

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Regulation of Oregon Residents

By 1835 the voices of women and the cries of children resounded in the streets of Fort Vancouver. A broad array of residents, nearly eight-hundred strong, resided around its fortified walls. Amidst a babble of languages, the motly population lived and labored in a symbiotic union with the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. In exchange for their labor and loyalty, the residents were provided with basic necessities of life--food, clothing, shelter, protection, their salary and a few amenities from the Company store. Every man, woman, and child played a role in the busy frontier drama, which was produced and directed by the Hudson's Bay Company to yield handsome profits for its stockholders. The warp and woof of this colorful tapestry was held together by a common thread--John McLoughlin, who attempted to regulate the lives of every man, woman, and child residing in the region.

By the middle of the 1830s, Fort Vancouver had grown into a formidable Company settlement. Company carpenters had erected thirty-four buildings within the garrison,

including workshops and dwellings for the officers. Laborers, farmers, mechanics, and their families lived outside the walls in one of the forty-nine cabins built for their use. A commodious barn dominated the scene. A hospital had also been built. A boathouse and a sawmill had been constructed on the north shore of the river, the latter employing nearly thirty laborers. The showpiece of the settlement continued to be the Company farm, which consumed the energies of a hundred residents. By 1836, Company farmers were cultivating over three thousand acres, producing bumper crops of wheat, barley, oats, and vegetables. In addition, they tended a thousand head of cattle, five hundred horses, and forty yoke of oxen. Other workers toiled in the threshing mill, the grist mill, and the sprawling orchards. In short, the massive enterprise devoured the time and energy of every able-bodied man, woman, and child in the settlement.

When impecunious strangers arrived at the gates of Fort Vancouver, they were met with generous provisions, a place to rest, and credit at the Company store. But those who remained beyond their welcome were expected to take their place in the labor hungry settlement, working for their keep. The men and older boys tended the farm, the fields, the animals, the workshops, and the stores. Others spent the bulk of their year trapping and trading the dwindling supply of beaver. The women of the Company were charged with the

incessant care of children, the maintenance of the homes, the storage and preparation of food, and the nursing of the sick and injured. After 1832, the children of the fort spent a portion of their day in the juvenile school, where they learned to read, write, spell, and cipher. The balance of their day was spent assisting with household chores, caring for younger siblings, and mastering some useful trade. Boys too old for school were often apprenticed to skilled laborers, learning a marketable trade under the watchful eye of the master. Little time remained for idle play. In springtime and in autumn, this rigorous routine was suspended for a while. Then everyone, including children, worked side by side in the fields, planting the seeds, or gathering the harvest.

The census of 1826-27<sup>1</sup> listed only two children among the population of Fort Vancouver. Less than a decade later, there were sixty-five children listed in the school census, not counting youth over 15 or children under five. This increase in numbers of children and youth had been a cause for concern for Chief Factor McLoughlin and the officers at Fort Vancouver. Before 1832, McLoughlin feared that increasing numbers of children were being reared without the benefit of morality, discipline, and sound working habits. Like his superiors, McLoughlin traced the taproot of the problem to the parents, particularly the mothers, who were characterized as naturally unruly, dissolute, intemperate,

and irreligious. Few could read or write. Company officials, including McLoughlin, feared that the parents of the fort, if left unassisted, would rear their offspring in the same mire of disorder, torpor, ignorance, and vice. As the number of children multiplied, the Chief Factor took steps to check the tide of "irregularity, vicious, immoral or indolent habits"<sup>2</sup> among the youthful population. Following the lead of the Committee, McLoughlin attempted to "provide such means of instruction and regular employment for the children as are best suited to their age and capacities...."<sup>3</sup> Early in the decade, the Chief Factor took steps to uproot the noxious weeds of ignorance and vice being sown among the rising generation of Company children.

