causes of the disaster, proceeded, by degrees, to make more open accusations, and finally declared publicly that the bishop of Walla-Walla and his clergy were the first cause and the great movers of all the evil. That gentleman is the Rev. H. H. Spalding.

Spalding, whose life had been saved from the Indians by a priest, at the peril of his own

His first insinuations were so malicious, and their meaning so well understood, that Colonel Gilliam and his troops, about starting for the purpose of chastising the murderers at Wailatpu, said publicly that the priests, missionaries of the Cayuses, were deserving death, ~~that~~ and that they would shoot or hang the first one of them they should meet. A letter, however, written to Colonel Gilliam by the bishop of Walla Walla, and some explanations given by the priest to him and to the commissary general, J. Palmer, before they started for the upper country, satisfied them, and the colonel declared then that "Mr. Spalding could not have spoken so without being crazy," and Mr. Palmer said that "he ought not to be allowed any more to go ~~among~~ among the Indians." A relation of the principal circumstances of the awful deed, which Colonel Gilliam himself had asked of one of the missionaries of the Cayuses, dissipated completely his prejudices against the priests, and from that moment to his death he did not cease to be one of their best and most sincere friends.

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### PART I

#### True Causes of the Massacre at Wailatpu

I prove, first, that remote causes of the massacre existed long before the arrival of the bishop of Walla-Walla and his clergy; and next, I will show what the causes, both remote and immediate, have been.

### CHAPTER I

#### Existence of Remote Causes

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I. Mr. McKinlay, the intimate friend of Dr. Whitman, has been for four or five years in charge of Fort Walla-Walla. During his stay there, being aware of the evil dispositions of the Indians towards the Doctor, he warned him very often that he was in danger; that the Indians hated him, and that he had better go away, because he was afraid they would kill him. Since he left the fort, he has not ceased to advise him every year to leave Wailatpu, telling him that, if he persisted, in remaining there, the Indians would certainly kill him sooner or later.

II. Some years ago Dr. McLaughlin, then governor of Fort Vancouver, and of all the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky mountains, judging, by some of the difficulties which Dr. Whitman had had with the Indians, that it was dangerous for him to stay any longer among them, wrote to him to urge him to leave his mission, at least for some time, and to come down to the Willamette, telling him he feared the Indians would kill him if he should persist in remaining among them under such circumstances. A copy of that letter can be seen in the journal of Fort Vancouver.

III. Mr. R. Newell, speaker of the legislature of the Territory, who lived many years with the Nez Percés, and who had opportunity of knowing the Cayuses well, often said to Dr. Whitman, during these last years, that he ought to leave Wailatpu, because the Indians hated him and would kill him. He told me himself, speaking of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, that he was astonished they had stood so long. "Mr. Spalding would have been killed long ago, said he, if it had not been for his wife, who was very much liked by the Indians."

IV. Dr. Bayley, also a member of the legislature of the Territory, warned in like manner Dr. Whitman, as a friend, to clear away from the Cayuses, because, if he did not, they would kill him.

V. Messrs. J. Douglass and P. S. Ogden, both chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Vancouver, together with the most part of Dr. Whitman's friends, had been for a long time trying every year to induce him to come down to the Willamette for safety.

VI. Last spring (1848) Mr. Joel Palmer, the Indian agent and commissary general for the troops, and one of three commissioners appointed to treat for peace with the Indians, said in my presence, at Fort Walla-Walla, that he and the other commissioners had found about the Doctor's house many letters, which proved that even in 1845 he was considered as being in danger

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VIII. Mr. Spalding says in his writings: "The months of solicitude we have had, occasioned by the increasing menacing demands of the Indians for pay for their water, their wood, their air, their lands! We have held ourselves ready to leave the country whenever the Indians, as a body, wished it... Whitman twice during the last year called the Cayuses together and told them if a majority wished he would leave the country at once.... Dr. Whitman held himself ready to sell the Wallatpu station to the Catholic mission whenever a majority of the Cayuses might wish it.... When they (the Indians) returned from California two years ago, after the death of the son of the Walla-Walla chief, several meetings were held to consider whether Dr. Whitman, myself, or some other American teacher should be killed as a set off for Elijah." deep

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X. Dr. Whitman had declared many times during the last two years that he wished to leave; that he knew the Indians were ill-disposed toward him, and that it was dangerous for him to remain among them; that for a couple of years he had done nothing for the teaching of the Indians, because they would not listen to him. He said last fall (1848) that he certainly would leave in the spring for the Dalles, where he already had bought the Methodist mission.....

XI, XII, XIII - quoting Spalding, Whitman, Dr. White, Indian agent, a missionary of the Spokans.....

## CHAPTER II

True Causes, both remote and immediate, of the massacre.