In 1832, John McLoughlin instituted a school for boys as the first measure to assist erring parents. During the first season, a dozen boys, including McLoughlin's own son, were placed under the tutelage of Mister John Ball, a former member of the Nathaniel Wyeth party. Ball, an 1820 graduate of Dartmouth College, remained at the fort for a single season, teaching the boys in exchange for his keep. In an 1832 letter to his parents, Ball explained that, not wanting to accept the charity of the Company, he asked Doctor McLoughlin for employment. McLoughlin said, "if I was willing he would like to have me teach his son and some other boys about the fort. I, of course, gladly accepted the offer, so he sent the boys to my room to be instructed...."<sup>4</sup> As in

all things, McLoughlin lorded it over Ball's school. Within four years, the school opened its doors to all the children of the fort. Sixty-five students, both boys and girls, were in attendance at the Company school. In 1836, Mr. John Robinson was headmaster, succeeding Cyrus Shepherd, Solomon Smith, and John Ball.

By comparison to other outposts, McLoughlin's school at Fort Vancouver was an unusual innovation. The Board of Governors had never been indifferent to the benefits of education. At the same time, they no longer encouraged the establishment of formal schools at their trading posts, with the notable exception of Red River. The Governors simply did not want to create an atmosphere that was too conducive to the costly rearing of children. At the posts where children lived, the Company officials advocated regular, but informal training of youth. Officials admonished the father of the family to regularly dedicate a portion of his leisure time "to teach his children the ABC Catechism together with some strict or appropriate prayer to be punctually repeated on going to bed...thus would the instruction of the child be rendered instrumental to the parents own improvement...."<sup>5</sup>

The Board, like McLoughlin, was as much concerned about the parents' formation as they were with the children's. They hoped that their mandate to the fathers to train their children in "decency, cleanliness, and moral propriety"<sup>6</sup>

would somehow rub off on the adults, particularly the Indian wives.

In order to train the adults and Indians of Oregon in the ways of civilization, officials relied on religion as a moral hickory stick. Company leaders hoped that carefully culled tenets of Christianity would inculcate sound work habits, like cleanliness, punctuality, honesty, and order among the people.

The Indians living in close proximity to the forts were also subjected to a similar stripe of religion. In the winter of 1837, Doctor William Fraser Tolmie of Fort Vancouver conducted weekly lectures for the supposed benefit of the Thlecatat Tribe. Tolmie had a particular object in mind as he spoke to his students in their native tongue:

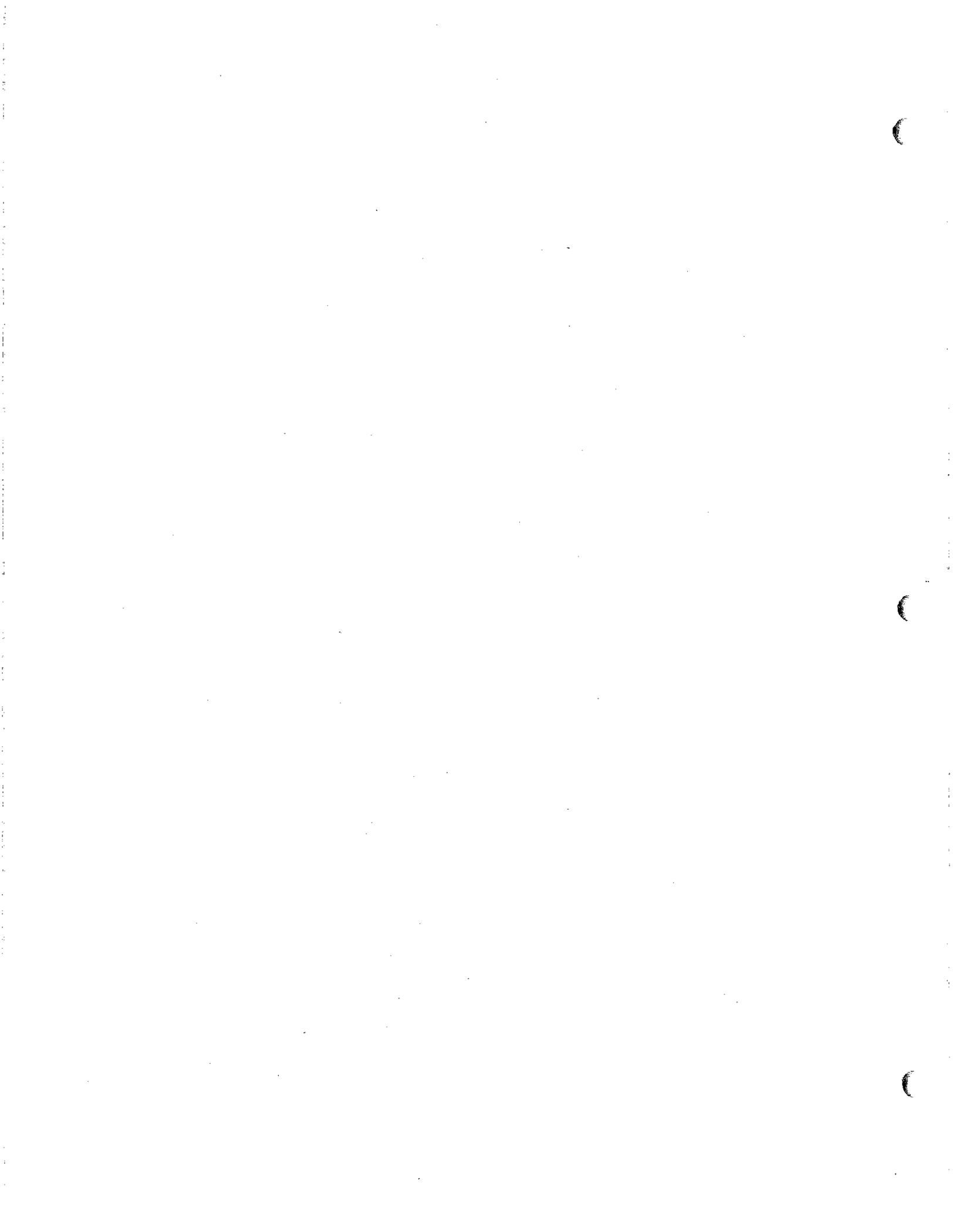
The idea of this school was suggested, as a means of restraining, through force of religious precept, the cruel, vindictive disposition of the Thlecatat Tribe, and the decrease of crime among them, since its commencement proves that the curb has not been applied in vain.<sup>7</sup>

High ranking officials, including Governor Simpson viewed religion as a highly useful tool to bring these "degenerate heterogenous masses"<sup>8</sup> into line. Early in his career, Governor Simpson was advised by an associate concerning the usefulness of religion in gaining the confidence and control of the people. Seeing the usefulness of religious practice, Simpson's friend advised the Governor to accommodate himself "to the manners and custome of this degenerate heterogenous

mass, [so that] we may insensibly gain their confidence and secure a key that unlocks their inmost recesses...."<sup>9</sup>

Company officials viewed religion as a key to suppressing disorder and establishing sound work habits among the rude residents. In their minds, religion, like schooling for children, was good for business. But unlike Doctor John McLoughlin, the Governor did not want to invest too much time or capital on either endeavor, fearing that life at the Company outposts would become too conducive to family life.

Doctor McLoughlin felt otherwise. He held that the time and capital expended on school and religion yielded high dividends for the Hudson's Bay Company. The Chief Factor took definitive steps to train both children and adults of Oregon in "more effective civilization and moral improvement."<sup>10</sup> Fearing the undesirable effects that ignorance and vice could wreak upon the Company, Doctor McLoughlin decided that evasive action was the order of the day. He hoped that the juvenile school would make up for the legion deficiencies of the parents, and provide order and sound business habits in the children. At the same time, the Chief Factor enforced the Company rule that all employees attend worship services. McLoughlin believed that the tenets of religion and the fear of hell would increase the adults' sense of right and wrong, and increase punctuality, honesty, and productivity among their ranks.



The employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon hailed from a broad array of cultures and backgrounds. They were French Canadian, Indian, English, Irish, Scottish, American, Japanese, and Sandwich Islander. The majority of the residents were Roman Catholic. McLoughlin was ever-sensitive to the heterogeneity of the residents, and insisted that the Company school remain "moderate"<sup>11</sup> and non-sectarian. By order of the Chief Factor, the headmaster was required to scrupulously follow the principles which were "calculated for the promotion of moral and religious knowledge without reference to sectarian tenet, intended to benefit all denominations of Christians...."<sup>12</sup> Even though the school was founded "for the promotion of moral and religious knowledge,"<sup>13</sup> McLoughlin insisted that religious instruction remain outside of the schoolroom, so as to avoid "general desertion of the scholars."<sup>14</sup> Instead, students were taught reading, writing, spelling, geography, and ciphering, subjects chosen for their usefulness and non-sectarian appeal. Formal religious training for children was reserved for after school hours and weekends, and left to the discretion of the parents. However, all residents were expected to participate in either a Protestant or Catholic service of their choice, which in the absence of clergy, were conducted by the men of the fort. Convinced of the fiscal benefits of religion, officials provided Bibles, catechisms, and hymnals at Company expense. McLoughlin

enforced the separation of school and religion without contest until 1836, when the first official Company chaplain arrived on the scene.

The Reverend Herbert Beaver and his wife Jane arrived at Fort Vancouver on September 6, 1836, aboard the Company ship Nereide. Reverend Beaver had been chosen by Governor Simpson, and sent to Oregon to act as chaplain and missionary to the whites and Indians. From the day of his arrival in Oregon, the unfortunate cleric became embroiled in conflict with Chief Factor John McLoughlin. The glow of their fiery relationship further illuminated the lives of the common people who were subjected to the conflicting decisions of the two headstrong leaders.

As a cleric in London, Reverend Beaver had enjoyed a place of honor and privilege. He expected nothing less while in Oregon and Doctor McLoughlin was quick to shatter the cleric's expectations. The Chief Factor and his cronies confounded Beaver's attempts to gain a foothold among the residents of the fort. Indignant over the fact that Beaver was an unsolicited appointment, and an officious one at that, they conspired to make the minister's stay as miserable as possible. McLoughlin made no arrangements in anticipation of the Beavers' arrival, and blatantly withheld the amenities afforded the most ordinary visitor. The Chief Factor relegated the couple to noisy living quarters, and denied their repeated appeals to relocate. John McLoughlin

and his confreres frequently boycotted the minister's services, and conducted their own at the same hour. They stubbornly refused to allow Reverend Beaver to solemnize their frontier marriages, which the minister publicly condemned as "immoral and disgraceful,"<sup>15</sup> "irreligious and illegal."<sup>16</sup> Worst of all, McLoughlin dashed the cleric's hopes of gaining superintendency of the juvenile school, the only place Beaver had located salvageable souls.

Reverend Beaver found ample opportunity in Oregon to carry out his mission work. He redoubled his efforts to save his spiritual flock from the ravages of "vice and ignorance."<sup>17</sup> Despite the depth of depravity, the minister assured his superiors that he was "not without reasonable hope"<sup>18</sup> that he could rescue the residents' souls. Within a matter of months, the light of Beaver's optimism paled.

Upon his arrival in Oregon, Reverend Beaver determined that the juvenile school was the appropriate place to launch the reformation of his people. Determining that the adult population was hopelessly mired in ignorance and vice, Beaver felt that the souls of youth might still be saved from the adults' evil influence. The keystone of Beaver's plan rested on gaining full control of the school, which he felt entitled to by virtue of ecclesiastical office.

I was directed [by the Governor] to perform the full duties of a parochial Clergyman, of which attendance upon a public School, over which he has Sole Charge, forms no small, nor the least serviceable portion.<sup>19</sup>

McLoughlin watched in silence as the minister proceeded on course.