Mr. John Toupin's statement in 1848, to effect- he 17 years employed as interpreter at Fort Walla-Walla and left fort about 1841. There when Mr. Parker, in 1835, came to select places among Cayuses and Nez Percos for missions, and hired as interpreter in negotiations; Parker, in company with Pombrun (an American) then in charge of the fort, went to Cayuses upon the lands called Wallatpu, that belonged to Splitted Lip, or Yomptipi, Red Cloak, or Waptachtakamal and Pilankaikt; told them "he was coming to select a place ~~far~~ to build a preaching house to teach them how to live, and to teach school to their children; that he would not come himself, but a doctor or medicine-man would come in his place..in the following spring.. "but I do not intend to take your lands for a mission. After the doctor is come there will come every year a ship

divided among the Indians. These goods will not be sold, but given to you. The missionaries will bring you ploughs and hoes to learn you how to cultivate the land they will not sell, but will give them to you."  
..Made same promises to Nez Perces about 125 miles distant on the lands of Old Button, on a small creek which empties into the Clear Water, at seven or eight miles from the actual mission.. "you shall be paid every year; this is the American fashion."

Following year Whitman came - Indians did not stop him building, as expected to be paid. In summer of next year, 1837, Splitted Lip asked where were promised goods, whether he would him "er whether he wanted to steal his lands." Told him to leave immediately if he did not want to pay that he didn't want to give his lands for nothing. "This has been told me very often by by Indians at that time."

Indians constantly told doctor to pay or go away; and the doctor said "indians were talking lightly"and would do him no harm.. "He let them have ploughs, but only those who had good horse to give him, as they said." .....

---St. Louis of Willamette, Sept. 24, 1848.

Thomas McKay's statement in 1848:

Tumsakay in 1847 at meeting of Cayuse chiefs with bishop of Walla Walla, to decide whether to give him a piece of land for a mission, said Dr. Whitman a bad man, that he robbed and poisoned them. Bishop said those thogghs were bad, that doctor not a bad man...-St. Louis of the Willamette, Sept. 11, 1848.

Messrs. John Young's and Augustine Raymond's statement in 1848:

Young said he spent winter of 1846 in Whitman's employment, working generally at the sawmill.. "During the time I was there, I observed that Dr. Whitman was in the habit of poisoning the wolves. I did not see him put the poison in the baits for the wolves; but two young men of the house, by his order, were poisoning pieces of meat and distributing them in places where the wolves were in the habit of coming, at a short distance around the establishment of the doctor.

"The Doctor gave me once some arsenic to poison the wolves that were around the saw-mill. By his order I poisoned some pieces of meat, which I fixed at the end of short sticks at about a quarter of mile from the saw-mill. Some Indians who happened to pass there took the meat and eat it; three of them were very sick, and were near dying. After they got better, the old chief, Tilaukaikt, with a certain number of others, came to me at the saw-mill, and told me (pointing to those who had eaten the poisoned meat) that they had been very sick; that if they had died their hearts would have been very bad, and they would have killed me; but as they did not die, their hearts were consoled, and they would not hurt me. Some days afterwards the Doctor told me, laughing, that they would have certainly died if they had not drunk a great quantity of warm water to excite vomiting. 'I have told them very often,' said he, 'not to eat that meat which we distributed for the wolves, that it would kill them, they will take care now, I suppose.' .....

"About eight years ago, the first year I came into the country, I stopped for about ten days with Mr. A Raymond, the companion of my journey at Dr. Whitman's, who happened to have then a quantity of melons in his garden. Mr. Gray, who was then living with the doctor, offered us as many melons to eat as we liked; but he warned us at the same time not to eat them indiscriminately, as some of them were poisoned. 'The Indians,' said he, 'are continually stealing our melons; to stop them we have put a little poison on the bigger ones, in order that the Indians who will eat them mig

be a little sick; we did not put on enough of it to kill them, but only enough to make them a little sick.' And he went and selected himself some melons for us to eat."

John Young  
St. Paul of Willamette, Sept. 12, 1848.

(Augustin Raymond certified that statement re melons correct)-same date.

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Murder of Elijah, son of Yellow Serpent, chief of Walla-Wallas, in fall of 1847, at Sutter's fort.

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Toupin also said after a quarrel with Cayuses, who insulted him, plucked out his beard, pulled his ears, covered him with mud, snapped a gun at him twice and aimed an axe at him, which he dodged, Whitman told Indians he was going to see the great chief of the Americans and that when he returned he would bring with him many people to chastise them.

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Browne, J. Ross and Taylor, James, special commissioners. Reports Upon the Mineral Resources of the United States. Washington, Government Printing office, 1867.