Finding himself in "the very stronghold of popery,"<sup>20</sup> Beaver launched his reformation by providing his new charges with daily doses of Protestant instruction. Before unpacking his bags, he commenced an intense course of remedial religious instruction in the juvenile school. Jane Beaver augmented the minister's work by providing special religious instruction for the girls of the fort, while Reverend Beaver commandeered the classroom. Here he felt he could best counter the dual enemy of parent and pope. Though the "majority"<sup>21</sup> of the students were Catholic, or of varied Protestant persuasions, Beaver unabashedly set out to instruct the students "in religious knowledge according to the principles of the Church of England."<sup>22</sup> Ardently desiring to right the blatantly secular course of the juvenile school, the minister produced a host of "Bibles, Prayer Books, and testaments...spelling cards and other Books."<sup>23</sup> As part of the minister's master plan, schoolmaster Robinson was relegated to an important but subservient role in the reformed school.

Within one month, John McLoughlin broke his silence and challenged the course Beaver had charted for the young students of the Company school. At first, McLoughlin politely reminded the minister that the school had been founded to teach children from highly diverse backgrounds. He asked

both the minister and the schoolmaster to return the school to the course of study he had set, one "without reference to sectarian tenets."<sup>24</sup> Reverend Beaver rebuffed McLoughlin's suggestion, reminding the Chief Factor that his commission and authority over the school had come from superior authorities--God, and Governor Simpson. In response to McLoughlin's demand that the minister return the school to a non-sectarian course of study, Beaver asserted he "should, to the utmost of my power, without forcing the consciences of men, form a Christian, a Protestant, and a Church of England Congregation...."<sup>25</sup> In Herbert Beaver's eyes, a school founded upon the tenets of the Church of England was the only way to rescue fledgling souls from the wiles of the enemy--whether parent, pope, or the snares of Beelzebub.

Chief Factor McLoughlin did not take kindly to the minister's master plan for the juvenile school. Like Beaver, McLoughlin saw the school as a way to make up for the deficiencies of the parents. Yet, he felt that it was necessary to guard against accusations of prejudice or favoritism among the diverse population. The Chief Factor denounced Beaver's blueprint for the school as inflammatory and divisive. More to the point, the Chief Factor resented the minister's officious and demanding style, along with his ex officio claim over the school's superintendency. By September 30, 1836, only twenty-four days after the Beavers

summarily denied Beaver's requests, and forced him to teach the children of the fort during off-school hours. Reverend Beaver hoped that the few hours he had to reform the children would be adequate enough to save them from the contagion of their elders.

Fearing that the tenacious cleric might gain the allegiance of the adults of the fort, in particular, the French Canadian Catholics, the Chief Factor checkmated the minister's every move. Though he was Protestant by profession, McLoughlin increased his commitment to officiate at the Roman Catholic services. He personally translated scriptures and elocutions into French for the benefit of the Catholic Canadians. In addition, the Chief Factor procured the services of a literate young carpenter, David Dompier, to teach catechism to the Catholic children every day at four o'clock. By contrast, he did not allow Reverend Beaver to commence his lectures until eight o'clock, when the young catechumens were sleepy and ready for bed. The minister bitterly complained that the Chief Factor was using his autocratic power, and the threat of physical punishment, to bolster attendance at the Catholic classes and services.

The disconsolate minister further reported to the Board that all of the orphan children of the fort, as well as the children deserted by their fathers, were being forced to attend Catholic services, even though many had "signified

commandeered the classroom, McLoughlin set the record straight: "I beg therefore explicitly to state that the School is under my direction, and if you should understand these circumstances, feel it improper to afford me your valuable aid, though I must lament its withdrawal...."<sup>26</sup>