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Idaho-The product of the placer mines in this Territory has been gradually diminishing for the past two years, though this falling off, if it havenot already been, will soon be more than made up by the yield of the quartz mines, which are beginning to be worked extensively. The product from both sources the present year will probably not fall short of \$10,000,000, some estimating it much higher. It should be observed that there are no means of arriving at accurate estimates of the previous metals taken out in this Territory, many of the millmen not caring to make known the results of their operations, and large quantities of dust being brought out of the country in private hands. Of the total sum produced, ofrom one-fourth to one-fifth is taken from the placers, of which some virgin diggings of considerable extent and value have been found the past summer; and as ditches have been constructed for bringing water into the mines on quite an extensive scale, and hydraulic washing is being introduced wherever practicable, the probability is that the present quota from this source will be kept up for some time to come. There are now twenty-four quartz mills completed and running in this Territory, with eight others in course of erection. They carry a total of nearly four hundred stamps, cost in the aggregate of \$1,000,000 and have a united capacity equal to five hundred horses. Besides these mills, about one-fourth of which are driven by water, there are a large number of arrastras running in the Territory, the most of which are also propelled by water.

Of the quartz mills eight are supplied with one hundred and thirty-four stamps, are situate in Atturas county, ten in the Owyhee district and the balance in the counties adjacent; the whole being in the southern p 132 section of the territory.

The Poorman ledge, so called, situate in the Owyhee district is perhaps, for its size, the richest deposit of silver ores ever discovered, immense masses of pure sulphurets and even pieces of virgin silver weighing many pounds have been extracted from it. Unfortunately, it is now closed up by litigation, and has not for several months produced any bullion. There are also several other rich silver-bearing claims in this vicinity, though the mines of Idaho consist mainly of auriferous quartz of which there are great quantities that will yield by the most cheap and expeditious modes of working from \$20 to \$30 to the ton. Considering the abundance of these ores, the facility with which they can be treated, and the ample supplies of wood and water in the vicinity of the principal mines, it may be fairly concluded that the bullion product of Idaho will in a few years be more than doubled and that the yield of her mines will hereafter be steady and rapid...

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"...there are not less than five hundred mining districts in California, two hundred in Nevada and one hundred each in Arizona, Idaho and Oregon, each with its set of written regulations.

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"...Five years ago a horde of greedy prospectors from every part of the Pacific coast swept over our State (California) leaving their notices of location on every "dip, spur and angle," "thick as the leaves of Vallam brosa;" and after a year or two of feverish

unrest swarmed away again to the newer fields of Idaho and Montana, leaving nothing to mark their passage but their faded notices, mouldering on the hillside, their pitiful burlesque of development in the way of assessment work work and the threatening terrors of the common-law doctrine as to "vested rights."

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The Nevada Transcript, (Nevada county, California) in a number published in October 1866, said:

"Under the statute of Oregon a claim may be held for a year by work to the amount of fifty dollars for each three hundred feet, or for the share of each original locator.

In Idaho, under the territorial ~~statute~~ statute, work to the amount of one hundred dollars for the claim of each original locator gives a perpetual title.

According to the territorial statute of Arizona the claimant or claimants must sink a shaft thirty feet deep or cut a tunnel fifty feet long, within the first ten days to establish a claim, which may then be held for two years without further work by filing an annual affidavit of intention to work the claim; and after two years the claim, now matter how many feet it contains, may be held by thirty days' work annually.

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Table of distances. Portland to Lewiston

Portland to Lower Cascades		50
Portage	5	55
Dalles	38	93
Celilo	13	106
Five-mile rapids	5	111
John Day	11	122
Indian rapids	3	125

Squally Hook	3	128
Rock creek	7	135
Chapman's woodyard	6	141
Big Bend	6	147
Willow Creek	9	156
Castle Rock	8	164
Long island (foot)	5	169
Long island (head)	7	176
Grand Ronde landing	10	186
Umatilla rapids	8	194
Windmill rock	7	201
Wallula	15	216
Snake river (mouth)	11	227
Rapids	6	233
Fish Bend	10	243
Jim Ford's Island	10	253
Pine Tree rapids	7	260
Pelouse crossing	30	290
Fort Taylor	5	295
Penana creek	25	320
Almota creek	14	334
Alpowa creek	26	360
Smith's ferry	3	363
Lewiston	7	370
<u>Dalles to Idaho City via John Day Mines.</u>		
Dalles to Fifteen Mile Creek		12
Todd's Bridge	10	22
Salt spring	8	30
Bake Oven hollow	6	<del>50</del>
	14	44
Thorn hollow	6	50

Antelope valley	12	62
Potato Hills	10	72
Pyramid rocks	4	76
Cherry creek	10	86
Bridge creek	7	93
Foot of mountain	11	104
Rock creek	12	116
John Day	17	133
South Fork	7	140
Canyon City	35	175
Dixie creek	11	186
Burnt river	35	221
Malheur river	18	240
Emigrant road	20	260
Old Fort Boise	16	276
Boise City	25	301
Idaho City	20	330