Appalled by McLoughlin's intervention in religious affairs, Reverend Beaver appealed to the Board of Governors for sympathy and support. There was no contest. McLoughlin had argued to the Governor that since the population of Fort Vancouver was highly heterogenous, he must maintain a moderate and non-sectarian school. The Chief Factor took exception to the minister's intention of creating a system of education that was akin to the "National Schools of the Mother Country."<sup>27</sup> McLoughlin warned the Governor that the minister's actions were divisive and dangerous to the trade. Governor Simpson quickly sided with the Chief Factor, seriously eroding Beaver's base of authority in Oregon. In later years, the melancholy minister wrote: "How miserably I was deceived, and how fruitless was my mission for want of support and that cooperation...."<sup>28</sup> Angry and dejected over McLoughlin's interference, the minister made a desperate attempt to start an independent religious school for students at Fort Vancouver. The implacable cleric demanded McLoughlin to supply him with "a Schoolmaster, a schoolroom, and other necessary appurtances,"<sup>29</sup> but to no avail. McLoughlin

their preference of Protestant services and instructions...."<sup>30</sup> As if to console himself, he pointed out that at least the residents who attended his services did so on their own volition, instead of by force or fear. In the months that Beaver remained in the region, he claimed "strong opposition to the Established Church, and to your chaplain...to the subversion of the truth as it is in Jesus."<sup>31</sup>

Interested only in the rise and fall of profit, Governor Simpson responded to Beaver by suggesting that the minister temper his demands and lower his expectations of the frontier population. The suggestion only infuriated the minister all the more. Taking exception to the Governor's advice, Beaver declared that he would never "be lowered by a compromise with vice, or a departure from the accustomed needs of Society."<sup>32</sup>

In the midst of these tempestuous relationships between the minister and the Company officials, Reverend Beaver enjoyed a consistently high level of support from the ordinary residents. Having lived for so long without the services of clergy, whatever their stripe, the common people were grateful for the efforts of the high-spirited clergyman. Early in his tenure on the Columbia, when Beaver threatened to terminate his five-year contract, these people rallied to his support. To Beaver's delight, all of the Protestants,

and two-thirds of the Catholics, signed a petition imploring him to remain. In the absence of their own clergy, the Roman Catholics made an earnest request that Beaver "perform Divine service in the French language,"<sup>33</sup> as few of them understood the English language sufficiently well. Despite his intense disdain toward Roman Catholicism, and his halting knowledge of French, the minister honored their request. Beaver's sermon to Catholics, delivered on Good Friday of 1838, contained none of the usual anti-Catholic rhetoric that peppered his correspondence. He assured the Catholics that he would not attempt their "conversion from the religious faith of your forefathers to that of mine...." Rather, he told them, he was there to assist them in the worship of God "in Spirit and in Truth."<sup>34</sup> His actions, however, betrayed his words.

In response to his good will, the residents of the region brought their children to Beaver for Baptism and instructions. By the time he left Fort Vancouver, he had baptized one hundred and eighteen of the residents and their children including many Roman Catholics. There might have been more baptisms, but Beaver found a few of the residents, especially those who persisted in frontier marriages, unworthy of his ministrations. Those who remained in the "trumped up, clandestine, and irregular marriages"<sup>35</sup> were frequent targets of his ire. Despite official warnings and frequent harangues, the people overlooked the nuptial

aspects of Beaver's ministry. To the end, Beaver remained convinced that the superintendency of the school had been denied to him, in part, because of his hardline approach to illicit frontier marriage:

I have no hesitation in affirming my belief, that one of the reasons of my being deprived of the superintendence of the school, was a dislike to the inculcation of female chastity, marriage being altogether discouraged.<sup>36</sup>

Only seven couples requested to have their marriages solemnized. To amend the situation, Beaver proposed to the Governor that a series of severe censures be exacted against the parties, in particular, against the Indian women. Beaver recommended that these women not be allowed to reside in any of the Company owned buildings. He suggested that they be denied work, rations, medication, and transportation. Conversely, he suggested that as an incentive to the unmarried, married women be rewarded with privileges aplenty. He made no mention of the male counterpart in his list of censures.

Despite the volume of Beaver's complaints, the people and the Board failed to act on his advice concerning marriage. The disgruntled minister retaliated with a final act of retribution. At the time of death, those who had persisted in an unholy or unofficial marriage were also denied a Christian burial by Beaver. The cleric hoped that the harsh action would force the living to retreat

from their lives of marital perfidy. Few did, and John McLoughlin gladly officiated at the gravesides of the unholy dead.

Reverend Beaver's final months in Oregon were marked by disillusionment and bitterness. In the end, he directed his wrath against anyone associated with the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. He finally announced that he could no longer justify teaching the Roman Catholics, "holding as I do, the inculcation of the reformed faith to be the one thing needful in education."<sup>37</sup> He turned against all of the adult residents at Fort Vancouver condemning them for corrupting the rising generation. In his final days, Beaver concluded that even a juvenile school based upon sound Protestant religious teaching would be insufficient to counter the evil influence of the vile population. The minister proposed to the Governors that they order children removed from their natural parents at the earliest hour. He advised that the Company create an infant school in order "to break off those bad habits that have even then become prematurely rooted...."<sup>38</sup> As part of the proposal, Beaver suggested that the board hire Christian married couples to act as teachers and surrogate parents to "half-savage half civilized, but wholly ignorant youth."<sup>39</sup>

The fiery relationship between Beaver and McLoughlin culminated in a physical confrontation between the two leaders. Before he resigned, Beaver had made some highly

damaging remarks about Mrs. John McLoughlin in a letter unintended for McLoughlin's eyes. McLoughlin read the report in full. In a fit of anger, the Chief Factor retaliated with force, inflicting several blows and kicks upon the minister. Demoralized and defeated, Beaver submitted his resignation to the Board of Governors. The coup de grace was struck when the Board refused to side with Beaver, submitting instead:

We are unwilling to give any opinion here in the circumstances that appear to have given rise to that quarrel, which a moderate degree of attention to the proper command of temper, and the courtesies and civilities due from gentlemen to each other in all parts of the world might evidently have prevented.<sup>40</sup>

Reverend Herbert Beaver and his wife Jane finally departed for England in November of 1838. The difficulties of his ministry on the Columbia River had been exacerbated by his personal inflexibility and unrealistic expectations of his people. But the Reverend Beaver's ministry was infinitely complicated by John McLoughlin, who controlled the purse strings and jealously guarded the allegiance of his people. Officious and authoritarian, both leaders claimed authority over the residents by virtue of their respective offices. But in the end, McLoughlin's claim was backed by force and capital, and eventually confirmed by the Committee. In the process, the light of Beaver's ministry in Oregon was eclipsed by the Chief Factor, who foiled the chaplain's efforts at every horizon.

At the onset of Beaver's ministry, the Chief Factor and chaplain found themselves in a moment of rare agreement. Each judged that the parents of Fort Vancouver were a priori incapable of rearing productive, orderly, well-mannered, disciplined children. Each fancied himself as the corporate father of the Company children, personally responsible for supplying them with a proper upbringing. Both men envisioned the juvenile school as the primary means of reforming the rising generation. Both believed that the school could transform the youth into civilized, productive, disciplined human beings. McLoughlin hoped that the school would make up for the deficiencies of the parents, and assist them in transforming the young into useful and orderly individuals. Reverend Beaver was not so generous in his assessment of the adult population. Convinced that the parents were wholly beyond repair, he envisioned the school as acting in loco parentis, replacing the parents as the primary agents of the children's education.

Ever-sensitive to the cultural diversity of the population, and always guarding against accusations of prejudice or favoritism, McLoughlin ordered that the school remain moderate and non-sectarian. While encouraging parents to provide religious instruction for the young, McLoughlin demanded that religious instruction remain voluntary and separate from the school. Reverend Beaver, by contrast, took exception to McLoughlin's secular philosophy.

Reverend Beaver viewed the reformed school as a barque of salvation, designed to carry young souls through the storms of parental corruption, popery, and vice. He charted his waters according to tenets of the Church of England, the "one thing needful in education."<sup>41</sup> Fixing his position at the helm of the ship, he hoped to provide his charges with religious knowledge and the proper example they lacked at home. Useful subjects--reading, ciphering, spelling--played a subservient role to religion. Insensitive to the cultural and religious diversity of the school children, the minister set out to force a system of education upon his charges patterned on the "National Schools of the Mother Country."<sup>42</sup> In short, this meant, above all else "advancement of the children in religious knowledge according to the principles of the Church of England,"<sup>43</sup> with himself in exclusive charge. Within the month, Reverend Beaver was deposed from his short-lived post as school superintendent, and forced to reform fledgling souls on weekends and during off-school hours.

At the advent of his ministry, Reverend Beaver regularly touted the name of Governor Simpson as his advocate and friend. The collision that ensued between John McLoughlin and himself revealed the true colors of the Governor. Reverend Beaver was shocked by the revelation that, in the mind of the Governor, religion was just another instrument among many to maintain order and exercise control

over the lives of the residents. Disillusioned and hurt, the minister gradually turned against anyone associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. Unfortunately, the common folk of Fort Vancouver were the safest and most convenient target of his ire.

Though they were subjected to the capricious demands of their chaplain and Chief Factor, the people tried to cooperate with both leaders. Aware that Chief Factor McLoughlin dispensed and withheld the material goods of Oregon at will, they gave him the allegiance and cooperation he demanded. Wishing to raise their children according to the precepts of Christianity, they attempted to cooperate with the wishes of Reverend Beaver. Within weeks, their chaplain became increasingly embroiled in secular affairs, while the Chief Factor became inexorably involved in ecclesiastical concerns. Soon people were forced to choose between leaders. Living in a region devoid of life's most basic necessities, they had little recourse. Food, shelter, and the patronage of the Hudson's Bay Company were necessary for survival. John McLoughlin emerged victorious, and continued to rule his thralldom with an iron hand.

Reverend Herbert Beaver and his wife Jane departed for London in November of 1838. When they boarded the company ship Columbia, they found themselves abandoned by Company officials, and wanting for the support and sympathy of the residents they had been sent to serve. The conflict

between Beaver and McLoughlin, having been so intense, the Chief Factor scarcely noticed that to the south, Jason Lee's Methodist-Episcopal community was daily growing in numbers and strength.

### III. ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Fort Vancouver Report, 1826-27, in E.E. Rich, ed., Part of Dispatch from George Simpson Esqr to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company London, X, (Toronto, 1947), p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>R. Harvey Fleming, Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31, III (Toronto, 1940), p. 96.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Flora Ball Hopkins, comp. Autobiography of John Ball, (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1925), p. 93.

<sup>5</sup>R. Harvey Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council, III, pp. 60-61.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>7</sup>E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, 1825-38, IV, (Toronto, 1941), pp. 239-40.

<sup>8</sup>Donald McKenzie to Governor Simpson, July 27, 1823, in Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire, George Simpson's Journal, (Cambridge, 1968), p. 199.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 198-9.

<sup>10</sup>R. Harvey Fleming, ed., Minutes of Council, III, p. 60.

<sup>11</sup>E.E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, IV, p. 162.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 161-62.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 161

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-1838, (Portland, 1959), p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 10

<sup>20</sup>Herbert Beaver, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," ed. by R. C. Clark, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXIX (March, 1938), p. 23.

<sup>21</sup>E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, IV, p. 162.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>24</sup>E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin, IV, p. 162.

<sup>25</sup>Rev. Beaver to John McLoughlin, September 30, 1836, in Thomas Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup>John McLoughlin to Rev. H. Beaver, September 30, 1836, in Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup>Herbert Beaver, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," ed. by R.C. Clark, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXIX, (March, 1938), p. 22.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>36</sup>Herbert Beaver, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," ed. by R. C. Clark, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXIX, (March, 1938), p. 30.

<sup>37</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 113.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Herbert Beaver, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," ed. by R. C. Clark, Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXIX, (March, 1938), p. 35.

<sup>41</sup>Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, p. 113.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 9.